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THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

EDITED BY

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HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

AND

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

10

VOL. XLIII.—1914.

Swati Publications

Delhi

1985

913.8-1
In 39
v. 43

A14 C, 2674
Oct, 17.6.86



H4926



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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XLIII — 1914.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURAI.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM FROM THE MUSSULMAN CONQUEST TO THE END OF
KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S RULE. 1310—1530.

(The Muhammadan Conquest and Rule 1324—1371.)

THE dawn of the 14th Century of the Christian era witnessed a revolution in the history of South India,—a revolution which will be ever remembered, and be ever felt by the various races and peoples who inhabit this part of the country. It was in that age that the Muhammadans, hitherto confined to Hindustân, extended for the first time into the cis-Vindhyan region, and converted the Hindu kingdoms either into Muhammadan principalities or vassals of the Muhammadan Empire. More than a century had passed since Shahâbu'ddîn Ghori and his lieutenants had marched their victorious legions as far as the Bay of Bengal, and cemented the disjointed kingdoms of Hindustân by a common allegiance to a single sovereign authority. For the space of a century the "slave kings" of Delhi enjoyed and abused their power, and gave place to the Khiljîs. The new rulers were not satisfied with preserving the dominions which the martial enthusiasm of their predecessors had acquired. The able and ambitious imperialist, 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî, formed, for the first time, the bold design of crossing the Vindhyan barriers and subduing the mysterious region which lay stretching to the South, and which had escaped Musalmân subjugation so long. And fortunately, the circumstances were not unfavourable for his design. Centuries of internecine wars had already exhausted the vital strength of the Deccan and South Indian powers. The Yâdavâs, the Gajapatîs, the Hoysâlas, the Chôlas, and the Pândyas had, in spite of differences of tongue and language, a common civilization and a common method of government; but they had never known the virtues of peace and the value of harmony. The impulse of ambition and emulation led to constant wars, which often ended in the absolute exhaustion of some or all of the contending parties.

The Musalman conquest of the South.

It is not surprising that, under such circumstances, the Lieutenant of 'Alâu'ddîn, the talented Malîk Kâfûr, achieved in his celebrated campaign in the South, a rapid succession of triumphs. He first conquered King Râmachandra of Dêvagiri, and made him not merely a

vassal of the growing empire, but an active participator in its growth, even at the expense of his own brother-chiefs. He then vanquished the pride of the powerful Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal, and imposed the Musalmān yoke on the kingdom of Telingāna. The turn of the powerful kingdom, or rather empire, of the Hoysālas of Dwārasamudra came next. The ancestors of Vira Ballāla III had extended their sway, by force of arms, over the effete and decaying kingdoms of the Chōlas and Pāndyas¹; and Dwārasamudra, the proud and prosperous city of the Hoysālas, was the seat of an imperial government. The empire, however, was scarcely in a condition to present a determined or protracted resistance to the invaders. The sincerity of history declares that the armies of the Hindu power were vanquished and that Vira Ballāla himself was a prisoner in the Musalmān camp. The whole land was exposed to the wickedness and vandalism of an enemy in whose views, plunder and devastation were the legitimate harvest of martial labour.² The noble city of the Hoysālas was sacked and ruined. Its buildings were levelled to the ground, its grand works of beauty and art demolished, and its temples polluted by blood and by sceptic feet. Reaction or policy, however, soon taught Kāfūr that his zeal must be tempered with discretion. He therefore set the captive king free³ on condition that he should, like the kings of Mahārāshtra and Telingāna, acknowledge the supremacy of the Musalmān emperor at Delhi.

The date of the conquest of the Pandyan Kingdom.

The movement of Malik Kāfūr after the overthrow of the Hoysala power is uncertain. It is impossible to say how far he marched his invincible army further South. The celebrated historian Ferishta⁴ says that, immediately after the subjugation of the Hoysāla, Kāfūr carried on his depredations as far as "Seet Bunder Ramessar" i. e., Ramesvaram, and erected there a mosque. The Musalmān writers, Wassāf and Amīr Khusrū,⁵ give some interesting details which go to support this view. They assert that, prior to the invasion of Kāfūr in 1310, a king named Kulasekhara⁶ had been ruling the Pāndyan kingdom, for a space of 40 years and more. He, they say, was murdered by his elder and legitimate son Sundara Pāndya.⁷ The parricide, however, was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of his terrible crime long; for his younger and illegitimate brother, Vira Pāndya, avenged his father by

¹ There is plenty of evidence in the epigraphical reports to prove this. In the middle of the 13th century, for instance, a Hoysala Viceroy settled a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute in the temple of Tirumaiyam in the reign of Maravarman Sundara Pāndya II (1239-51). See *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1907, p. 70. Examples of such Hoysala interference can be multiplied. It is plain that frequent inter-marriages between the royal houses also took place. *Ep. Rep.* 1892, Aug. 7-8. *Arch. Surv.* 1907-8, p. 235; *Madras Manual*, I, 120.

² According to Ferishta, the Muhammadan spoils included 96,000 maunds of gold and innumerable chests of jewels and pearls. The soldiers threw away the silver as an encumbrance. See Dow's *Ferishta*; Scott's *Ferishta* I, p. XIII; Elliott's *Hist. of Ind.* III, 49. Wassāf, however, says that 'Rai Pāndya' of 'Dur Samum' got assistance from Tira Pandi, one of the two rival brothers then ruling Ma'bar. The Rai, however, preferred submission, gave the province of Arikanna as a proof of his allegiance, besides an immense treasure and 55 elephants. The Muhammadans, therefore, left him in possession of the country. Amīr Khusrū gives certain details, but he does not mention Arikanna. *Ibid.*, 88-90.

³ See *Madras Ep. Rep.*, Aug. 1892, p. 8; Scott's *Ferishta* I, p. XIII.

⁴ Scott's *Deskan*; Taylor's *O. H. Mas.* II, 98.

⁵ Elliott's *Hist. of Ind.* III 49-54 and p. 91; Sewall's *Antiquities*, II, 222.

⁶ The Kales Dwar of the Musalmān historian and the Maravarman Kulasekhara I of the inscriptions who ruled from 1268 to at least 1308. See *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1910-11, p. 79; 1909-10, p. 89, 1907-8, p. 72-3. For the details of the war between Vira Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya, see Elliott, III, 53-54.

⁷ Bishop Caldwell identifies him with Kuma Pāndya, the contemporary of Jñānasambandhar. This is, of course, wrong. The Musalmān historian calls Vira Pāndya, Tira Pandi.

overthrowing and driving him away. The royal criminal, however, promptly proceeded to Delhi, and asked for, and obtained Musalmān help for his restoration. The invasion of Malik Kāfūr was, according to these authorities, due to this disputed succession; and it ended, according to Wassāf in the defeat and retreat of "Malik Nabu", but, according to Amīr Khusrū, in the flight⁸ of Vīra Pāndya from Madura into the jungles and the consequent capture of the city and the burning of the temple. Amīr Khusrū says that as many as 512 elephants were captured by the Muhammadans as well as 5,000 horses, and 500 *mans* of jewels of every description,—diamonds, pearls, emeralds and rubies. There is no question, says Mr. Sewell, of the fact that "this invasion of the Mahomedans actually, if not nominally, effected the entire subversion of the ancient Kingdom of the Pāndyans. It convulsed the whole of South India. The Chōla kingdom went to pieces at the same time, and all over the peninsula there was a period of anarchy and confusion till the rise of Vijayanagar a few years later."⁹ Mr. Nelson, the author of the *Madura Manual*, a work of classical authority on the history of Madura, also accepts this view, and says that, as a result of the Musalmān conquest of the Pāndyan kingdom, it was ruled for the next half a century by a succession of Musalmān Viceroyas, i. e., from 1310 to 1358 A. D.

The Hindu chronicles, on the other hand, distinctly assert that the year of Musalmān invasion of the Pāndyan kingdom was Saka 1246, Rudhīrotkari,¹⁰ i. e., 1324 A. D. "In S. 1246, 227 years after the destruction of Quilon," says the *Pand. Chron.*, "in the month of Āni, year Rudhīrotkari, when a king, Parākrama Pāndya¹¹ by name, was holding a precarious sway, at Madura, Adhi Sultan Mulk and Nemian¹² came from Delhi in the North, seized the king, sent him to Delhi, and took forcible possession of the kingdom." "In S. 1246, corresponding to Q. E. 227," says another chronicle, "when one named Parākrama Pāndya was reigning, Adhi Sultan Mulk and Nemi (i. e., Malik Naib) came from Delhi in the North, took Parākrama captive, sent him to Delhi, and conquered the country." These statements are corroborated by Col. Dow, according to whom, it was in the reign of Muhammad III, by the year 1326, that the Carnatic "to the extremities of the Deccan and from sea to sea,"¹³ was reduced to subjection, and compelled to pay tribute. Mr. Taylor accepts this version, and rejects the date 1310¹⁴. The Tamil work *Kōyilōḷuḡu* assigns the conquest of Trichinopoly to 1327.¹⁵

⁸ Elliot III, 91; also Barn's account, p. 204. It appears from Khusrū's account that Vīra Pāndya was not slain. As shown, later on according to Mr. Krishna Sastri Vīra Pāndya continued to rule till 1356. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1900, p. 7-8, where Mr. Venkayah discusses the whole question. Sewall misreads the Musalmān historians. He says that Vīra Pāndya was defeated and Sundara Pāndya restored. This is wrong. [Malik Kāfūr was equally well known as Malik Naib (the Lord Lieutenant): Ed.]

⁹ Sewall's *Antiquities*, II, 222. It was evidently during this period of confusion that Ravi Varma Kulasekhara, the Kerala king, invaded the coast, conquered Vīra Pāndya, married the Pāndyan princess, and crowned himself in Madura in S. 1234 (1312). He must have been subsequently overthrown by the Muhammadans. (See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1890). It is highly probable that Ravi Varma's invasion was caused by the quarrel between Sundara and Vīra Pāndya. Ravi Varma's original kingdom was around Quilon (Kolam). He first took Kerala, and then started in his campaign. In 1315 he was in Kānchi. *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1900 p. 8; *Insc.* 349 of 1903 mentions him at Tiruvadi.

¹⁰ The exact Q. E. date is 498-9 and not 227.

¹¹ Of the Musalmān chronicles, which give a different name altogether.

¹² This is wrong. There was only one person—Malik Naib Kāfūr. Nemi is evidently a mistake for Naib. See Elliott, III. Dow's *Ferishtah*, I, 301.

¹³ O. H. Mss. II, 100; Wilks, I, 7;

¹⁴ *The Trichinopoly Gazetteer*; 48

¹⁵ i. e., year *Akkaya*. For a full and complete analysis of this celebrated work, see *Ind. Ant.* May 1911.

It is difficult to say which of these is true. There are probabilities as well as inconsistencies in both. In regard to the first, we have to remember that the erection of a mosque at Râmevaram is extremely doubtful. There is no trace of it whatever, nor is it mentioned by the Musalmân writers we have quoted. Râmevaram has been a centre of Hindu worship for centuries, and if a mosque had been erected in such a sacred place, it would certainly have attracted the special attention, and merited the notice, of the chroniclers. Even supposing that it was in reality erected, but afterwards destroyed by the Hindus, the fact would, if it had happened, not have escaped the notice of Hindu writers. There is, besides the mosque problem, another difficulty. All the authorities assert that the Musalmân conquest of the country was followed by Musalmân rule for the space of 48 years. If the conquest had been achieved in 1310, it is clear that the Muhammadans ought to have ruled till 1358, and then been overthrown by Vijayanagar.

The conquest complete in 1324-7.

But it is more or less well known that the Vijayanagar conquest of this region was complete only by S. 1293, or 1371 A. D.¹⁶ We are thus unable, if we accept the date 1310, to account for the interval of about a decade. Mr. Nelson found himself in this position. He took it that the conquest took place in 1310, that the Musalmân Viceroys ruled till 1358, and that Vijayanagar rule came in 1371. He left the gap 1358-1371 unfilled. If, on the contrary, it is accepted that the Muhammadan advent took place in 1324, there is no incoherency in regard to dates. It is true that even in case of such an acceptance, some reservation has to be made. For the chronicles are not without mistakes. They say that from 1324 to 1327 the ruler was Sultân Malik, i. e., Malik Kâfir; but he had returned to Delhi long before, and been murdered. It is clear then that the chronicles cannot be relied on, so far as the name of the conqueror is concerned; but the fact is beyond controversy. First, there is the distinct statement of Farihta that it was in the time of Muhammad III [Tughlak] that the conquest was achieved. Secondly, there is the agreement in regard to dates. Thirdly there is the independent evidence of the Tamil work already mentioned.

The Mahomedan Governors 1324-1371.

The Musalmân conquest of Madura, then, took place between 1324 and 1327; and from that time to the year 1371, the kingdom of the Pândyas was really under the rule of Muhammadan Viceroys. The *Pand. Chron.* mentions as many as six of them. During the first three years, it says, there was practically confusion and anarchy. Then a chief named Allathi Khân, evidently a deputy of the Delhi emperor, ruled for six years (1327-1333). His successors 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khân and "Suthi?" ruled respectively for three and five years. The next Viceroy, whose name the chronicle does not mention, was in power for the next 10 years, (1341-1360). The last of the Musalmân Viceroys was Pandakh Mulk, whose administration of twelve years ended in conquest by Vijayanagar. Mr. Nelson gives a slightly different account. As has been already mentioned, the dates which he assigns to the different rulers are different. He also asserts that there were eight chiefs.¹⁷

¹⁶ The Hindu chronicles; the *Kôyilôkû*. Epigraphical evidences, no doubt, prove that Kampadea marched south as early as 1365, but the conquest was complete only in 1371. See *Ep. Ind.* VI, 322-330; where the Ranganatha inscription of Goppona is discussed in detail with reference to *Guru Parampora*, *Kôyilôkû*, etc. Salem, according to the *Kongudasa Râjâkhal*, was conquered by Vijayanagar as early as 1348.

¹⁷ These were: Malik Naib Kâfir 1310-13; 'Alâ'u'ddîn 1313-19; Uttamu'ddîn 1319-23; Qutbu'ddîn 1322-27; Nakalu'ddîn 1327-34; Savada Malik and Ahad Malik 1334-46; and Pandakh Malik, 1346-58. See Nelson's *Madura Manual*; Sewall's *Antiquities*, II, 223.

This period of Muhammadan rule was, we have every reason to believe, a period of misrule and misery, of popular suffering and keen discontent, of merciless oppression¹⁸ and furious iconoclasm. Unable to distinguish a permanent rule from temporary military occupation, the Muhammadan rulers committed atrocities hardly reconcilable with the wisdom of statesmanship. "Men were afraid of one another," says the chronicle we have already quoted, "and all things were in chaos. The tutelary God of Madura had to be taken into the Malayalam country."¹⁹ The walls of the temple, with their fourteen towers and the streets inside, were destroyed. The *garbha graha*, the *ardhamantapa*, and the *periamantapa* alone escaped this destruction."²⁰ The temples were profaned and destroyed, villages plundered, towns sacked, and women dishonoured. Trade was completely at a standstill, and personal liberty or security at an end. With the cessation of public worship and of the business of trade, with the absence of security and the dread of violence, the proud city of Madura, the richest and the most flourishing city of South India²¹, became, with tragic suddenness, a scene of terror and desolation.²² Everywhere there was disorganisation and dislocation, chaos and confusion, which seemed irrevocable and eternal.

The Pandyan Kings—1324-71.

It is an interesting question to discuss whether, throughout this reign of terror, the Pāndyan kings were in power or not. Was the dynasty extinct, or was it alive and powerless in the presence of the conquerors? The chronicles are reticent in regard to the subject, and seem to imply that the dynasty was completely overshadowed. But the evidence of archaeology and epigraphy clearly informs us that the Pāndyan line did not die under the Muhammadan rule, and continued to be nominally in power, being in reality the slave of the foreigner. As the *Madura Gazetteer* says, "not only during the Musalmān occupations, but also throughout the rule of Kampāṇa Udayār and his successors, and even, see below, through the time of the later Nāyakkan dynasty and down to the overthrow of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1565, Pāndya chiefs remained always in authority in Madura." (p. 39). According to Kielhorn there were at least three kings in this Muhammadan period, namely, Māravarman Kulāśekhara II (1314-21), Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya (1334-52), and Jātavarman Parākrama Pāndya²³ (1357-72). According to Mr. Krishna Sastri, the epigraphist of Madras, the king of the Pāndyas from 1310 to 1356 was one Vira Pāndya whom he identifies with the rival of Sundara Pāndya, the Delhi exile and the cause of Musalmān invasion. From inscriptions discovered at Tirupatur in 1908,²⁴ Mr. Sastri points out that the Muhammadans, who had occupied the local temple of Tiruttaliyandar, had destroyed it; that it was rebuilt by one Viśālaya Devar in the 46th year of the reigning

¹⁸ *Madr. Manu.* p. 81; *O. H. MSS.* II; See also the appendix.

¹⁹ For the difficulties to which Sri Ranganātha was subjected, see *Koyilohoru*, 1888, p. 48-52.

²⁰ The *Pānd. Chron.*; "The suppl. MS." says that the high tower and the entrance tower also escaped destruction. Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.* I.; The *Madr. Manu.* I, 123 reproduces part of the MSS.

²¹ For a short description of the splendours of Madura, based on Marco Polo, the Muhammadan, Chinese and Singhalese chronicles, about 1300, see *Madura Gazetteer*, 37. For an account of the foreign visitors themselves, see *Madr. Manu.* I. 137-40; Yule's *Marco Polo*; Stuart's *Tinnevely Manual*, 38-40; Caldwell's *Tinnevely*, etc.

²² The Musalmān Governor, however, had his residence there, and the city became, says Ibn Babata, as large and prosperous as Delhi. Stuart's *Tinnevely Manu.* p. 38, *Madura. Gastr.*, etc.

²³ *Madura Gazetteer*, I, p. 35. *Ep. Ind.* X, p. 146-147.

²⁴ Nos. 120 and 119; *Ep. Rep.* 1908-9, p. 83.

king Vira Pādya; and that, as "we do not know of any earlier Muhammadan invasion of the Pāndyan kingdom prior to Kāfir's in 1310, the Vira Pādya during whose reign Viśālaya Dévar reconsecrated the Tirupatūr temple must be identified with that Vira Pādya, who, according to Sewell,²⁵ had succeeded Sundara Pādya II and was attacked and defeated by the Mahomedans under Kāfir;" that Vira Pādya's accession must have therefore taken place somewhere about 1310 A. D.; that he ruled as late as 1356, the time "by which the Mahomedans slowly began to clear away," thereby enabling a safe reconsecration of the temple. There are some difficulties in accepting this version. As I have already endeavoured to shew, the Mahomedan conquest of Madura took place really after 1324. Vira Pādya's accession must have been before that year and not necessarily, as Mr. Krishna Sastri says, in 1310. A corroboration of this is afforded by the fact that the Muhammadans were overthrown in Madura by Vijayanagar not before 1370. It seems to me, under these circumstances, that Vira Pādya must have come to the throne some time between 1310 and 1324, and that the reconsecration of the Tirupatūr temple must have taken place between 1356 and 1370. The Pāndyan monarchs thus continued to rule during the Muhammadan occupation, but with the sword of Damocles hanging over their head all the while.

SECTION II.

The Vijayanagar Conquest.

From this reign of terror the kingdom was rescued by the young and growing power of Vijayanagar. This is not the place to describe the various circumstances which gave rise to this state, a state which, ever since its rise, remained the bulwark of Hindu independence for more than two centuries. It is sufficient to state that, immediately after the sack of Wārangal in 1324 and the final overthrow of the Hoysālas by the Muhammadans in 1326²⁶, the two royal adventurers, Harihara and Bukka, once the servants of the ill-fated Pratāpa Rudra, entered the service of the principality of Anāgundi, and on its destruction by the Muhammadans in 1332, laid the foundations of an extensive empire by founding, in the year 1336, with the help of Vidyāranya, the glorious city of Vijayanagar.²⁷ From this time onward, Vijayanagar grew at the expense of the Hoysālas on the one hand, and the Musalmāns on the other. For, even though, even after 1327, the Ballāja king, Vira Ballāja III,²⁸ managed to retain some vestige of power (till 1342), and even though he had a successor in Vira Ballāja IV, yet they were, ever since their great defeat, mere petty chiefs, leading a precarious life and holding a limited power at Toṇṇūr (12 miles N. from Srīrangapatam). The imperial power passed for ever from their hands into those of the obscure, but more vigorous, house of Vijayanagar. The five brothers Harihara, Bukka, Kampana, Muddappa and Mārappa, conquered province after province, till at last the state of Vijayanagar was circumscribed by the ocean on three sides and by the Kṛṣṇa on the other. Within a generation after the foundation of Vijayanagar this wonderful result was achieved. Never was an empire so rapidly made and a power so well established in the history of South India.

²⁵ *Antiquities II*, p. 223.

²⁶ Wilks, *Hist. of Mysore*, I, p. 7. Note Wilks' interesting remarks about the ruins of Dwārakamudra.

²⁷ Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*; Suryanarayana Rao's *Never to be Forgotten Empire*; Wilks I, 8-9; for a curious version of the origin of Vijayanagar see *Salem Manual*; I, p. 44.

²⁸ Inscriptions 499 and 509 of 1902 give some information about Ballala (1340-1341 A. D.) The Ballalas exercised authority at Toṇṇūr till after 1347. See Wilks I, p. 10; *Madura Manual*, I, 140; Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, p. 342; Sewall's *Antiquities II*, 177.

The Vijayanagar Provincial Organization.

From the first, the Vijayanagar Empire had an organized system of provincial government.²⁹ It consisted of numerous divisions and principalities, some of which were under viceroys, who might or might not be the members or relations of the royal family, some under the direct administration of the emperor, and some under the old indigenous dynasties. In the very first decade of Vijayanagar history, i. e., in the short reign of Bukka I, such an arrangement had, if we are to believe the inscriptions of the day, come into existence. Bukka I was himself in the direct charge of the Muluvaī Rājya, the central and eastern portion of the Hoysāḷa kingdom proper, and the most important division perhaps in the empire. Harihara I was in charge of the western half of the old Hoysāḷa kingdom together with the Southern districts of the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Paka and Muliki Vishayas (the Nellore and Kadapa provinces), collectively known as Udayagiri Rājya, were under the administration of Kampaṇa I,³⁰ while the Malēha Rājya, comprising the Shimoga and North Kanara districts, was under the rule of Mārappa. Barakūr, the important city of the North Tulu country, was the seat of a viceroy; and Mangalore, the capital of the South Tulu country, had the same position and importance. Part of the Shimoga district and part of S. Kanara was ruled in 1347 by a feudatory chief who bore the title of Pāndya Chakravartin. Kolār was an important district under Harihara's son-in-law, Dandanāyaka Mahāmandalēvara Vallappa. The empire, as it grew and expanded, was thus partitioned among the generals, mostly relations of the royal family. Even in places where the old indigenous chiefs continued to rule, care was taken that they paid the tribute and that they were subject to the watchful supervision of a viceroy, or rather political agent.

An arrangement so common and so widespread could not but be applied in the case of the Chōḷa and Pāndyan kingdoms, when they were brought under the imperial sway of Vijayanagar. The common name by which these two kingdoms, especially the Pāndyan, were known in those days, was the Raja Gambhīra Rājya. The credit of bringing it under the empire belonged to Kampaṇa³¹ Udayār II, the son of Bukka I. Himself an able soldier, Kampaṇa had the fortune to be served by an even abler lieutenant, the Brāhman Gopannārya,³² a man who combined with the martial valour of a warrior the scrupulous piety of a priest. Both these leaders seem to have availed themselves of the discontent of the Pāndyan king and espoused his cause against the Muhammadans. The latter were completely overthrown, and Hinduism was once again triumphant at Madura. The date of this conquest is, as has been already mentioned, differently stated by the different authorities. The evidence of epigraphy tells

²⁹ See *Arch. Survey Ind.*, 1907-8, for a very able article on the "1st Vijayanagara dynasty, its Viceroys and Ministers,"—by Mr. A. Krishnasastri.

³⁰ Afterwards under his two sons.

³¹ There are ample epigraphical references concerning him. Eg. *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1899 p. 23, says he gave a jewel to Conjeevaram deity. He also did much for Tiruvannāmalai and Tirukōlūr shrines. See *Ep. Rep.* 1903 (573 of 1902); *Insc.*, 106, 111, and 114 of 1903 record his gifts at the Jagannātha Swami temple of Tirupallani (Madura district) and bear ample evidence to the Muslim defeats; *Insc.*, 1293. Nos 282 of 03, (1374 A. D. Ananda), 159 of 1904 (1369 Saumya), and 163, show Kampaṇa's power in Trichinopoly and S. Arcot District.

³² For his inscriptions at Srirangam, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, 322-330; for his Conjeevaram inscriptions, see *Ep. Rep.* 1888, 1890, etc. These belong to S. 1236, 1238 and 1297. In 1371 he removed the image of Ranganātha from Tirupati, took it to Jinji and then to Srirangam (55 of 1892). See also *Kōyilōḷu* (*Ind. Ant.* May 1911, p. 391) 1888 edn. p. 54; *Trich. Gazetteer*, p. 48; the *Guruparamparā* of the Vaishnavas.

us that it began in S. 1287, i. e., 1365 A. D.³³ The Madura³⁴ chronicles, on the other hand, assign it to S. 1293 (1371 A. D.). Perhaps the conquest was commenced in the former year, and completed in the latter.

The Continuity of Vijayanagar Rule over Madura.

From this time onward to the close of the 16th century, the Pândyan kingdom, like the rest of South India, was under the rule of Vijayanagar. It is not possible to go into the details of every emperor's actions in the South,—first we have no materials for such a work, and secondly it is outside our province. It is sufficient if we note that, in spite of wars and troubles in the north, in spite of invasions and disputed successions, the grip of the imperial power never relaxed. At one time, indeed, the control was strong, owing to the strong personality of the emperor and the comparative weakness of the vassal, and at other times, weak owing to the weakness of the emperor and the self-assertion of the vassal; but it never ceased altogether. Unaffected by dangers from without and revolts from within, the imperial rule was maintained, first through the Udayars and then the Naiks. Sometimes the Viceroys themselves, generally relations of the royal family, proved rivals, and usurped the imperial crown. The usurpation of the Saluva chief Narasingha Naik³⁵ in 1485 during the weak rule of Virupaksha, and that of the Tuluva, Narasa Naik, in 1501, afford illustrations. But the usurpers themselves, when once their position became secure and unassailable, signalled their valour by the maintenance of a strong control over the provinces. The Tirupatâr³⁶ and Trichinopoly inscriptions of the Saluva emperor, Immadi Narasingha Râya, the son of the usurper, for instance, prove that his power was felt in the far south. Similarly the Tuluva accession was followed by the strong and all-embracing imperialism of Krishna Deva Râya (1509-1530). Usurper or right ruler, then, the sovereign of Vijayanagar was the suzerain of the south, and he took care to display his power by a lavish distribution of patronage and a generous series of endowments in his vassal territories.

SECTION III.

The Udayars, 1371-1404.

Kampana Udayâr and his successors.

The history of Vijayanagar supremacy naturally falls into two periods,—the period when Kampana Udayâr and his descendants ruled as the Viceroys, and the subsequent period when a number of nominated Naiks or Governors ruled the country. The dynasty of Kampana was a short lived one, and lasted from 1365 to 1404. "After subduing the South and taking possession of Râja Gambhira Rajya," says Mr. Krishna Sastri, "Prince Kumâra Kampana³⁷ appears to have ruled as an independent sovereign. His rule must have extended

³³ The *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 38. Wilks is wrong in saying that the conquest of Dravida was achieved by Narasingha in 1490: (I. p. 10).

³⁴ The *Pand. Chron.*; the "*Suppl. MS.*" The *Kôyilohu*, etc.

³⁵ *Epig. Ind.* VI: *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1909-10; 1908-9, etc.

³⁶ *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1908-09 and 1909-10.

³⁷ The title of Udayâr, says Mr. Venkaiyah, "seems to have been generally applied to Vijayanagara princes sent out as viceroys of provinces." (*Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1904-5, 1907, p. 83). On another occasion he says: "It seems to have been the title which the kings of the first Vijayanagara dynasty originally bore as feudatories of Hoysalas" (*Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1899 p. 22). Maha Rajah is a higher title (*ibid.* 1906, p. 58). Mr. Stein knew also says that the Udayâr title was assumed by such Vijayanagar princes as were sent out as viceroys. According to Wilks it was first assumed by governors of a small district, generally 33 villages, but later on by powerful kings. See Wilks, I, 21, footnote.

over the whole South of the peninsula and parts also of the Mysore State, including at least the Bangalore and Kolar districts and South Mysore State."³⁸ It is difficult to endorse the dictum that Kampaṇa became "an independent sovereign," as we know for certain that he was a mere viceroy, a sort of political agent, whose existence was not attended with the extinction of the local dynasties. Nevertheless he made himself a powerful grandee of the empire, whose position was hardly inferior to that of an independent potentate. "Kampaṇa," says Sewell,³⁹ "was succeeded by Aryanna⁴⁰ or Aryena Udayār in or before the year 1377, for we have an inscription of the latter's reign dated in that year. Aryena was succeeded by his son Virupanna," while according to another account,⁴¹ by his brother-in-law, Prakāsa Udayār. Whatever the fact was, whether Prakāsa or Virupanna was the viceroy, we find it impossible to reconcile it with epigraphical records, which clearly assert that between 1380 and 1396, the dominant man of the South was Virupākha, the son of Harihara II.⁴² He is said to have vanquished "the Tundira, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Simhaḷa kingdoms," planted a pillar of victory in Ceylon, and presented the immense spoils of his victorious campaign to his father. A fine soldier, he is said to have been equally great in religion, and distributed the traditional "sixteen gifts." As the late Mr. Venkaiyah points out, he probably died as the viceroy of "Karnāta, Tundira, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya" lands. At any rate, from the fact that he did not succeed his father to the imperial throne, we have to infer that he must either have predeceased him, or, in case he survived, must have been contented with the rôle of a subordinate and a viceroy. It seems that Virupākha had a literary bent of mind. The Telugu drama, *Nārāyaṇa Vilāsa*, has been attributed to him; and it is not improbable that the temper of the scholar disliked the burden of the imperial office. As a viceroy, however, he was evidently an able officer. His relations with the notables Virupanna and Prakāsa are not known, but most probably he kept them under control. Whatever it was, there can be no question that it was his achievement that enabled his father⁴³ to assume the imperial titles of Rājādhi Rāja, Rāja Paramāvara, etc.

³⁸ *Arch. Surv.* 1907-8, p. 241.

³⁹ *Antiquities* II, 180. Perhaps Aryena corresponds to the Embana Udayār of Nelson.

⁴⁰ Inscription 562 of 1902 at Tiruvāñamalai points out that he gave land and money for a watchman in S. 1299 (Pīngaj). An inv. of 1883 at Gudimallūr says that, in his time, there was a quarrel between right and left hand castes for a space of four years. (423 of 1905).

⁴¹ *Madura Manual* based on Hindu chronicles. Virupanna's inscriptions are at Trinomali, etc. (Insons. 483, 565, 572, 649 and 654 of 1902). No. 565 mentions the remission of a certain tax in 1388 A.D. No. 572 says that his cousin, Jammaṇa Udayār, granted land to provide for 5 persons who were to recite the Vedas in the memory of his deceased father in 1388 A.D., Inson 649 at Tiruvallūr in Tanjore District says that in 1393 (Śrīmukha) he gave a house-site to a certain Tirumattaperumāl who had spent 400 panams for the temple during a famine in 1391 A.D. For Virupanna's *śulabhāra* ceremony and other works in Eriṅgam, see *Kōyilohu*, 1888, p. 54.

⁴² By Malladevi, daughter (?) of king Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri. Virupākha's inscriptions range from Chingleput to S. Arcot. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1899 p. 21-22; 1904; p. 18. Inson. 234 of 1904 belongs to 1387 A.D., (Kshaya year). His Alampundi plates of 1386 are the first instances of *grantha* plate inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 224-30) and give the same information. Most probably Vira Savanna Udayār, son of Eukka Udayār, was his cousin and ruled as a subordinate. (See inscription at Tiruvayar temple. S. 1303, Saumya, *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1895); For Harihara's works in Eriṅgam see *Kōyilohu*, 1888, edn. p. 56, see also *Trichi Gazetteer*, p. 49.

⁴³ As Mr. Venkaiyah says, his inscriptions are, excepting those of the Udayāra, the most numerous in the Madras Presidency. *Ep. Ind.* III p. 113 (Inscription at Nellūr.)

SECTION IV.

The Naik Governors: 1400-1500.

The Udayârs evidently became extinct in 1404, and Emperor Harihara II, then, seems to have inaugurated a new era of nominated viceroys, called Naiks, to look after the imperial interests in the south. The Naiks seem to have been less independent than the Udayârs. Their powers, moreover, were confined to lesser areas; for while the Udayârs had a sort of general control over the Pândya, Chôla and Kanarese districts, the Naiks were confined to special districts. There were thus Naiks, or Generals, in Tanjore, Jinji, Vellore, Srirangapatnam, and other places. The history of the Madura Naiks from 1405 to 1500, when the Tuluva usurpation took place, is very obscure.

The first of the Naik Viceroys: Lakkana Danda Nayaka 1405-51.

According to the *Pând. Chron.*, on which Mr. Nelson based his monumental history, there were, in this period only two Naiks, named Lakkana and Madana. These were, the *Chronicle* continues, followed by an illegitimate branch of the Pândyan dynasty, which gave place, after ruling for about half a century, to Narasa Naik, evidently the first of the Tuluva dynasty. To use the language of the *Chronicle* itself; "After S. 1327 (1405 A. D.), from Subhânu to Vibhava (1451), a period of 47 years, Lakkana Naik and Madana Naik ruled the kingdom. After this from 1374, Sukla (1452) to Na|a (1499)—a space of 48 years—the kingdom was ruled by Sundarathô| Mâvili Vanathi Râya, Kâlayâr Sômanar, Anjâtha Perumâl, and Muttarasa Tirumalai Mâvili Vanathi Râya, who were the sons of the Pândyan king by a dancing girl of Kâlayâr Koil named Abhirami, and were brought to Madura and crowned as legitimate sovereigns by Lakkana Naik. Then in S. 1422 Pinga|a (1500 A. D.), Narasa Naik came, worshipped at the Râmâsvaram shrine, and occupied Madura."^{3a}

The evidence of epigraphy is not more informing. It gives no information whatever in regard to the condition of the south in the reign of Dêva Râya⁴⁴ I (1404-22), the real successor of Harihara II. The reference to the province in the reigns of his successor, Vîra Vijaya⁴⁵ and Deva Râya II (1422-1449), is not so meagre. An inscription discovered in 1901 (No 128) says that all the southern dominions of the empire were, about this time, under the charge of one Lakkana Dandanâyaka, evidently the same as the person mentioned in the *Chronicle*. Lakkana seems to have been a great man in his day. For a long time he had been minister at the imperial capital, and managed the imperial affairs. He then, at the instance of his master, started on a campaign in the south, and besides confirming the imperial authority throughout the mainland, crossed over to Ceylon⁴⁶ and evidently brought

^{3a} The dates and the years do not agree. *Vibhava* ought to be *Pramoda*, *Sukla* ought to be *Prâjapati*, and *Na|a* ought to be *Siddhârthi*, see Dikshî and Sewell's calendar.

⁴⁴ For his connection with the Srirangam temple, see *Kôtyûlohanu*, 1888, p. 59.

⁴⁵ For an inscription of his at Tiruvayâr (S. 1351 Saumya) see *Ep. Rep.* 1894, No. 255; Vîra Vijaya has an inscription at Trinomali dated 1418 A. D. (Vijambi) where he orders that *Idangai* and *Valangai* castles should have the same privileges (584 of 1902); 568 of 1902 (1413 A. D.), says that he gave 32 cows and 1 bull for the maintenance of a lamp by Annadatta Udayar, son of minister Savundappa Udayar. For Dêva Râya's inscriptions see 580 of 1902, 558 and 559 of 1905, and 565 of the same year. These prove that the power of Vijayanagar was felt in Salem and Coimbatore districts also during these reigns. No. 479 of 1905 at Tiruvâlangâd is an inscription of Dêva Râya in 1427 A. D.: See *Ep. Ind.* III, 35-41 for his Sâtyamangalam plates of 1424.

⁴⁶ *Epig. Rep.* 1903, No. 141. In S. 1360 (1438 A. D., Kâlayukti) Deva Râya II is said to have given a gift at Tiruvannâmalai for the merit of Madana Udayar, brother of Lakkana Dandanâyaka, "the Lord of the S. ocean." From inscriptions 966 and 567 of 1904, we understand that a local chief, Nagarasa, son of Sidharasa, built the Gopura of Tiruvâlur in S. 1362 (1440 A. D.) for the merit of Lakkana Dandanâyaka Udayar, "Lord of the Southern Ocean." Insom. 666 of 1906 mentions Lakkana at Tiruvannâmalai. For an excellent account of the connection of Ceylon with Southern India from the earliest times to the British conquest, see *Madr. Mus.* I, 117-119, 125-26; Trichy; and *Madras Gazetteer*.

it to acknowledge the sovereign of Vijayanagar. The visits of 'Abdu'r-Razzāk and Nicolo Conti at Vijayanagar took place at this time of glory and expansion. According to these and to Nuniz, not only did the powers of South India and Ceylon salute the banners of Deva Raya, but distant kings, like those of Pegu and Tenasserim, hastened to pay tribute. It seems that much of this prosperity was due to the talents of Lakkana and his brother Madana. The emperor in reward despatched them to the government of the southern dominions. Lakkana's advent to the Pāḍyan region took place in 1431 A. D. Mr. Nelson is thus right in saying that in the earlier half of the 15th century,⁴⁷ Madura was the seat of two Naik Viceroys and brothers, Lakkana and Mattana (Madana ?); but, as Mr. Krishna Sastri says, the date 1405—1451 which he, on the authority of the *Pand. Chron.*, assigns to them is not quite accurate. For, inscriptions of Lakkana in the Madura country earlier than S. 1360 (1438 A. D.) are not yet discovered; "and there are inscriptions that shew that he was in the Muluṅṁ country till at least S. 1353 (1431 A. D.)"⁴⁸

Whatever was the exact date, there can be no doubt that Lakkana was a prominent viceroy at Madura, and if we may trust the *Pand. Chron.*, a broadminded one also, as he sought for a branch of the Pāḍyan line, and entrusted it with the royalty. So powerful was he that he assumed the title "Lord of the Southern Ocean," and issued a coinage of his own. Mr. Venkaiyah attributes a copper coin with the Canarese legend (*Kha*) *Manadanāyaka* on the obverse and the initial *La* on the reverse, to Dandanāyaka Lakkana,⁴⁹ the invader of Ceylon.

The Empire between 1450 and 1500.

With regard to the position of Madura in the second half of the 15th century, when the sons and successors of Deva Raya II, Virupanna and Mallikārjuna, ruled the Empire, we are still more in doubt. We have already seen that, according to one version, an illegitimate branch of the Pāḍyan dynasty—consisting of Māviliṅṁ Raya, Kāḷayār Sōmanār, Anjātha Perumāḷ and Muttarasa Tirumalai Māviliṅṁ Raya—ruled till 1499 A. D. From the phraseology of the *chronicle* which mentions this, we infer that no viceroys of Vijayanagar were present in the South; but the evidences of epigraphical records prove that such an inference is contrary to the fact. The emperors were indeed weak at home, but their names were evidently pronounced with loyal allegiance by the princes and people of the south. The inscriptions of Mallikārjuna⁵⁰ have been found at such different places as Tiruvēḷaṅṁḍu, Trinomali, and Kāvēripākam, while those of his successors, Praudha Deva and Virupāksha, have been found as far South as Vēḍāraṅṁ. Nevertheless it seems that the power of these monarchs was not so very securely felt by the people.

⁴⁷ *Madura Manual*; Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 223.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Surv.* 1907-08.

⁴⁹ *Arch. Surv.* 1907-08. Mr. Venkaiyah says that in the obverse of the coin, where an elephant faces right or left, is a Canarese syllable. Hultzsch thought it to be *Ni*, but Venkaiyah deciphered it to be *La*, thereby making it correspond with (*Kha*) *Manadanāyaka* on the other side. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1906.

⁵⁰ Mallikārjuna's inscriptions at Tiruvēḷaṅṁḍu belong to 1450 and 1451 A. D. (Insc. 470 and 473 of 1905); the Tiruvannamalai inscriptions to 1453 (570 of 1902; year Srimukha); Kaveripakam inscriptions, to 1455 (383 of 1905) and 1459 (392 of 1905 Pramādhī). The Kaveripakam or Arcot inscriptions are interesting. The first of them records a private agreement among certain merchants that they would set apart a sum of money, on all marriage occasions, for repairing a local temple; and the other speaks of "the great assembly" of Kaveripakam. Virupāksha's inscriptions are, at Vēḍāraṅṁ (1464, earliest of his) 489 of 1904; at Conjeevaram (1465 and 1470 see *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1890, May) at Gangaikonda Chōḷapuram (*Ibid.*; Inscription 83 of 1892.), etc.

The greatness of the Sâluvas at this period.

There are strong reasons for believing that the imperial agents and representatives of the period belonged to a very powerful feudal house, called the Sâluva⁵¹, who advanced their interests in such a manner as to eclipse the names of their masters, and behaved with a vigour which could hardly be consistent with a position of absolute subordination. The Sâluvas—"the hawks (Saluvas) to the birds of hostile kings"—had a respectable antiquity in Vijayanagar service. The first of them Saluva Mangu came to prominence as a subordinate of the celebrated Kampaya Udayar. He, it is said, distinguished himself by conquering the Sultan of the south (Madura) and making him subordinate to Samba Raya,⁵² a prominent though feudatory king in N. Arcot, and by restoring Ranganâtha to Sriranga and endowing 60,000 *madras* for the revival of the worship in the temple. We have already seen that Kampaya's general Gopannârya restored the worship at Srirangam and subdued the Muhammadans; evidently Saluva Mangu⁵³ was his lieutenant or colleague. From the time of Mangu, the Sâluvas had increased in power and in renown. Various members of the family ruled in different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire, "sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as semi-independent chiefs," as evidenced by the existence of stray epigraphical records.

The Sâluva Governors of the North.

Saluva Tippa Raja,⁵⁴ for instance, the grandson of Mangu, so far advanced his career as to marry to in the royal family; and as the brother-in-law of Emperor, Deva Raya II, he became the viceroy of N. Arcot and part of Mysore,—a position which his son Goppa (circa 1430 A.D.) evidently continued to occupy. The relations of a family so nearly connected by blood with the imperial family and so prominent in the service of the empire, were naturally rewarded and honoured with offices and powers in the different part of the empire. A Sâluva Raja, known as Kampaya Deva, for instance, seems to have ruled about 1446 A. D. in the neighbourhood of Tirupati, and made gifts to the holy shrine of that place. Four years later, we meet with another scion of the family, Sirumallaiya Deva, son of Malagangaiya Deva, in the same locality. In 1465, again, a Parvata Raja of the same family, distinguished himself by building a *mantapa* in the temple, and in 1481 Timma Raja, the son of the above mentioned Sirumallaiya made a grant. More important, at any rate for our purpose, than the Sâluvas of North Arcot, were the Sâluvas who evidently ruled further south in the Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Madura districts. We, unfortunately, do not know whether the Sâluva chiefs exercised power over the region continuously from the time of Sâluva Mangu, the contemporary and Lieutenant of Kampaya Udayar. We presume they did not. For, as we have already seen, the Udayar dynasty itself ruled in these regions till 1404, and then the great Lakkama Dandanâryaka

⁵¹ For a discussion of the origin and meaning of the word Sâluva, see *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 166.

⁵² His inscriptions have been found at Conjeevaram in 1338 A. D. He has been called सवल्लोक चक्रवर्तिन राजमारायण. (*Ep. Rep.* May 1890). From Inscr. 46 of 1900 we find that he was the son of one Vira Champa the son of Vira Chôla. Sambaya Raya ascended the throne in 1337 A. D. It is evident he was a scion of the old line Chôla (*Ep. Rep.* 1900). At any rate he came to prominence during the Chôla decline in Chingleput, N. Arcot and S. Arcot districts. An inscription of 1335 at Tiruvamattar says (434 of 1903) that he came to the throne in 1321. He refers to the Muhammadan invasion and his victory over them in consequence of which he assumed the title सवल्लोक चक्रवर्तिन (Emperor of the whole world). The invasion must be that of 1327, which Mr. Venkaiyah ignores (see *Ep. Rep.* 1904 p. 16, 1906, p. 85; *Ep. Ind.* III.)

⁵³ *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1905, p. 62-3. The *Jai Mawî Bharatham* says that he killed the Sultan of Madura.

⁵⁴ *cf.*, *Ep. Rep.* 1905 (693 and 703 of 1904) 89 of 1905 says that he built the flagstaff of Thiruvellangudi and Ramesvaram; No. 498 of 1905 of the same place also refers to him.

became Viceroy. The Saluvas, then, must have come to the Chôla and Pândyan realms in the latter half of the 15th century, after the death of Lakkana, that is, during the reigns of Mallikârjuna and Virupâksha,—a conclusion which epigraphy unmistakably confirms.

The Saluva Governors of the South.

The first of these southern Sâluvas was the celebrated Gôpa Timma Nripati, or Sâluva Tirumalaiya Dêva Mahâ Râja,⁵⁵ as he was more commonly called. The period of his rule was, to judge from inscriptions, from 1453 to 1468, and during this period, he earned high renown as a generous donor of wealth, land and jewels to the Srirangam and Jambukesvaram temples. Tirumalaiya Dêva Mahâ Râja seems to have been succeeded by Gôpatippa, *alias* Tripurântaka, who, not less generous than his predecessor, set up a golden flagstaff at Râmeivaram, in 1469 A. D. A third prominent chief of the South was Sâluva Sangama Dêva Mahâ Râja, whose two⁵⁶ inscriptions at Ambil, belong to 1481-86, and therefore prove that he was a contemporary of Emperor Prauda Dêva, during the last years of his rule. From this, it will be plain that, throughout the reigns of Mallikârjuna, Virupâksha and Prauda Dêva, the Sâluvas were the masters of the major portion of the Empire. Connected with the royal family and entrusted with viceregal powers in Mysore, in Arcot, and in the South, they proudly wielded the title of Mahâ Râja, and no doubt, by their immediate presence in their respective spheres, eclipsed the names of their suzerains. It is not improbable that, in their growing strength, they were not without enemies. The local chiefs and kings, in their real loyalty to the Emperor, or in their fondness for independence, must have naturally looked upon the proud but formidable Viceroys with jealousy, and not unoften, therefore, risen against them. In the mysterious and inexplicable circumstance of a Pândya, Bhuvanêkavîra Samarakôlahala, granting, according to a Conjeevaram⁵⁷ inscription of 1469, two villages in the Pândyan kingdom to the Êkâmbaranâtha temple,—in this, we perhaps see an example of such a local discontent and consequent disaffection, which had evidently a remarkable though temporary success. The identity of this Pândyan king is still a matter of uncertainty and controversy among epigraphists. It is not known whether he belonged to the Pândyan line which, as we shall see presently, ruled in the district of Tinnevely from the middle of the 14th century, or he was simply a local chief of Madura, who was a feudatory of the empire. The question will be discussed in detail in the next section; but here it may be noted that the rising was perhaps due to the overbearing turbulence of the Sâluvas. The triumph of the Pândyan, however, was evidently not long-lived. For it seems that, while the southern and middle parts of the empire were under the younger line of the Sâluvas, the representative of the main, and elder line, Narasimha or Narasingha as he was called in common parlance, had made

⁵⁵ An inscription of his at Tiruvâdi (Srinukha, 1453 A. D.) records the gift of an ornament to the shrine. (*Ep. Rep.* 1903.) The *Kôyilolugu* says that he contended with one Kampe Raja for the undisturbed possession of Trichinopoly. During this struggle all the people lived from 1458 to 1470 in the 100 pillared *marutapa* outside the town. In 1470 Tirumal Raja established himself. The *Kôyilolugu* gives the details of his gifts to Srirangam temple. See 1888 edn. p. 68.

⁵⁶ These are 593 and 594 of 1902. The Chôlas at the same time seem to have been ruling at this time in Uraiyûr. For, according to an inscription of Jambukesvaram (30 of 1891) there was a king named Vala Kamaiya or Akkala Raja Mahâmandaleshwara, also called Chôla Nârîyana, in 1481 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.* III) He claims to be a descendant of the old Chôla. Dr. Hultzsch points out that insc. 56 of 1892 says that another "Lord of Uraiyûr" Chammaiya Bâliya Dêva, ruled there in 1530, and gave gifts to Ranganâtha and Valli Nachiar at Uraiyûr in 1530 A. D. And as this inscription refers to Krishna Deva Raya, Hultzsch says, "It thus appears that as late as the 15th and 16th century of our era, descendants of the Chôla dynasty reigned at Uraiyûr as vassals of the kings of Vijayanagar" (*Ep. Rep.* 1892 Aug. p. 7).

⁵⁷ Elliott figures a coin of this king. On the obverse is a kneeling figure of Garuda, and on the reverse the Tamil legends, Bhuvanêkavîra and Samarakôlahala (*Ep. Rep.* May, 1890).

himself the chief man in the counsels of the Empire. His name⁵⁸ occurs in the epigraphical records during a generation of 30 years, from 1456 to 1486. Like the other civil officers of the day, he was also a general, and distinguished himself, with success, in the numerous wars of Vijayanagar with the Musalmān powers. A very able and domineering personality, he soon obtained the chief place in the imperial court, and became the *de facto* ruler of the empire, and we can hardly believe that he could have looked on the offensive campaign of the Pāndyan at the expense of his own relations with equanimity. It, therefore, seems more or less certain that, in the name of the emperor, he curbed the Pāndyan's ambition, drove him back to the confines of his kingdom, and revived the Sāluva power in the South by the appointment of a relation Sangama Dēva, as the viceroy of the Kāveri region.

The Saluva usurpation of Narasingha, 1486.

It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, the emperor soon found himself a nonentity and his minister his master. By the year 1486⁵⁹ the usurpation of the Sāluvas was complete. The Sangama line which had been on the throne for 150 years was deposed, and the Sāluva was the master of S. India. The usurper justified the foul means he employed by the remarkable capacity with which he guided the imperial affairs. So well-known did he become that, from his day onward, the Karnata Kingdom came to be known to the foreigners as the kingdom of Narasingha. This is not the place to describe the various activities of Narasingha in the heart of his empire. Our purpose is confined to the history of Madura and the extreme South. It will be sufficient, therefore, if we briefly glance at its condition at his time. It seems that Narasingha owed his elevation to the throne to certain officers who had distinguished themselves chiefly in the South.

Saluva's Lieutenants : (1) Nāgama Naik.

First of these was a certain Nāgama Naik,⁶⁰ a personality around whom an almost impenetrable mist of obscurity has gathered. It is not known whether this chieftain, "the foremost of the servants of Narasingha Raya," was the celebrated Kottiyam Nāgama Naik of the Madura chronicles, the father of the great Visvanātha Naik, the founder of the Naik dynasty of Madura. It is impossible to say, in the present stage of our knowledge, definitely, whether they were identical. As will be pointed out later on, historians have not been at one in regard to Nāgama's date. According to some, he was a contemporary and general of Krishnadēva Raya (1509-1530), and according to others, of Achyuta (1530-1542) and Sadāsiva (1542-1567). The chronicles are hopelessly wrong in

⁵⁸ For some of his inscriptions, see *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1904, Nos. 249, 253 and 254.

⁵⁹ The Thirukachāṭṭi insc. for instance, says that a private individual built a village for the merit of Sāluva Narasimha and his first servant, Nāgama Naik, and not of the king. (318 of 1909) Insc. No. 188 of 1902 (1472 A. D.) says that Virupākṣha gave lands for the merit of Sāluva Narasimha at Villiyānūr. The position of the Sāluvas in the Vijayanagar history was first properly ascertained by Mr. Ramaiyāh Pantulu. (See *Ep. Ind.* VII, Devapalli plates of Immudi Narasimha pp. 74-85). For a pedigree of all the Sāluvas, see *ibid.* for a fuller one, *Arah. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 168. According to *Kōyilohu* Vira Narasingha defeated Prauda Dēva and ascended the throne in S. 1409. A typical inaccuracy and ignorance of the older authorities on the relation between the Sāluvas and Tuluvas can be seen in *Mad. Mon.*, which says that Narasimha overthrew the first dynasty in 1479, and was succeeded in 1509 by Krishna Raya. See *Mad. Mon.*, I, 150. Later on, however, the same authority says: Narasimha "was succeeded in 1490 by Veera Narasimha Rajah, who at his death left three sons, Atchhoota, Sadāsiva and Thirūāl. These being minors, the country was managed by Krishna Raya, their father's brother who had previously held the office of prime minister." *Ibid.*, p. 153. Examples like these can be multiplied; but the reproduction of exploded accounts is scarcely profitable.

⁶⁰ Insc. 318 of 1909. It is perhaps this same Nāgama Nāyaka, "who is mentioned in a Virnobi-puram inscription of 1482." (*S. Ind. Insc.* I, p. 132).

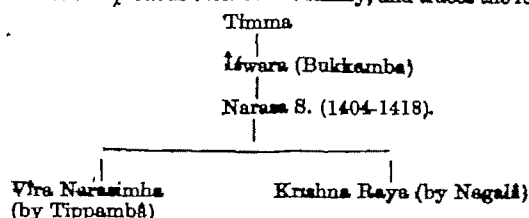
attributing him to about 1490, and may therefore be ignored, so far as chronology is concerned. Depending entirely on epigraphical evidences, then, the latest possible date of Nāgama Naik, is 1558, when his son Visvanātha Naik established, as we shall see later on, the Naik Raj in Madura. Now, the question is whether the father of Visvanātha and the servant of Narasingha could be identical. Mr. Krishna Sastri believes it "not unlikely,"⁶¹ and it seems to me that his surmise is correct. The date of Narasingha's lieutenant is 1486, and the latest date of Visvanātha's father is about 1558. It is possible, nay probable, that he died earlier. Under these circumstances it is not improbable that the Nāgama of 1486 and the Nāgama of the Madura chronicles were the same. If that were the case, Nāgama must have been very young when he was in Narasingha's service. He must have then supported Narasa Naik, the Tuluva, in his usurpation against the Saluva, and served the Tuluva emperors—Narasa, Vīra Narasimha, Krishna Raya and Achyuta Raya, if not Sadāsiva also. And such a long record of service perhaps instilled ambition into his mind and caused a desire to make himself, as we shall see later on, independent in Madura. To his first patron, Narasingha, however, he was faithful and true.

(2) Narasa Naik—His Family History.

Another chief whose valour was a main support to the Saluva usurper, was the renowned Narasa Naik, later on the founder of the Tuluva⁶² dynasty. Narasa Naik belonged to the same family as the old imperial house. He, in fact, deduced his descent from the younger brother of Yadu, from whom the kings of the first Vijayanagar line were descended. His ancestors, in other words, were the cousins of the Sangama emperors. The descendants of Tuluva had served the empire for a long time in a comparatively obscure sphere, in the Tuluva country. During the time of Narasingha's usurpation, their leader, Išwara, emerged from this comparative obscurity, and distinguished himself largely as a devoted general of Narasingha Raya. Išwara is described to have been a chief whose bravery won for his master a number of victories over disaffected chiefs and Musalmān adversaries, and whose reputation for liberality extended "from Setu to Himāchala and from the eastern to the western ocean." In bravery and in generosity, in martial valour and faithful service, Išwara, however, had an equal and companion in his son Narasa Naik. It seems that Narasa first distinguished himself in the southern parts of the empire. We have already seen how, in 1469, a Pāndyan chief defeated the Saluva chiefs of the south and marched as far as Conjeeraram, and how Saluva Narasingha, then a general of Virupāksha, vanquished him, and re-established the Saluva influence in the south. It is not improbable that Narasa Naik first came

⁶¹ *Arch. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 185.

⁶² The best account of the Tuluva history is in *Ep. Ind.* I. 361-371. The Hampe inscription of Krishna Deva begins from Timma, the first conspicuous chief of the family, and traces the following genealogy.



The Unamanjeri plates of Achyuta Raya give the same genealogy, but add a third wife for Narasa in Obāmbikā, by whom he had a son Achyuta, who succeeded Krishna Deva, (*Ep. Ind.* III, 147-58). The British museum plates add Ranga as Achyuta's brother, and state that Ranga had a son named Sadāsiva and Achyuta also had a son named Venkata Raya. *Ep. Ind.* IV, 1-22.

to prominence on this occasion. For inscriptions⁸³ record how "he quickly bridged the Kâveri, though it consisted of a rapid current of copious water, crossed it, straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy, brought Tanjore and Srirangapattana under his power, and set up a pillar of fame,"; and how "he conquered the Chera, Chôla, Mana Bhusha, the lord of Madura, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati, and other kings;" and how he made gifts at Râmesvaram and every other shrine on earth which abounds in sacredness. In other words, Narasa Naik was one of the greatest lieutenants of Narasingha⁸⁴ Raya, and we may be sure that the usurpation of the latter in 1486 must have been effected with the assistance and co-operation of the former. After the elevation of his master to the imperial dignity, Narasa Naik seems to have been entrusted with the general control over the southern provinces, Madura, Trichinopoly, and the extreme south of the peninsula. The Saluva of Ambil, one Aiya Somayya Viramaralar, "the Lord of the Southern Ocean,"⁸⁵ whose inscriptions have been found in Madura, were probably subject to his control. Besides thus exercising general supervision in the south, Narasa saved the Empire many a time from the Bahmani Sultans with whom Narasingha waged constant war.

It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, when Narasingha died in 1492 A.D., he entrusted the empire and the guardianship of his two young sons to Narasa Naik, his tried friend and counsellor. The name of the elder son of Narasingha is not known, but it is certain he ruled only for a very short time. For, a few months after his elevation, he fell a victim to an assassin who had been hired by a certain Timmarasa, evidently a scion of the Sâluva family, and a strong private enemy of the ill-fated boy-emperor. The murderer, however, was soon killed by Narasa, the Tuluva regent, and the younger son of Narasingha, Immudi Narasingha, was then raised⁸⁶ to the imperial throne.

Narasa's Viceroyalty in Madura and Usurpation.

Narasa Naik had all this time been true to the trust his master had placed in him. The *de facto* ruler of the Empire, he had never entertained any idea of ambition or treason, but now either the youth or the ill-nature of Immudi Narasimha instilled the feeling of treason in his mind. Dissatisfied with actual power, he wanted the nominal title of emperor also. Already he had overshadowed his young ward; for as Mr. Krishna Sastri says,⁸⁷ "In the records of Immudi Narasimha the place of honour is generally given to Narasana Nayaka, who is invariably referred to either as a generalissimo in charge of the whole army of the Vijayanagar kingdom, or as an agent managing the State affairs for Immudi Narasimha from the capital Vijayanagar. Records of the latter are found

⁸³ E.g. The Hampe insc., *Ep. Ind.* I.

⁸⁴ E.g. Insc. 198 of 1904 (1483-4 A. D.,; at Tiruvakkarai, S. Arcot; yr. *Sobhakti*) mentions Narasa as his agent; A Tirukôyilur inscn. (1 of 1905) says that in 1471 he was in those parts evidently. The *Kôyilohagu* gives some interesting information in regard to Narasa Naik's work at Trichinopoly. It says that Kônâri Raja, the Saluva governor and successor of Tirumal Raya at Trichinopoly, favoured the Saivas of Tiruvankaval, and besides giving away some of the temple villages, annoyed the temple authorities by collecting *puravari*, *kattibai*, etc. This matter was reported by Kandâdai Ramânûja or Kandâdai Annan, as he was called, who was the elder brother of Emperor Vira Narasingha and was appointed general supervisor of the 108 Vaishnava temples in the Empire. He reported the matter to Narasa Naik, who seems to have been a superior officer. He defeated Kônâri Raja and took away the charge of his district from his hands. Narasa then restored the villages and remitted the newly imposed taxes. It is said that some people, during Kônâri Raja's oppression, threw themselves down from the Gopura and thus died. See *Ind. Ant.* 1911, p. 142.

⁸⁵ Insc. 684 of 1906. Ambil (skr. *Premapuri* or pleasure-town) is 13 miles E. N. E. of Trichinopoly, on the Coleroon.

⁸⁶ The "Tammaraya" of Nuniz (*Ep. Rep.* 1906, p. 62-3).

⁸⁷ See *Arch. Surv.* 1906-9 p. 165.

distributed over the Kadapa, Anantapur, S. Canara, Trichinopoly, and Madura districts of the Madras Presidency and the Mysore State."⁶⁸ "Almost all the viceroys, however, were directly responsible to the regent and not to the emperor." Madurai-mandalam i.e., the country around Madura, appears also at this time, as a province of the Vijayanagara kingdom governed by a chief, who was under the direct orders of Narasa Nāyaka.⁶⁹ It seems that, by gradually getting the control of the provincial viceroys, Narasa Naik practically deposed⁷⁰ his ward, and himself assumed the imperial dignity. Immudi Narasimha was indeed not killed, but he sank into the position of a subordinate viceroy in the region of the Kāveri, and there consoled himself, apparently for the loss of his actual power, by the assumption, whether rightly or wrongly, of the high-sounding titles of "the conqueror of Ceylon"⁷¹ and of all countries, "the witness of elephant hunt," etc. The exact date of the Tuluva usurpation is not known, but by 1502 it was a fact.

The advent of the Tuluva dynasty to the imperial throne introduces a new epoch in the history of the imperial relations with Madura; but before going to consider them, we shall go back to the period of the Vijayanagar conquest, and trace, as far as the present state of historic research allows, the indigenous history of the Pāndyan kingdom. The history of the imperial Viceroys has been sketched, and now the indigenous rulers themselves will command our notice.

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE PADARIYA OR RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION.

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. ; UPSALA.

- 1 Devāna piyena Piyadasina lājina vīsati vasābhīsitena
- 2 atana āgāca mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamuntī
- 3 silā vigadabhi ca kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapāpīte
- 4 hida Bhajavaṇ jāte tā Lūmmiṇigāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭhabhāgiye ca.

The literature concerning this inscription until 1903 has been discussed by Pischel, *S. B. Pr. A. W.* 1903, p. 724 ff., who proposed a new interpretation, based on certain philological and linguistic facts, for the difficult words *vigadabhi*, line 3, and *aṭhabhāgiye*, line 5. His conclusions were partly approved by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, *Ante. XXXIV*, 1 ff., who proposed another translation of *aṭhabhāgiye*, but agreed with Pischel concerning *vigadabhi*¹. Dr. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 471 ff., suggested another interpretation of *silāvigadabhi*,² thinking *bhīcā* to be — Sanskrit *bhīṭikā* from *bhīṭi* 'wall,' which is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prakṛt dialects; on the other hand, Dr. Fleet's interpretation of *aṭhabhāgiye* seems to mark a progress in comparison with former translations. As for *ubalike*, line 4,—which was declared by Bühler, *E. I.*, Vol. V. p. 5, not to be derivable from *udbalika*, but rather from *avabalika*, Dr. Fleet proposed to connect it (p. 478 f.) with a vernacular word traceable in the Kanarese *umbali* 'a rent-free grant' etc.; again, Sir C. J. Lyall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 850 f., proposed to connect it with a modern word *ubāri*, occurring in Bundēlkhāṇḍ, and meaning 'an estate held on a quit-rent or something less than the full assessment.' And finally Dr. F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 466 f., has proved that the derivation from *ud-balika* is quite possible, as the *Kaṇḍīliya-ārthasāstra*, p. 111, 4. 12, uses the parallel word *ucā-chhulka* in the sense of 'free from octroi.'

⁶⁸ *Arch. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 169.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*; *Insc.* 39 of 1906; p. 170.

⁷⁰ According to Muhammadan historians, he was killed. But this is wrong, as *inac.* of Vira Narasimha are found as late as S. 1427. (*Ep. Rep.* 1904) *Insc.* 386 points out that in 1498 Narasa was still a regent.

⁷¹ *Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 114. *Insc.* of Immudi Narasimha have been found at Piramalai (139 & 151 of 1903). They belong to A. D. 1500. They mention one Eppull Nayak and his gift for the merit of Tipparasa Aliyan in Kṛtalasthigha Vulaṇḍu of Piramalai Simal.

¹ At least in the text; but in n. 2 on p. 3, Mr. Smith says he is no longer quite confident of the correctness of Pischel's interpretation.

² A similar suggestion by R. G. Bhandarkar, *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XX, 366, n. 14.

I shall here try to put forth another interpretation of the word *vigaḍabhi*, which forms the main difficulty, but let me first say some few words concerning the name of the place of Buddha's birth, *Lummini* or *Lumbini*. That this name still survives in the present *Rummin-dēi*, the place where Aśoka's pillar was found, has been pointed out by Mr. Vincent A. Smith³, and forms a strong proof for the correctness of the tradition. This word *Rummin-dēi* means evidently 'the goddess (*devi*) of *Rummin*—*Lummini*', but it is by no means clear what *Lummini* is, and in what connection it stands to the Pāli form *Lumbini*, etc. Speyer, V. O. J., XI, 22 ff., has suggested that *Lumbini* is a false form, and that *Lummini* is the right one, and represents Sanskrit *Rukmiṇi*, name of the wife of Kṛṣṇa.⁴ But I do not think this derivation very probable either in sense or from a linguistic point of view; for *Rukmiṇi* is, as far as I know, never mentioned in any connection with Buddhist legends, and the instances of Kṛṣṇa-worship in Eastern India at this time are rare and uncertain; moreover, *Rukmiṇi* is represented in many passages of the Jaina canon, written in a dialect nearly akin to real Māgadhī, by *Ruppiṇi*.⁵ So all we could possibly expect from Aśoka would be *Luppiṇi* (or *Ruppiṇi*), but not *Lummini*,* *Rummini*. The reference to *Rumnavatī* for *ruknavatī* (Kuhn, *Pāli-Gr.* p. 48)⁶ does not help much, for the language of Aśoka's inscription is undoubtedly old Māgadhī, and not Pāli. However, the various forms of the word in the Pāli-canon and other Buddhist writings do not encourage us to try a derivation from *Rukmiṇi*.

The *Nidānakathā* (*Jāt.* I. 52) has *Lumbini*; but the *Sutta Nipāta*, III, 11, 5,—undoubtedly the oldest passage where the word occurs—gives *Sakyāna gāme janapade Lumbineyye*.⁷ This corresponds to what we find in Buddhist Sanskrit literature: *Lumbini*, *Lal. V.*, ed. Lefmann, I, 78, 81, 91; *Mahāv.* I. 99, 8; III, 112, 9; and *Lumbini Lal. V.* I. 252, *Lumbini-vana*, *Lal. V.* I. 82, 96; *Mahāv.* II, 18, 18; 145, 6; and *Lumbini*, *Lal. V.* I. 234, 411; *Mahāv.* I. 149, 3; II, 18, 10, 12, 15; and *Lumbiniya*, *Lal. V.*, ed. Calo., p. 92, 13. But besides we find a rather strange form in *Mahāvastu*, I, 99, 6, *Lumbodiyāna*, which gives a word *Lumba*, apparently connected, but not identical with *Lumbini*; and *ibid.* I. 99, 7 stands *lumbini* in a position which undoubtedly gives us the right to assume with Benart, *ibid.* I. 453, that it is not a *nomen proprium* but merely an adjective. So we must perhaps think that *Lumbini* should be derivated in some way from this *lumba*, which may be the simple word. Now we find in *Hāla*, 322, a word *lumbi*⁸, which means, no doubt, *valli* or *latā* 'a creeper'; and also 'a cluster, bunch of flowers, tuft,' for He-m. Deśin, 7, 28, explains *lumbi* by *stabako latā cha* and there is no reason not to presume that *lumba*, may have the same meaning. If then *lumba*, *lumbi*, means 'a creeper' or 'a cluster of flowers' *lumbini* would stand beside it just as *kumudini*, 'a place where water-lilies grow,' *pūṣkarini*, 'a lotus-pool,' etc., stand beside *kumuda*, *pūṣkara*, etc., and it would mean 'a place where creepers grow,' 'a wood, a thicket of creepers,' or perhaps, 'a place where are clusters of flowers'—'a forest of flowery trees' and this would be the real sense of the name *Lumbini*, also called *Lumbini vana*. This means, of course, that *Lumbini*, and not *Lummini* is the real form; but we must remember that the *Sutta Nipāta*, a text certainly older than the inscription, has only *Lumbineyya*, and, moreover, it seems to me much more probable that *Lummini* may be a local dialect-form from *Lumbini* than that the latter word should be a false translation from the former one.

So far for *Lummini*; I now return to the much-discussed word *vigaḍabhi*. Pischel, supported by an overwhelming mass of philological evidence, has suggested that *silāvigaḍabhi*

³ *Anta*, XXXIV, 1 f.

⁴ Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 5 n., refers to Speyer's suggestion, without wholly approving it.

⁵ Pischel, *Pāli-Gr.* § 277.

⁶ Other instances are *rumma-rāsin*, *Jāt.* 497, g. 1, *rumma-rāsin* *ibid.* g. 22 and *rummin*, *Jāt.* 489, g. 18: cf. Morris, *J. P. T. S.* 1891-93, p. 121; Charpentier, *Z. D. M. G.*, 63, 173 n. 4.

⁷ *Gāme* and *janapade* must change place according to Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 423, n. 1.

⁸ The MSS. have also other readings which seem, however, to be merely attempts to explain the word *lumbi* which was not thoroughly understood.

must mean 'a flawless block of stone' (*ein fehlerfreier Felsblock*) and may be connected with *gaṇḍa-tīla* and *gaṇḍa-sāla*, 'a rough block of stone', and further with a number of derivations from a root *gaṇḍ-vaṇṇe* (recorded in the Dhātup. §35, 84g), which occur in various northern Buddhist and Prākṛit texts. But although this is grammatically absolutely right, I do not believe in it any more than in Dr. Fleet's explanation, "a stone surrounding and screening wall," which violates the rules of grammar. It is quite impossible for me to understand why Aśoka should have thought it an action so remarkable as to be recorded for perpetuity that he had a rough block of stone made flawless, and a stone pillar cut out of it; for any person who saw the pillar could easily convince himself that it was smooth and well-polished, without any need of having this pointed out to him in the inscription. But there is another reason of far more importance which makes me disbelieve Pischel's interpretation, and generally any interpretation that does not try to account for it: Hiuan Tsang⁹ tells us that Aśoka had a pillar erected on this spot with a horse on its top. It does not matter whether Hiuan Tsang himself saw the horse lying broken on the ground, or whether it had already been removed when he visited the place¹⁰; no sound interpretation will doubt that he really knew that there had been a horse. And we may without hesitation believe that Aśoka—or the person who had his order executed—considered it far more important to record that a horse had been made and put up there, than that the pillar had been cut out and polished from a rough block of stone. The only real question is this: can we find in *vigaḍabhi* a word that can be made to mean 'a horse' without straining the linguistic usage? I think we can, and shall try presently to prove it.

The whole inscription is quite clear in grammatical forms with the exception of the single word *vigaḍabhi*, and would run in Sanskrit as follows:—

1. Devānāṃ-priyeṣa Priyadarśinā rājā viṃśativarshābhishiktana
2. ātmanā āgatyā mahatyitā¹¹ iha Buddhō jātaḥ Śākyamunir-iti
3. silā *vigaḍabhi ca kārītā silāstambhaś choohohhrāpitah
4. iha Bhagavān jāta iti Lumbinigrāma udbalīkṛitah
5. aṣṭabhaḡyaś cha (kṛitah).

Now, what is *vigaḍabhi*? Evidently a compound, for the derivations with the *taddhita* suffix *-bha* (Pāṇ. V. 2, 139), although increased by Pischel l. c. p. 728 by some new examples, scarcely, in my opinion, offer a possibility of explaining this word. I take *vigaḍa-bhi* to be in Sanskrit **vigaḍa-bhṛit*, a word which does not exist, that I freely admit, but this is no objection to the derivation of Prākṛita words, when made in conformity with grammatical rules. Now, we know in Pāli and Prākṛita words like *Paśena-di* or °*ji* = *Paśena-jī*, *Inda-(j)i* = *Indra-jī*, *Assa-ji* = *Aśva-jī* (*Mahāvagga* I, 23, 2), *Naḡga-(j)i* = *Nagna-jī* (or °*cit*),¹² *taḍi* = *taḍit*,¹³ etc., and these and others leave not the slightest doubt that a Sanskrit word **vigaḍa-bhṛit* should correspond to a Prākṛita **vigaḍa-bhi* and *vigaḍa-bhi*. It is true that *bhṛitya* gives *bhachcha* in Pāli,¹⁴ but this is no serious objection, for *r* may give *a*, *i* and *u* in Prākṛita¹⁵, and °*bhṛit* must undoubtedly in the analogy of the words mentioned above have become °*bhi*. So I am fully convinced that *silā vigaḍabhi* is to be rendered by *silā* vigaḍabhi* or **vigaḍambhṛit*, since we might as well read *vigaḍambhi*. But the compounds ending in °*bhi* seem mostly to exhibit the undeclined form of the first compositional member.

It remains now to attempt an explanation of *vigaḍa*, and here I think the Jaina texts will help us. Verse I, 12 of the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, one of the oldest texts in the Jaina Canon runs thus:—

mā galīyasso vā kaṣaṃ vasaṃ ichchhe puṇo puṇo'
kaṣaṃ vā dāṭṭhaṃ āṇṇe pavagaṃ parivajjas ||

⁹ Julian, I, 324; Beal, II, 25; Watters, II, 15.

¹⁰ Cf. Pischel, l. c. p. 724.

¹¹ Boil. *mahatyita*, loc. absol. 'worship having been made'; Bühler, *M. I.* Vol. V. p. 4. takes it as *mahityita*, which seems to me difficult and rather unnecessary.

¹² Cp. J. A. 1911, p.

¹³ Cp. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* § 395.

¹⁴ Cp. the well-known *Komārabhacca-kāṇḍa-bhṛitya*, S. B. E. XVII, 174 n.

¹⁵ Cp. here *paḥedi*, *pāḥeda* for *prabhṛit*, *prābhṛita*, Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* § 218. And there really exists *vīpa-r-bhi* = *vīpa bhṛit* in *Uttarādhyayana* III, 2.

"He should not, in every case, wait for the express command (of the teacher) like an unbroken horse for the whip (of the rider), but like a broken horse which sees the whip (of the rider) he should commit no evil act."¹⁶

I gather from this that *galiyassa* = Sanskrit *galitāśva* or *gaḍitāśva*¹⁷ means 'an unbroken, idle horse,' and is probably a technical expression as well as *śiṣya* = **śjanya*, *śjaneya* 'a thorough-bred'¹⁸ the contrast of it. In the same text, XXVII, 16, *gali-gaddaha* means 'a bad, lazy donkey'; and *khalunka*,* *khalokṣan* 'a bad bullock,' used *ibid*, XXVII, 3, is explained by Devendra as meaning *gali-vriṣabha* 'a lazy bullock.' Moreover, Sanskrit lexicographers give us the word *gali* and *gaḍi* 'a young, but unbroken, lazy bullock,' which is clearly a shortening from *galit* or *gaḍi-vriṣabha*. These facts permit me to assume the existence of an old word *gaḍi*-, *gaḍita* or *gali*-, *galita*-, which means 'idleness' and 'idle, lazy,' and moreover as a term for a horse 'an unbroken, bad horse.' As, now, **gaḍa*, if it existed, must have been a shortening from **gaḍāśva* and mean 'an unbroken horse,' so *vigaḍa* is a shortening from **vigaḍāśva*, and means **agadāśva*, 'a broken steed, a thorough bred'; and this is an epithet well fit for the noble horse Kanthaka, which Pischel¹⁹ assumes to have been meant by the statue of a horse on the pillar. Consequently, *śilā vigaḍabhī* means 'a block of stone bearing a horse,' and denotes, of course, the slab on which the horse stood and the statue itself.

As for *aḥabhāgiye*, I think Dr. Fleet is fairly right in suggesting that it means 'the king's share of grain,' i.e., the tax paid in grain. The land of the Sākya clans where the village of *Lumbini* was situated, was famous from times long before for its rice-crops; and we know from *Kāuṣīlya*, p. 60 etc., that a technical term for 'taxes received in the shape of grain' is *bhāga*. But we gather from the same source that the king was entitled to take at least one-fifth or one-fourth of the whole supply of grain, and not one-eighth as Dr. Fleet suggests. So *ashabhāgiya* cannot mean this; it would rather be possible that it could mean *ashṭa* (*varsha*) *bhāgiya*, i.e., that the village should be entitled to the grain-tax for eight years. But I admit that this is wholly uncertain. However, it must refer to the 'grain-tax,' for *bali* is 'taxes for religious purposes' according to *Kāuṣīlya*²⁰ and so we have here two fiscal terms.

Consequently the whole inscription may be rendered somewhat in the following way:—

"His Majesty King Priyadarśin came here himself twenty years after his anointment, and, worship having been performed, because here was born Buddha the saint of the Sākyas he had a slab of stone bearing a horse made and a stone-pillar raised up. Because here was born the venerable one the village of Lumbini was made free from religious taxes²¹ and entitled to the grain-tax for eight years."

MISCELLANEA.

KAYASTHA AND KAYATHAN.

In connection with the history of writing in this country, I have been trying to find out the ethnic origin of the writer-caste *Kāyastha*. The original form of *Kāyastha* seems to be *Kāyatha*, which is the general and popular name of the caste. *Kāyastha* as a Sanskrit word is clearly meaningless. It is a mere fanciful restoration of *Kāyatha*.

I am told that in Telugu *Kāyatha* (*Kāyathan*) means 'papers,' 'records.' If this is a native

Dravidian word, the question of the ethnic origin of *Kāyatha* will be set at rest; we shall accept *Kāyatha* as a Dravidian element. Would some one from the Madras Presidency enlighten us on the philology of *Kāyathan*? I may also mention here that *Sirīśatava* is an important subdivision of the writer-caste. This, too, does not appear to be an Aryan word, and it might give some clue to our Southern scholars in tracing the origin.

K. P. J.

¹⁶ Translation by Jacobi, S. B. E. XLV. 3.

¹⁷ This seems to correspond to Pkt. *galiyassa*; but Devendra gives *galitāśva*, which might also be a possible rendering.

¹⁸ Devendra explains *śiṣya abhṛta, vintitāśva*, which would fit better to the form of the words; but I cannot make out the sense of it. Cp. *Leumann* Aug. S. A. V.

¹⁹ L. c. p. 725.

²⁰ See Dr. F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 467.

²¹ Or, 'made to pay only a quit-rent' (according to the suggestion of Sir Charles Lyall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 850 f.).

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

Prefatory Remarks.

When I first discovered some Old Western Rājasthānī MSS. in the Indian collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence three years ago, it occurred to me that an account of the new grammatical forms, which are met with in them, would prove very profitable to students of Neo-Indian philology. When, however, I took the task upon myself and began to study the MSS. and to grow familiar with the language, I saw I could give new explanations of many grammatical forms, the origin whereof had been missed or ignored hitherto, and therefore resolved to enlarge the original plan of the work into an historical grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī, and this I now lay before the public in the form of the present "Notes." The subject being extremely important for the history of the development of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars from Apabhraṃśa, I hope that my labours will be well acceptable to all scholars interested in this branch of Indian philology. As regards imperfections, which will still for many years to come necessarily accompany every similar research into this field, I think there is a reason, for which I ought to be particularly excused in the present case. It is this: that, as far as I know, I am the first European who has ever dared to treat an important subject of Neo-Indian philology, without having been in India. I am, therefore, entirely cut off from that help from natives, which is thought to be indispensable for any such work. That I have never been in India is no fault of mine, as it has always been my strongest desire to prosecute on the spot the study of the languages I love so well. It has simply been want of that opportunity, which I yet hope may some day come to me.

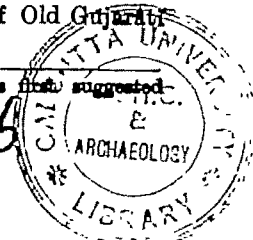
CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The language, which I have termed "Old Western Rājasthānī" and propose to describe in these pages, is the immediate offspring of the Śaurasena Apabhraṃśa, and the common parent of the modern dialects comprehended in the two general terms, Gujarātī and Mārwarī. Attention to this old form of language was first called by the late Mr. H. H. Dhruva, who in the year 1889 published an edition of the *Mugdhavibodhamuktika*—an elementary Sanskrit Grammar with explanations in Old Western Rājasthānī,—and in the year 1893 read a paper on "The Gujarātī Language of the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century" before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London. He was, however, too careless in his work and too unaccustomed to philological accuracy to give his observations a reliable character and to make his labour profitable for inquirers into the origin of Neo-Indian vernaculars. In Vol. ix, Part ii of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Grierson took up the subject again and gave a most clear account of the language used in the commentary of the *Mugdhavibodhamuktika*. This was as complete as it could be made on the comparatively scanty evidence of the grammatical forms occurring in it. He called the language "Old Gujarātī," and explained it as the link connecting Gujarātī with Apabhraṃśa. The reason that I have adopted a different name for it is that, from the new materials which I have utilized in the present "Notes," it appears that at least until the fifteenth century there was practically only one form of language prevailing over the whole area now covered by Modern Gujarātī and a great part, or possibly most of the area of Modern Mārwarī, and that this language was precisely that which is evidenced by the *Mugdhavibodhamuktika*. In other words, at the time above-mentioned Mārwarī had not yet detached itself from Gujarātī, and hence the necessity of substituting for the one-sided term of Old Gujarātī another in which Old Mārwarī could also be comprehended.

¹ The term "Old Western Rājasthānī," which seems to me a most convenient one, was first suggested to me by Sir George Grierson.

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The fact is that the language, which I call Old Western Rājasthānī, contains all the elements which account for the origin of Gujarātī as well as of Mārwarī, and is therefore evidently the common parent of both. That Gujarātī and Mārwarī are derived from a single stock, the Çaurasena Apabhraṃṣa, has long been recognized², and Sir George Grierson, who was the first to detach Rājasthānī from Western Hindī and to class it as a separate language, has already remarked that "if the dialects of the Rājasthānī are to be considered as dialects of some hitherto acknowledged language, then they are dialects of Gujarātī."³ The close agreement between Gujarātī and Mārwarī is quite consistent with the ethnological theory according to which—as shown by Sir George Grierson⁴ and Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁵—Rajputana and Gujarat were populated by the same Aryan tribe, i. e., the Gurjaras, who migrated from the ancient Sapīdalakṣa in the North-West of India into North-Eastern Rajputana and thence gradually spread westwards into Gujarat, imposing their language over the whole tract covered by their immigrations. The same theory also accounts for the agreement between Rājasthānī and the languages of the Himālaya, which Sir George Grierson has grouped together under the general name of "Pahārī."⁶ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his "Early History of Gujarat" represents the immigration of the Gurjaras into Gujarat as having taken place during the period A. D. 400-600. However this may be, it is certain that the language imported by the Gurjaras from Sapīdalakṣa took a principal part in the formation of the Çaurasena Apabhraṃṣa.

Our present knowledge of the latter language is chiefly based on the description given by Hemachandra, *śāstras* iv, 329-446 of his Prākṛit Grammar. Hemachandra, having flourished in the 12th century A. D. (St. 1144-1228), and it being evident that the form of Apabhraṃṣa treated of by him must be anterior to his time, we have authority for placing the *terminus ad quem* for the Çaurasena Apabhraṃṣa described by him at least as early as the 10th century A. D. For the subsequent period in the history of the Apabhraṃṣa we may expect ample information from the *Prākṛita-Piṅgala*, as soon as a critical edition of it will be available. A part of this work has been collated by Siegfried Goldschmidt and utilized by Pischel in his Prākṛit Grammar, and from it it is clear that the language, in which the illustrations to the *Piṅgala-śāstras* are written, represents a stage of development more advanced than the Apabhraṃṣa of Hemachandra. To confine myself to mentioning only one, but most important, feature of this later Apabhraṃṣa stage, I may quote the case of the present passive, which commonly ending in -*je* (<*ijjāi*),⁷ is a sign that the process of simplification of double consonants and lengthening of the preceding vowel, which is the chief phonetical characteristic of the modern vernaculars comparable with the Apabhraṃṣa, had already begun long before the fourteenth century, during or after which time the final redaction of the *Prākṛita-Piṅgala* seems to have taken place.⁸ For, though some of the verses quoted in the above work to illustrate the various metres are not older than the fourteenth century, it is clear that the same cannot be the case with all the others, and anyhow the *Piṅgala-Apabhraṃṣa* can by no means be looked upon as representing a form of speech, which was current at the time, when the *Prākṛita-Piṅgala* was composed, but an antiquated form of language already almost dead and used only in literary composition. The practical conclusion is that the language of the *Prākṛita-Piṅgala* represents for us the intermediate step between the Apabhraṃṣa of Hemachandra and the earliest stage in the history of the modern vernaculars, and is referable to a period from about the tenth to the eleventh, or possibly the twelfth century A. D.

² Cf. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 5.

³ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. ix, Part II, p. 15.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 3, 333.

⁵ *Anta*, XL, (1911).

⁶ *Progress Report of the Linguistic Survey of India, up to the end of the Year 1911*, presented before the xvth International Congress of Orientalists, Athens, 1911.

⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. i, Part, i (1896), p. 2.

⁸ E. g. *hastje* II, 93, *kastje* II, 93, 101, *dije* II, 103, 106, *bhastje* II, 101, etc.

⁹ See Chandrā Mohana Ghoshā, *Prākṛita-Piṅgalam*, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1902), p. vii.

Next in the development comes the stage of the language, which I have called Old Western Rājasthānī. It is, however, to be observed that the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃṣa is not a pure representative of the stock from which the latter originated, but contains in itself many elements, which point towards Eastern Rajputana as to their home, and are now found to have developed into the dialects of Eastern Rājasthānī, such as Mewāṭī, Jaipurī and Mālvi, and of Western Hindī. The most important of such Eastern peculiarities is the use of the genitive postposition *kaṃ*, which is utterly foreign to Old Western Rājasthānī, and even at the present day is found to be completely missing in the dialects of Gujarat and Western Rajputana, and *vice versa* to be largely spread amongst the dialects of Eastern Rājasthānī and Western Hindī. For the purpose of deriving Old Western Rājasthānī from Apabhraṃṣa, the language of the *Prākṛita-Piṅgala* is therefore only indirectly utilisable. The immediate successor of the latter is not the Old Western Rājasthānī, but that distinct form of language, of which we have a document in Chanda's poetry, and which might well be called Old Western Hindī. One of the characteristic features of this language, as well as of the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃṣa, is the use of the present participle to give the meaning of the present indicative. With the evidence hitherto available it is not possible to fix the limits of the Old Western Hindī on the West, just as it is not possible to fix those of the Old Western Rājasthānī on the East. It is very likely, however, that at the time, with which we are concerned, Old Western Hindī extended more to the West than at the present day and occupied some portion at least of the area of modern Eastern Rājasthānī. Whether it went so far as to be conterminous with the Old Western Rājasthānī or was separated from the latter by an intermediate form of speech, in which the two merged together, I cannot say with certainty, though I am inclined to favour the second alternative. If this intermediate language existed, it would be proper to call it Old Eastern Rājasthānī and to regard it as the old representative of the modern dialects, which are known under the general name of Dhundī or Jaipurī. Possibly some documents of this old language are in existence, but until they are produced we shall have to leave the question *sub judice*. We may, however, take it for granted that the old vernacular of Eastern Rajputana—be it Old Eastern Rājasthānī or Old Western Hindī—was in origin more closely allied to the language of the Gangetic Doab than to that of Western Rajputana and Gujarat, and was only afterwards differentiated from the former under the influence of the latter. In the collection of Indian MSS. in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, I have discovered a fragment of a Jaipurī version of Rīmachandra's *Paṇyāgravalakṣaṇa* and, though the language is hardly more than 200 or 300 years old, yet it is noteworthy that it presents many more points of agreement with Western Hindī, than does Modern Jaipurī.

I now return from this digression to take up the thread of my subject. The chief characteristics of the Old Western Rājasthānī, whereby it stands out as separate from Apabhraṃṣa on the one side and from Modern Gujarātī and Mārwaṛī on the other, may be resumed in the two following :

1 A double consonant of the Apabhraṃṣa is simplified and the preceding vowel generally lengthened. Ex. : Ap. *ajja* > O. W. R. *ēja* (Dd.¹⁰ 6) ; Ap. *vaddala* > O. W. R. *vādala* (F 535, ii, 2) ; Ap. **chibbhāḍi* > O. W. R. *chibhāḍa* (P. 252). This phonetical process is, with few exceptions, equally common to all Neo-Indian vernaculars and may be regarded as the most marked feature of the latter in comparison with the Apabhraṃṣa.

2 The hiatus of the two vocalic groups *ai*, *au* of the Apabhraṃṣa is preserved, i.e., the two vowels in each group are still considered as forming two distinct syllables. Ex. : Ap. *cchakkai* > O. W. R. *achhāi* ; Ap. **uḥḥāḍai* > O. W. R. *uḥḥāḍai* (ĀdiC.) In Modern Gujarātī *ai* is contracted to *ē* and *au* to *ō*, and in Modern Mārwaṛī *ai* to *ai* and *au* to *au*. Thus in the former language the two examples above would be *chē* and *uḥḥō* respectively.

¹⁰ The meaning of these abbreviations will be explained at the end of the present chapter.

As regards the time, towards which the final detachment of the Old Western Rājasthānī from the Apabhraṃṣa took place, we cannot go very far from the truth if we fix it in the thirteenth century or thereabouts. This is borne out firstly by the consideration that the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃṣa cannot have existed as a current language after the twelfth or at the most the thirteenth century A. D., and secondly by the evidence of the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika*, which is dated in the year 1394 A. D. and represents the Old Western Rājasthānī not in a period of formation, but already completely developed. Many grammatical forms older than those evidenced by the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika* have been preserved in poems written in the fifteenth century.

As already pointed out above, Old Western Rājasthānī represented in origin a single language, common over both Gujarat and Rajaputana. When the process of differentiation of Old Western Rājasthānī into Gujarātī and Mārwarī began it is not possible to determine with the materials hitherto available, but it is certain that it was effected gradually and its completion required a very long time. One of the chief characteristics, by which Mārwarī is distinguished from Gujarātī, namely the ending -ā of the first person plural of the present indicative, is already found in the *Vasantavilāsa*, a work which is reported to come from Ahmadabad and to date from St. 1508.¹¹ It would therefore seem that in the fifteenth century the formation of the Mārwarī was already in progress. But even long before that time it is possible to notice in the Old Western Rājasthānī a Mārwarī tendency, chiefly characterized by the employment of the dative postposition *rahaī* to give the meaning of the genitive case. In the later stage of the Old Western Rājasthānī the differentiation becomes so marked that it is always possible to say whether a MS. is written under the influence of the Gujarātī or is of the Mārwarī tendency. Of the two currents, into which Old Western Rājasthānī thus divided itself, the one represented by Gujarātī remained generally faithful to its source, whilst the other represented by Mārwarī differentiated to some degree from the latter by assuming many peculiarities, which were common to the neighbouring dialects of Eastern Rajputana and, in some cases, to Pañjābī and Sindhī. The above is the reason, for which Old Western Rājasthānī has been hitherto explained as merely Old Gujarātī. The chief characteristics of the Mārwarī tendency, which existed in later Old Western Rājasthānī, are the following:

- 1 The common substitution of *i* for *a*, as in : *kimīda* for *kamīda*, *khīna* for *khaṇa*, *piṇṇi* for *paṇi*, *paṇa* (AdiC.)
- 2 The employment of the genitive (oblique case) for the instrumental and *vice versa*, as in : *sagallī-lī dukkhē*, instr. plur. (AdiC.)
- 3 The use of the postpositions : *rahaī* > *hraī* > *raī*, *raī*, *lī*.
- 4 The pronominal forms : *tuhē* for *tumhē* ; *amhā*, *tumhā* for *amha*, *tumha* ; *tīā*, *jīā* for *tēha*, *tīha*, *jēha*, *jīha*.
- 5 The substitution of the compound pronouns *ji-kā*, *tī-kā*, for *jē*, *tē*.
- 6 The substitution of *āpa*, *āpā* for Gujarātī *apasa*, *āpasā*, when used to give the meaning of the first personal pronoun plural, including the person addressed.
- 7 The forms *dī*, *tīna* of the cardinals 2, 3, instead of *bē*, *trīṇi*.
- 8 The substitution of the pronominal adverb *kādī* for *kahi*.
- 9 The ending -ā of the first person plural of the present indicative, instead of -āī.
- 10 The ending -isī of the second and third person singular of the future indicative, instead of -isa, -isi.
- 11 The substitution of the feminine for the neuter with past participles of verbs of saying or asking, used without any object expressed, as in : *pūchhi* "[He] asked" (AdiC.).

All the above peculiarities are found in the MS. *AdiC.* and a great part of them also occur in the MS. *Shashī*. As regards the genitive postposition *kaṇḍā*, which Mārwarī borrowed from Pañjābī and Sindhī, I have noticed no traces of it in the texts I have seen.

When the Old Western Rājasthānī stage finishes and Modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī properly begin, I am not able to say with certainty. All the MSS. of the later Old Western

¹¹ H. H. Dhruva, *Op. cit.*, p. 320, 323, 325.

Rajasthani period, which have been available to me, are unfortunately undated and, till further evidence is produced, it is impossible to fix any definite limits. Of one thing I am certain: that Modern Gujarati cannot commence with Narasingha Mehetā, as is commonly stated. This poet having been born in the year 1413 A. D., was contemporary with Padmanābha, who wrote his *Kāṇhadēprabandha*, in the year 1456, and it is therefore plain that Narasingha Mehetā too must have written in the same form of Old Western Rajasthani as Padmanābha did. That the songs of the former appear now to be couched in a form of language very near to Modern Gujarati, does not affect the question, for it is quite natural that they were in due course modernized during the 450 years, through which they have come down to us. Judging from the fact that the Old Western Rajasthani poems, which are known to be dated from the fifteenth century, exhibit a language, which must be at least 100 years older than that of the later Old Western Rajasthani MSS.—even allowing for the antiquated forms which are commonly employed in poetry,—I have no difficulty in holding that the Old Western Rajasthani period must have lasted at least as long as the end of the sixteenth century. But it is very probable that Old Western Rajasthani reached beyond this limit; anyhow some of its characteristics certainly did. The passing of one language into another being always effected through gradual steps, it is natural that, whenever the older language is made to finish and the younger one to commence, some of the features of the former must be found in the early stage of the latter and likewise some of the features of the latter in the ultimate stage of the former. Confining myself to Gujarati, which is more faithful to the Old Western Rajasthani tradition and better known than Mīrwārī, I would take the following as the principal characteristics marking its existence independent from the Old Western Rajasthani:

- 1 Contraction of the vocalic groups *ai*, *au* into *ē*, *ō*. Ex.: *kārē* (<*karai*>), *īratē*¹² (<*airatūi*>).
- 2 Substitution of *a* for *i*, *u*, in open syllables. Ex.: *trāṇa* (<*traiṇi*>), *daḥādo* (<*dihādaui*>), *bāpaṭo* (<*bāpudai*>).
- 3 Tendency to shorten the long vowels *ā*, *i*, *ū*. Ex.: *athāṭe* (<*āthai*>), *visare* (<*visarai*>), *upari* (<*ūpari*>).
- 4 Elision of *h* between vowels or after nasals. Ex.: *bino* (<*bikanai*>), *deri* (<*deharā*>), *evu* (<*chava*>); *ame* (<*amhe*>), *ūndō* (<*ūnhāla*>). It is, however, to be observed that in most of such cases the *h*-sound, though disappeared in writing, is still slightly heard in pronunciation. Cf. the list of words quoted by Sir George Grierson, *Op. cit.*, p. 347 ff.
- 5 Substitution of *ṣ* for *s*, when the latter was originally followed by *i* > *y*. Ex.: *karāṣe* (<*karisai*>), *ṣo* (<*syai*>).
- 6 Cerebralisation of *l*, when derived from a medial single *l* of the Apabhraṃṣa. Ex.: *maṭe* (<*milai*>). This process had probably begun since the earliest Old Western Rajasthani stage, but in no MS. of the latter language the *ḷ*-sound is distinguished from *l*.
- 7 Loss of the strong form *-aḥ* in the nominative singular neuter and substitution of the weak form *-ḥ*.
- 8 Introduction of the element *-o-*, as a characteristic of the plural.
- 9 Loss of the termination *-aḥ* of the first person plural present indicative and future, and substitution of *-ie* in the former and *-ḥ* in the latter case.
- 10 Substitution of the potential passive in *-āya* for the original passive in *-ījāi*, *-īāi*.

The information, contained in the present "Notes," is chiefly derived from Jaina MSS. belonging to the Indian Collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (Italy). Beside these, however, I have also utilized two Jaina MSS. of the India Office Library, which have been accessible to me through the kindness of the Librarian, Dr. F. W. Thomas, two Jaina MSS. kindly procured to me by the *munirāj* Cī Vijaya Dharma Śāri, and also all the printed materials, hitherto available on the subject and already referred to in the preceding pages. The following is a list of the chief sources of my information, alphabetically arranged under abbreviated titles. Works in prose are distinguished from those in poetry by an asterisk placed before the title. Florentine MSS. are indicated by *F* followed by a number, which corresponds to the progressive number under which they are

¹² For the sake of simplification, I shall henceforth leave unmarked the quantity of *a* *o*.

arranged in Professor Pavolini's "I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (non compresi nel Catalogo dell' Aufrecht)," ¹³

* *Ādi*.—Bālāvabodha to the *Ādināthadeṣanoddhāra*, 88 Prākṛit gīhās. From the MS. S. 1561, in the India Office Library.

* *ĀdiC*.—*Ādināthacharitra*. From the MS. F 700 (Sūrapura).

* *Indr*.—Bālāvabodha to the *Indriyaparājayaśataka*, 99 Prākṛit verses. From the MS. S. 1561, c in the India Office Library.

* *Up*.—*Upadeśamālābālāvabodha* by Somasundarasūri. From a MS. kindly lent to me by Śrī Vijaya Dharma Sūri, 120 leaves. Saṃvat 1567.¹⁴

* *Rsh*.—*Rishabhadevadhavalasambandha*. From the MS. F 758.

* *Kal*.—Avachūri to Siddhasenadivākara's *Kalyāṇamandīratōtra*, 44 Sanskrit verses. From the MS. F 671.

* *Kānh*.—*Kānhadeprabandha* by Padmanābha (Jhālorā, Saṃvat 1512=1456 A. D.) Lately printed by K. H. Dhruva (in the पुस्तक पुस्तक ?) I was able to collate it through the kindness of Sir George Grierson, who lent to me his own reprint copy of it.

* *Chat*.—[*Navasāhāsanāhita*] *Chaturviṃśatīnastavana*, 27 verses. From a MS. procured to me by Śrī Vijaya Dharma Sūri. Saṃvat 1667.

* *Ja*.—*Jambuvāṇī-nāḥ gītāchhandā*, 30 verses. From the MS. F 752.

* *Daq*.—Avachūri to the *Daṣaśālikāśāstra*. From the MS. F 567.

* *Dd*.—*Daṣaśālikāśāstra*. From the MS. F 756.

* *P*.—*Pañchākhyāna*, a metrical translation of the first *tantra* of the *Pañchatantra*, 694 verses (including a number of Sanskrit verses, which are now and then interspersed). From the MS. F 106, registered in Theodor Aufrecht's "Florentine Sanskrit Manuscripts" (Leipzig 1892).

* *Pr*.—Paraphrase to the Prākṛit *Pragottararatnamālā* by Rishyuttama, 29 verses. From the MS. F 762.

* *Bh*.—Bālāvabodha to the *Bhavarairāgyaśataka*, 104 Prākṛit verses. From the MS. F 615.

* *Mu*.—*Mugdhāvabodhamuktika*, a Sanskrit grammar with explanations in Old Western Rājasthānī, written in the year 1394 A. D. An account of the Old Western Rājasthānī forms occurring in it, is made by Sir George Grierson in *LSI*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 353-364.

* *Yog*.—Chhāyā to Hemachandra's *Yogaśāstra*, first four chapters. From the MS. F 618.

* *Ratn*.—*Ratnachūḍa* or *Marichāḍa-nī kathā*, 351 verses. Saṃvat 1571. From the MS. F 766.

* *Vi*.—*Vidyāvāṇīśāstra* by Hṛdāṇḍasūri, 174 verses. Saṃvat 1485. From the MS. F 782.

* *Çal*.—*Çālibhadrachāṭpa* by Sādhuhaṃsa, 220 verses. From the MS. F 781.

* *Çil*.—Ṭabā to Jayakīrti's *Çilopadeśamālā*, 116 Prākṛit gīhās. From the MS. F 791.

* *Çrd*.—Bālāvabodha to the *Çrāvakapratikramasāstra*. Saṃvat 1564. From the MS. F 648.

* *Shash*.—Bālāvabodha to Nemichandra's *Shashīśataka*, 162 Prākṛit verses. From the MS. F 688.

Besides the above, I have also partially collated several other Florentine MSS., which in the course of the following pages will be occasionally cited by F followed by their progressive number in Professor Pavolini's catalogue. As regards the chronology of the above-quoted materials, of which most are undated, the following is an attempt to classify them by centuries, chiefly based on the comparison with six or seven of them which are dated:

A. D. 1300—1400—**Kal*., **Mu*.

A. D. 1400—1500—*Vi*., *Kānh*., *Rish*., **Daq*., **Yog*.

A. D. 1500—1550—*P*., *Ja*., *Ratn*., *Çal*., **Çrā*., **Up*., **Indr*., **Ādi*., **Bh*.

A. D. 1550—1600—*Chat*., **Shash*., **Ādi Ch*., **Pr*., **Dd*., **Çil*.

It is not impossible that some of the MSS. classed under the last period, of which only one (*Chat*) is dated, and this in the year Saṃvat 1667 (=A. D. 1611), outreach the end of the sixteenth century. The MSS., which show traces of the Mārwaṛī tendency, are the five following: **Kal*., **Daq*., **Up*., **Shash*., **Ādi Ch*. The two last, being more recent in time, are naturally affected by Mārwaṛī peculiarities in a greater degree.

(To be continued.)

¹³ *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, Vol. xx (1907), p. 63-157.

¹⁴ At the time of sending the present "Notes" to the Press, I had collated this MS. only as far as leaf 68, corresponding to Gāhā 300 in the Prākṛit original by Dharmadāsa.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 17.)

SECTION V.

The Indigenous Pāṇḍyan Kings from 1371 to 1500.

From what has been said in the preceding section, the question will naturally suggest itself as to who the Pāṇḍyan kings of this period were; for as we have already seen, the Pāṇḍyan dynasty did exist during this period. Who were the kings then? How many of them ruled? Did they rule in Madura, as of old? How did they distinguish themselves? What was their attitude to the Vijayanagar political agents? We have, unfortunately, very few materials from which we can draw any definite conclusions in regard to these important questions.

The Line of Sōma-Sekhara.

According to one MS., "the *Supple. MS.*" of Mr. Taylor, there was a continuous dynasty of Pāṇḍyan kings from the time of Kampaia Udayār right down to the establishment of the Nāik Rāj. It says that immediately after his conquest of the Musalmans and the revival of Hindu government and worship, Kampaia Udayār, the Vijayanagar General¹² instituted a search for persons of the old Pāṇḍyan race, as a result of which he caused one Sōmaśekhara Pāṇḍya to be crowned. This Sōmaśekhara, it continues, ruled for a space of 17 years, and was followed by as many as 14 kings. The last of these, it says, was Chandra Śekhara Pāṇḍya, and it was in his time that a war took place between the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa chiefs of the day, the result of which was the advent of the Nāik Rāj in Madura. The MS. mentions the number of years during which each of these kings is said to have ruled. The whole can conveniently be expressed in the form of a genealogy:—

Sōmaśekhara (17 years)
|
Sōma Sundara (35 years)
|
Rāja Kunjara (18 years)
|
Rāja Śekhara (18 years)
|
Rama Varma (36 years)
|
Varada Rāja (19 years.)
|
Kumāra Singha (16 years)
|
Bhima Sēna (40 years)
|
Pratāpa Rāja (15 years)
|
Varaguna Pāṇḍya (27 years)
|
Kumāra Chandra (22 years)
|
Varatunga (8 years)
|
Kulottunga (19 years)
|
Chandra Śekhara (35 years)

¹² The MS. says that he was "the general of the Mysore King." He came at the head of the Canarese in 8 1293, *Virodhakrit*. See *Madr. Manu.* I, p. 123. and the appendix for the translation of the MS.

In other words, there were 15 sovereigns whose rule covered a period of 345 years. "During this state of things," continues the MS., "in K. 4533, S. 1354, (1432) year *Paritāpi*, Kottiyam Nāgama Nāik, by order of the Rāya, conquered the Pāṇḍyan country. Afterwards down to *Īvara* (S. 1380) Visvanātha Nāik ruled the country."

It will be at once perceived that, in regard to chronology, this account cannot for a moment be believed. From the distinct specification of the number of years allotted to each king, it will be plain that Chandra Śekhara Pāṇḍya, the king, in whose time the invasion of Nāgama Nāik is said to have taken place, must have reigned from 1683 to 1718. And yet in the very next line the MS. says that the invasion of Nāgama took place in 1432 A.D. How could the chronicle seriously maintain that Chandra Śekhara lived, as a computation of its own dates shews, between 1683 and 1718, and yet that he was conquered by Nāgama in 1432? Further, as we shall see later on, the date 1432 assigned to Nāgama Nāik and his son Visvanātha, that is, to the Nāik conquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, is too early by a century. The chronology, then, of the "*Supple. MS.*" cannot be trusted; but is the list of the Pāṇḍyan kings given by it genuine? So far as the indigenous chronicles are concerned, there are at least three⁷³ MSS. which, though they do not give any dates, and though they differ in minor details, yet generally support the "*Supple. MS.*" After giving a good deal of legendary and historically valueless matter, one of them says: "While Kula Vardhana Pāṇḍya was thus ruling, a Muhammadan named Badshah invaded the country, conquered it, destroyed temples, and drove the Pāṇḍyan king to the Western country. Then the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was miserable and subject to Musalmān rule. Subsequently the Canarese came in large numbers, destroyed the Muhammadans, revived the worship in temples, came to the west, called Somaśekhara Pāṇḍya, a scion of the Pāṇḍya line, crowned him, and then returned to the Canarese country." Somaśekhara, continues the MS., ruled "for some time," and was then followed by fifteen kings. These kings are identical with the kings of the "*Supple. MS.*"; but there are three differences between the two chronicles. First, while the *Supple. MS.* says that the dynasty ended with Chandraśekhara, the 15th from Somaśekhara, the other MS. says that it ended with Chandra Kumāra, the son of Chandra Śekhara and the 16th of the line. Secondly, the latter MS. gives no date. Thirdly, the latter is, as we shall see later on, a little more detailed in regard to the circumstances of the Nāik conquest of Madura. In fact its account of the conquest places the whole fact in a different aspect. The third MS., (called⁷⁴ the *Pāṇḍya Rajas' Purana Charita*) mentions the same list of kings, but has got its own version of the Vijayanagar and Nāik conquests. After giving a list of 24 kings previous to the Muhammadan advent, it says: "While the kingdom was thus ruled, some Muhammadans from the north under Mulla⁷⁵, captured the country, ruined the temples, and necessitated Minākshi and Sundarāvara to take refuge in the Malayālam⁷⁶ country. When things were in this condition a Hindu king from the north named Kamanan⁷⁷ overthrew the Muhammadans, reopened the temples for worship, and reorganised the daily *pūja*. Some days after, a scion of the old Pāṇḍyan dynasty who had fled westward, got the help of the kings of Malayālam⁷⁸ and Mysore, and attacked Kumana. The latter, thereupon, came to an agreement with him by which he left the kingdom and returned northward. The Pāṇḍya, Somaśekhara, then ruled for some time, and was followed by 14 kings. These are exactly the kings mentioned

⁷³ These are: "An account of the Chōla, Chēra, and Pāṇḍya kings, copied from a document in possession of one named Kāli Kavi Rāyan of Pāṇḍurāi, Coimbatore." (Restored Mack. MSS., III, 234-256); *Pāṇḍya Rajas' Purana Charita* (*Ibid.*, 15-25); and *Pāṇḍya Pratiṣṭha Vamśavali*. See appendix for translations and references.

⁷⁴ Resto. Mack MSS. III, p. 15-25.

⁷⁵ i.e., Malik Kafūr.

⁷⁶ In this it agrees with the other MSS. see *ante* section 2.

⁷⁷ Kamanan was Kampāna Udayar. He was not a king of course. The MS. is very meagre and vague.

⁷⁸ That the Pāṇḍya king was at this time a refugee in the west is confirmed by other MSS. E.g. The *Supple. MSS.*, *Kāli Kavi Rāyan's Account*, etc. But the account of Kampāna's defeat and return is quite absurd and contrary to fact.

in the other two MSS, but no dates are given, and the cause of the Naik advent is dismissed in the single statement that "as Chandra Sēkhara had no son, he adopted Visvanātha Naik and the Rāya confirmed this, and sent him as *Pādyamandalātīpati* and *Dhaksina-simhāsantīpati*."

Another MS. Chronicle, *The Pādyā Pratāpa Vamsāvali*, has got its own version of the events. It says, after a good deal of legendary matter, that "while Kulavardhana⁷⁹ Pādyān was ruling, a Muhammadan named Mullah came from the north, fought with Kulavardhana, seized the kingdom, closed the temples, and spread Muhammadanism everywhere. Then a single garland, a single sandal paste and a single lamp were left in the holy of holies of the Madura shrine, a stone wall was erected in front of the Garbhagraha in both the shrines, and the festival idols were taken for safety to Malayālam.⁸⁰ For many a day there was the Muhammadan regime. Then two Canarese named Kampaia Udayār and Empaia Udayār came from the north at the head of a large army, overthrew the Muhammadans, and revived worship, as of old, in the temples. The stone wall before the Garbhagraha was then removed and lo! it was found that the sandal paste, the garland, and the lamp were as fresh as if placed that very day. The two kings were struck with wonder. They got the festival idols from Malabār, revived the old festivals, and thus ruled for many days.

"Meanwhile Kulavardhana Pādyā had gone to the west and died there. His son Soma-sēkhara then proceeded to the Canarese country in the north, had an interview with its kings, and proceeding to the court of Kampaia's master⁸¹ Basava Dēva Mahā Rāja, waited on him for a year, during which he enjoyed his grace and the favour of his ministers. At the end of the year, thanks to the advice of the latter, the Rāja presented him with elephants, horses, army, etc.; crowned him as the king of the Pādyān kingdom, and wrote to Kampaia Udayār to give it over to him. Sōmēśvara, thereupon, came to Madura and when three *Kāthas* off it, sent word to Kampaia, who gave him a cordial reception, crowned him, and entrusting the kingdom to him, returned to his country. Then Sōmēśvara ruled for some time."

The MS. then gives this genealogy. It has no dates. It, moreover, gives only 13 kings, and many of these are not identical with those mentioned in other MSS.

Somēśvara.
|
Kulavayāndha Pādyā
|
Varada Rāja P.
|
Kumāra Singha P.
|
Vajra Singha P.
|
Bhīma Sēna P.
|
Pratāpa Rāma P.
|
Varaguna Rāma P.
|
Kumāra Chandra P.
|
Varatunga P.
|
Chandra Sēkhara P.
|
Somēśvara P.
|
Chandra Sēkhara P.

⁷⁹ It will be seen that in regard to the name of the Pādyān king this MS. differs from others.

⁸⁰ Cf. the *Koyilō'ugu*.

⁸¹ The term Basava Dēva Mahā Rāja is unknown to the inscriptions. The MS. is here unreliable. It may however be the fact that the Pādyā king got back his kingdom from the Rāya after waiting on him for a year

"After Chandra Śekhara the Pāḍyan kingdom became extinct. For he had no child, and Vira Śekhara Chō'a invaded the kingdom, seized it, and drove him away. Chandra Śekhara, thereupon, went to the Rāya and complained, and he sent Nāgama Nāik to restore him. He came, defeated and drove out the Chō'a; but, turning traitor, seized the Pāḍyan crown himself, and ruled for four years. Then owing to the Rāya's orders, Visvanātha Nāik came to the south, defeated his father Nāgama Nāik, and gave back the kingdom to the Pāḍyan. Subsequently, however, the Pāḍyan, owing to his having no heir and owing to his fear that after him his kingdom would be seized by his enemies, adopted Visvanātha as his son, gave him the royal seal, and crowned him in Mīnākshi's temple. From that time, Visvanātha and his descendants ruled the Pāḍyan kingdom."

The MSS. thus agree in mentioning fifteen kings as the rulers of the Pāḍyan realm from the time of Kampai'a Udayār to the time of Viśvanātha Nāik. But, in spite of this agreement, the list must be considered a spurious one. Messrs. Nelson and Sewell⁸² solved the problem for their part by putting these monarchs to the pre-Musalmān period, to, in fact, a Parākrama Pāḍya who is said to have been the victim of the Islamites,—a procedure which is directly against the account of the MSS., which plainly indicate that they were the successors of Kampai'a Udayar. Mr. Taylor, on the other hand, believed in the existence of the kings, but not the dates⁸³ ascribed to them by the "*Supple. MS.*" He says that the period of 345 years assigned to them cannot be accepted, as it would bring the last Pāḍyan king "too low down." Nor is he prepared to believe the date S. 1354 so inconsistently attributed by the MS. to Chandra Śekhara. He gives three reasons for his contention. First the period of 61 years which will have to be assigned to the 17 kings in case the date S. 1354 is accepted, is too small as the average comes to less than four years. Secondly S. 1354, he surmises, may be a mistake of the copyist for S. 1454. Thirdly, Nāgama Nāik, the founder of the Madura Nāik dynasty, was, according to many authorities, a general of Krishna Dēva Rāya in the 16th century. For these reasons he adds 100 years to S. 1354 and concludes that the dynasty must have ended about S. 1454⁸⁴ i.e., 1532 A.D. In spite of Mr. Taylor's opinion, there are certain reasons which warrant the belief that the list of kings is not genuine. It is more than probable that the three MSS. were taken from a single source.

Their Existence doubtful.

Then, again, all of them are suspiciously short and vague, and while the chronology of one is distinctly absurd, the chronology of the others is a perfect blank. Above all, there is a singular lack of epigraphical evidence to support the existence of these kings. Had they existed, they would certainly have left the marks of their sway in stone or metal, as the kings of those days invariably did. A Hindu king without resort to the panegyric of Brāhmins and the reputation of a donor to temples and priests was, in the mediæval age of Indian history, a practically impossible phenomenon. The name of religious benefactor was as dear as life to the kings of those days. Charters and grants carved in undying plates, and inscriptions cut in undying stone were, for them, the only means of ensuring an eternity of fame and a perpetuation of remembrance. A king indifferent to such means of reputation in such an age would indeed be a marvel, and a series of such kings would be a still greater marvel. And yet, throughout the 15th century, we do not meet with any inscription of these kings. Only one conclusion is possible,—they had not existed at all.

If the information given by the "*Supple. MS.*" and other MSS. in regard to the Pāḍyan line of Somaśekhara can be thus dismissed as a fabrication, it ought not to be concluded that there were no indigenous rulers in Madura during the period of 1½ centuries which we have surveyed. We have already seen how during the Muhammadan occupation and rule of Madura in the 14th century, kings of the Pāḍyan dynasty continued to rule. We have seen how according to Kielhorn, three of them at least, Māravarman Kuleśekhara II, (1314-21) Māravarman Parākrama Pāḍya (1334-52) and Jātavarman Parākrama Pāḍya, have left evidences of their nominal, though not actual sway, and how⁸⁵ according to Mr. Krishna

⁸² *Antiquities*, Vol. II, 218-20. ⁸³ *O. H. MSS.*, II, 88. ⁸⁴ *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 88. ⁸⁵ See *Ants.*, section 2.

Sastri a certain Vira Pāṇḍya ruled and distinguished himself during the same period. We may be sure that, in the time of Kampaia Udayār's dynasty and of the Naik Viceroys who followed him, the indigenous kings continued to rule. But we have got few inscriptions of this period to enlighten us on the reigning dynasty.

Pāṇḍyan Emigration to Tinnevely.

This absence of inscriptions in the name of the Pāṇḍyans between 1370 and 1550 has made some scholars suppose that the Pāṇḍyans had left Madura. They indeed never abandoned the title of "Lords of Madura"; never for a moment thought themselves as otherwise than the kings of the city of Mīnākshi and Sundraśvara, of the city which the halo of tradition connected with prehistoric scenes, in which the gods played a more active part than men. Nevertheless, they ceased to be the direct rulers of Madura. They shifted their headquarters to the district of Tinnevely, to the town of Tenkāsi which they built and beautified. Henceforward their immediate activities were in the basin of the Tāmbraparni and not the Valgai, and their immediate neighbours were the Kēraḷās and not Chōḷas. The frequency of invasions, Chōḷa as well as Hoysāḷa, Hindu and Muhammadan, Telugu and Canarese, must have been the cause of this emigration. Nearness to the historic areas of Trichi and Tanjore, of Coimbatore and Dvārasamudra, was a source of constant danger and ceaseless anxiety; and the Musalman conquest must have completed that dread and anxiety which the occupation of Madura must have inevitably engendered in the minds of its occupiers.

The Bānas established in Madura.

The Pāṇḍyas of the Vijayanagar period, then, ruled in the Tinnevely District. They, however, it should be clearly understood, never gave up the title of "Lords of Madura." In fact it is more or less certain that the chiefs who were in the direct charge of Madura considered themselves to be the dependents and feudatories of the Pāṇḍyans at Tinnevely, both of course being under the control of the Telugu agents of Vijayanagar. Who were these chiefs, then? Were they the relations of the Pāṇḍyans, or did they belong to a distinct hereditary line? It is in answering this question that we find a significant clue in the statement of the *Pand. Chron.* we have already noted,—namely that in the middle of the 15th century, Lakṣana Deśaṇāyaka installed, in Madura, the illegitimate sons of the Pāṇḍyan, Māviliṇā Rāya Kālayār Sōmanār, Anjātha Perumāl and Muttarasa Tirumali Māviliṇā Rāya; and that these ruled till 1499, when Narasa Nāik became the master of the Empire. Now, the *Pand. Chron.* is valuable only in giving us a clue as to the rulers in Madura and nothing more. It does not enlighten us as to details. In fact, a minute consideration of it puzzles the investigator. From its phraseology, for instance, it is inferable that all these four chiefs were brothers and crowned at once; that could, of course, not have happened. The first Māviliṇā alone would have been brought from Kālayār Koil, and the others should have been his successors. They might have been his brothers or sons, or even grandsons. Then, again, the chronicle implies they were Pāṇḍyas. This can be dismissed as false. It may be true that they were connected by marriage with the Pāṇḍya royal family, but they were not Pāṇḍyan except in title. They were, or at least two of them were, as their very name shows, Bānas. The term Māviliṇā Rāya was long a puzzle to the historians of Madura. Mr. Taylor believed that Māviliṇā was identical with Mahābalipuram! "The allusion to the king of Māviliṇā" he says, "is made in a passing and familiar way, as to a matter very well-known and understood at the time when the MS.⁸⁰ was written. The word Māviliṇam will not bear an application to the Marava country. The Malayālam country is also radically different in its orthography. There is no independent *pālayam* of this name in our lists. And the only name (within our knowledge) to which the names agree is Māviliṇam, or the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, sometimes learnedly termed Mahābalipuram

⁸⁰ Mr. Taylor refers to the *Hist. Carna Dynast.*; but this applies equally to the present MS.

Besides, on inquiry, it is found, that the people of the country commonly use the words *Māvalivanam* and *Māvalivaram*, quite indifferently, and interchangeably; and that there can be no reason whatsoever to question the application of the name in our MS. to the place called on the spot, more usually *Māvalivaram*. Hence we presume that the certainty of the reference may be taken for granted. We further remember speaking to an intelligent native, who, alluding to the ancient division of *Soradēsam*, said, that after the partition of it by a *Soren* king in favour of his son, this part of the country came to be called *Soramandalam* (that is, we suppose *Tondamandalam*) and that the capital of this latter kingdom was *Māvalivaram*.⁸⁷ This interpretation, however, must be described as absurd. Mr. Nelson was happier in his endeavour to clear the mystery. He surmises that, from the fact that *Māvalivānan* is not mentioned in the list of the *pālayams* of the day, it must have been the name of some obscure chief, probably a scion of the old *Pāndyan* line. The eminent epigraphist, Rao Bahadur V. Venkaiyah was the first to give, with the aid of epigraphy, some information which goes to elucidate the early history and activities of the *Māvalivāna* kings.

The Previous History of the Bānas.

He points out that the *Bānas* or *Vānas*⁸⁸ originally owned a kingdom which extended as far as *Kālahasti* in the east and *Punganūr* in the west, i. e., "the whole of the modern North Arcot District to the north of the river *Pālār*."⁸⁹ In the beginning of the 10th century the great *Chōla* king *Parāntaka I.* deprived the *Bānas* of their dominions. One branch of them, in consequence, sought their fortunes in the *Telugu* country in the *Guntār* District.⁹⁰ Another branch migrated apparently to the banks of the *Southern Pennār*, and gave their new home the name of *Vanagopādi*. Chiefs of these branches evidently continued to acknowledge allegiance to the *Chōla* Emperors of the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.⁹¹ With the decline of the *Chōla* Empire the *Vānada Rāyars*, like other feudatories, displayed a spirit of disaffection, and one of them, whose inscriptions are found at *Kudumīmalai* in the *Pudukōttah* State, and who reigned from 1248 to at least 1278, claims to have defeated the *Chōla* monarch. In later times, the *Bānas* seem to have gone further South and settled in the *Madura* District, where we find inscriptions of *Māvilivāna Rāyars* in the 16th century.⁹² Mr. Gopinātha Rao, the Superintendent of Archaeology in *Travancore*, is more explicit in describing the circumstances of the *Bāna* advent and advancement in the district of *Madura*. "About the beginning⁹³ of the 13th century A. D." he says, "when the *Chōla* supremacy was getting weakened, and the *Pāndyas* were rising in importance, a chief of *Nadu Nādu* (or *Magadhai Nādu*), *Rāja Vanakōvaraiyan* by name, rebelled against his overlord,⁹⁴ and seems

⁸⁷ *O. H. MSS.*, II, 140-44. Mr. Taylor often writes absurdity and this is a good illustration of it.

⁸⁸ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1903, 1906 etc. *Tiruvallam* was ancient *Vānapuram* in North Arcot District. The connection with *Mahābalipuram* is a pure fancy and there is no clue to any extension of territory as far as that place. (*Ep. Rep.* 1904, p. 16), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, 230-8 contains a very detailed account of the *Bānas* and their emigrations.

⁸⁹ *Ep. Rep.* 1906-7, p. 79, An insc. at *Tiruvallam* of the 9th century says that the *Bānas* were the masters of 1200 villages of *Vaduga vali*; i. e., the road of the *Vadugā* or *Telugus*. (*S. Ind. Insc.* III p. 90-91 and 95-96) A *Chōla* king of the 10th century changes the name of their region on the *Pālār* at the instance of a *Māvalivāna Rāya* to his own name *Vīranāyanaśētri* (*Ibid.* II, p. 389). See also *Ep. Ind.* XI pp. 222-229, for five *Bāna* insc. from *Gudimallam*.

⁹⁰ Mr. Venkaiyah says that a descendant of this branch was at *Kondavīdu* in the 12th century A. D. See *Ep. Rep.* 1899-1900, para 85; 1900, etc.

⁹¹ *Ep. Rep.* 1906-7, p. 79-80 gives some instances. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 239.

⁹² *Ep. No.* 585 and 587 of 1902.

⁹³ *Trans. Arch. Series*, p. 53.

⁹⁴ *Sendanail*, III, 423-432. *Magadhai Nādu* is the region between *Trichinopoly* and *S. Arcot* districts. See *Ep. Ind.* VI and XI, p. 239-40 for detailed examination of the term.

to have joined the Pāṇḍya king."⁹⁵ Mr. G. Rao surmises that, in return for this invaluable service, the Pāṇḍyas apparently left "the Madura country in charge of their new ally the Vānakōvaraiyan"; and "changed their capital from Madura to Tinnevely."

Bana Chiefs of Madura 1400 to 1550.

In the paucity of Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in the 15th century in Madura and in the frequency of Vāna inscriptions, he finds unmistakable proofs of his theory. "We see from about S. 1375 (1453 A. D.), inscriptions⁹⁶ of the Māvalivānada Rāyars, of whom one Urangāvilidān Māvalivānadarāyan calls the country his own. The next person of this dynasty appears to be one Sundarattōludaiyān Māvalivānadarāyan, the son of Tirumalirunjōlai, Māvalivānadarāyan. It seems to me that the Māvalivānadarāyars of the *Pand. Chron.* must refer to these kings. Gopinātha Rao further says that the second of these two chiefs, who bore a few of the Vijayanagar *birudās* and lived about S. 1398 (1475 A. D.), must have been the opponent of Narasa Nāik during his reputed invasion of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom some time about this date. "Either⁹⁷ the Māvalivānadarāyan was defeated by the Vijayanagar general and then dubbed himself with the Vijayanagar *birudās*, or he defeated the latter and assumed, as the conqueror, the Vijayanagar *birudās*; which of these was the case, it is not easy to say in our present state of knowledge of the history of that period. But that the chieftains of this family held or were suffered to hold the Madura country under them is certain. For inscriptions of a second Sundarattōludaiyān Māvalivānadarāyan are found in several places, such as Tirupallani, Alagar Kōil, Kālayār⁹⁸ Kōil etc., till so late a period as S. 1468 (1545 A. D.)." It will be thus perceived that, whatever might be the case of Kālayār Somanar and Anjātha Perumal, the other two Māvalivānas of the Pāṇḍyan chronicle are historical figures; and it is not improbable that the Pāṇḍyan that made grants in the Conjeevaram temple was a Māvalivāna Rāya, who, unable to endure the overbearing nature of the Rājūvas, rose against them and marched as far as Conjeevaram,⁹⁹ but only to be beaten and driven by Rājūva Narasingha and his general Narasa Nāik.

Their relations to the Pāṇḍyas of Tenkasi.

The Pāṇḍyas of the Vijayanagar period, then, confined themselves, if we are to depend mainly on inscription lore, to the Tinnevely district. They still of course had claims over Madura as the Vānadarāyas were originally their allies and later their vassals. But they did not directly rule the Madura country. In Tinnevely, they distinguished themselves as great builders and rulers from the middle of the 14th century to the end of the first quarter of the 17th century. The researches of scholars have elucidated and defined the history of the various sovereigns of the line. Bishop Caldwell, the foremost authority on the history of

⁹⁵ See *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 240 footnote 5. It will be seen from this that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-35) is styled 'Vānada Rāyan'; while Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, had an officer named Vikrama Pāṇḍya Vānada Rāyan. *Vānada Rāya* thus became the title both of the Pāṇḍyan king and his nobles.

⁹⁶ For one such inscription see *Trav. Arch. Series*, 46. It belongs to the Mahānantapa of the Andā temple at Srivilliputtūr. Insc. 113 and 121 of 1903 are other examples.

⁹⁷ Or, as Venkaiyah says, perhaps he helped "the contemporaneous Pāṇḍyan princes Sri Vallabha and Kulatākhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty." *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 240; *Ep. Rep.* 1908-9, para. 32. and 1909-10, para. 38.

⁹⁸ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1903, p. 18 and 19. Nos. 535 and 537 of 1902 which are in the Alagar temple say that in 1530 (*Manavatha*, which is wrong) and *Hēvilambi* (this is also wrong) he made gifts of land.

⁹⁹ *Ep. Rep.* 1907, p. 84, para. 57. The inscription is in the Ekāmbaranātha temple. "It is not unlikely that he (the Pāṇḍya) took advantage of the weakness of the central Government at Vijayanagara and occupied Conjeevaram for a short time."

Tinnevely, was the first to attempt a connected account of the Pāndyas of this period. He gives a list of eight sovereigns from 1365 to 1623. From an inscription at Kottār in South Travancore he points out that the first of these, Parākrama Pāndyan¹⁰⁰ by name, came to the throne in 1365 A.D. It was in his reign, says Caldwell, that Kampala Udayar's reduction of the South must have taken place. It was in his time also that the Bahmani King Mujāhid Shāh¹ imitated the exploits of Malik Kāfūr, and instituted a plundering raid throughout "the countries between Vijayanagar and Cape Comorin."

The Tenkasi Dynasty 1365-1500.

From 1374 to 1431 Bishop Caldwell is unable to assist us, but Mr. Sewell points out from an inscription² near Rāmnād and another in the Sankara Nārāyana Taluk in Tinnevely District, that two kings, Vira Pāndya and Kulasekhara Pāndya, ruled successively in 1383 and 1402, while Kielhorn mentions a Kōṇṇinmaikondān Vikrama Pāndya, who came to the throne between June and July 1401. The second in Dr. Caldwell's list is Ponnun-Perumāl-Parākrama Pāndyan³ who came to the throne in 1431. Dr. Caldwell then gives the following list.

Vira Pāndya	1437- ? ⁴
Vira Pāndya	1475-1490 ⁵ (at least)
Parākrama P.	1516- ? ⁶
Vikrama Pāndyan	1543-1565 ⁷
Vallabha Dēva <i>alias</i>	} 1505-1610
Ati Vira Rāma. P.	
Sundara Pāndya	1610-1623

During these reigns, concludes Dr. Caldwell, the Vijayanagar kings were the suzerains. But "I think it may be assumed that they did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the country, that they contented themselves with receiving tribute and occasional military help, and that the principal result of their suzerainty was that the various petty states included

¹⁰⁰ It is highly probable that this was Jātavarman Parākrama Pāndya whose inscriptions found at Nāgar Kōil show that he came to the throne in 1357-8, according to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* VII).

¹ *Mad. Mus.* I: Briggs' *Periplus*, etc.

² See for these inscriptions Sewell's *Antiquities* I, 302, and 306. The former was found in the S. wall of the Sabhāmantapam of Tiruttarakosamangai temple, 8 miles S. W. of Rāmnād. It is dated S. 1305 (Rudrōtkāri). The 2nd is a grant of lands and tolls by "Tribuvana Chakravarti Kulasekhara Dēva" in S. 1324. It is a grant in Karivalamvanda Nallur, N. of Sankara Narayana Kōil, but the king was at Vāsudevanallur, when he ordered the grant, as is proved by Ext. I in *Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 45.

³ From a Tenkasi inscription according to a local tradition he was the son of a Kōsi Kanda Parākrama Pāndyan, whose existence, however, is doubtful. See Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 224 and Caldwell's *Tinnevely*.

⁴ From two inscriptions at Sri-Vaikuntam in Tinnevely.

⁵ Based on a Mack MS., and an inscription of 1490.

⁶ An inscription at Kuttālam.

⁷ Caldwell gives no authority for him. According to him Vikrama's immediate successor was the famous Ati Vira Rāma Pāndya, but Mr. Nelson mentions an inscription at Srivilliputtūr (Sewell's *Antiq.* I, 106), which records a grant in 1546 by a Parākrama Pāndya. (Sewell's *Antiq.* II, p. 224). Caldwell's authority for placing Ati Vira Rāma's accession in 1565 is a Kuttālam inscription, dated in his 40th year, 1605. Sewell points out, however, a Tenkasi inscription giving the date of the beginning of his reign as 1562. 1610 is fixed by Caldwell as the date of Ati Vira Rāma's death and of Sundara Pāndya's accession on the authority of Burnell, who got the information from a copper plate grant belonging to a matt in Tanjore Dt. (which is the matt referred to here?).

within their nominal rule were protected from foreign invasion and their propensity in fighting with one another kept in check."⁸ Subsequent researches⁹ have added much to the information given by Caldwell. It has been said that the first king of this line according to Caldwell was Parākrama Pādya (1365) and the second Ponnumperumāl Parākrama Pādya, who came to the throne in 1431, and that Mr. Sewell added the names of two kings between 1365 and 1431. Mr. Krishna Sastri confirms¹⁰ the additions of Mr. Sewell. Only he says, on the authority of an earlier inscription, that Kule'ekhara¹¹ ruled in 1396 A.D. The Parākrama Pādya, whom Caldwell attributes to, year 1431 the really ascended the throne in 1422¹² A.D. and ruled for a space of 42 years till 1465 A.D.

Arikēsari Parākrama 1422-65.

From a large number of inscriptions concerning him at Kuttālam and Tenkāsi, we find that Arikēsari Parākrama is a celebrated figure in the history of the later Pādyan kingdom. As the builder of the important and historic temple of Visvanāthaswāmi at Tenkāsi, "the Benares of the South," which, ever since his time, was the capital of the Pādyaas, he will ever live in the history of Indian religion and art. The story goes that god Visvanātha of Benares appeared to him in a vision, and asked him, as his own temple in distant Benares was dilapidated, to build a new temple at Tenkāsi, on the banks of the holy Chitra Nadhi, in the Tennār Nādu. The king accordingly commenced the building of a shrine in S. 1368. It was a huge undertaking, and occupied, from the laying of the foundation to the completion of the pinnacle, the long space of seventeen years, and did not cease with the king's death.¹³ Parākrama Pādya was a great devotee of Siva, and he signalised his piety by constructing, in addition to the Tenkāsi temple, a *śabha* at Jayantipura, a *mantapa* to each of the gods at Marudhār and Senbagavanam, and by bestowing liberal endowments on the Salitśvara temple at Tinnevely. Arikēsari Parākrama was not only a builder and devotee, but in the view of Mr. Gōpinātha Rao, a great soldier and an important political figure of the age. An inscription affirms that he was the conqueror over the chiefs of Singai, Anurai, Irasai, Semba, Vindai, Mudali, Virai and Valppār. Mr. Gōpinātha Rao believes that he was also the enemy of the celebrated Nārāsa Naik, the father of Krishna Dēva Rāya. "In all the Vijayanagar grants of the second or Tuluva dynasty, Nārāsa Nāyaka, the father of the distinguished Krishna Dēva Rāya, is said to have defeated a king of Madura named Mānabhāsha. We know that Nārāsa lived about the time of the first usurpation of the Vijayanagar kingdom by Śāluva Narasimha¹⁴ about 1470 A.D., and

⁸ Caldwell's *Tinnevely*, p. 54.

⁹ See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1906, p. 72 which gives an account of the Pudukōttai plates, which are an important document in this period of Pādyan history; (*Ep. Rep.* 1908-09, p. 85-86.)

¹⁰ *Ep. Rep.* 1908-9; p. 100, Mr. Krishna Sastri here sums up all the information in regard to the Pādyan dynasty of Tinnevely.

¹¹ Inscription No. 270 of 1908.

¹² *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 100; *Tras. Arch.* p. 44. According to Kellhorn, Arikēsari ascended the throne between 10th June and 19th July 1422, as proved from astronomical calculations (See *Ep. Ind.* VII) Kellhorn mentions a Vira Pādya Mārevarman, whose inscriptions are found at Tenkāsi, Kīlayar Kōil and Tiruvadi, and who came to the throne, according to his calculation, between March and July 1443, and ruled till at least 1457. (*Ep. Ind.* VII).

¹³ For some minor differences between Mr. Krishna Sastri and Mr. Gopinātha Rao in regard to the meaning of the phraseology of the inscription describing the building of the temple, see *Tras. A. A. Series*, p. 52.

¹⁴ This is wrong. The Śāluva usurpation took place only about 1430. Nārāsa, however, lived about 1470. But he could not have met Parākrama, as the latter died in 1465.

distinguished himself in the latter's service. This period agrees very well with that of a Parākrama Pāidya."¹⁵ One other theory of the same scholar may be noted in this connection,—a theory which is, in my opinion, entirely untenable owing to its violation of accepted tradition. "In the section of stray Tamil verses called Tanipdaltirattu, a verse praising a king named Mānābharaia, said to be the composition of the Tamil poet Pugalāndi, is found. If this name refers to Arikāśari Parākrama Pāidya Dēva, the age of Pugalāndi will become the last quarter of the 16th century A.D. "But tradition," he acknowledges, "places him at the beginning of the 12th¹⁶ century A.D."

Alagan Perumāl Kulāḥkhara till 1473.

On the death of Arikāśari Parākrama, his younger brother Alagan Perumāl Kulāḥkhara Dēva, who had already shared with his brother the duties and dignities of royalty for more than three decades—for two inscriptions clearly prove that he began to reign in 1429,—succeeded him as the chief king. It is not improbable that he was the great Pāidya, who signalled his reign by marching as far as Conjeevaram in 1469 and was evidently compelled to retreat by Śāluva Narasingha and his general Narasa Nāik. This, however, remains yet to be proved. A builder like his predecessor, he constructed an audience hall in the Visvanātha temple, and completed the tower which had been left unfinished by his brother. His reign seems to have ceased about 1473 A.D., when evidently his son Alagan Perumāl Parākrama Dēva assumed the sovereignty. Like the large majority of the kings of the age, he had a colleague in one Parākrama Kulāḥkhara¹⁷ whose period of co-operation, however, is completely overlapped by the period of his superior.

Alagan Perumāl Parākrama 1473-1516.

Alagan Perumāl¹⁸ Parākrama ruled till 1516, and was therefore the sovereign who must have been ruling at the time of Nārasa Nāik's usurpation in 1501.

(To be Continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BEZOAR: MANUCCI'S "CORDIAL STONE"

In his *Storia do Mogor* Manucci has several references¹ to the bezoar (Pers. *pdīzār*) or 'poison stone,' a hard concretion found in the stomach of a wild goat of the Persian province of Lār. He used it with beneficial effects when treating a female patient at Lahore c. 1673, and employed it, after he settled at Madras, in a special remedy which bore his name. The fame of Manucci's 'patent' medicine reached the ears of C. Biron, a French surgeon. Biron spent about six months in India in 1701-1702, chiefly at Pondicherry and Chandernagar. On his return to Europe he published a short account of his travels with many curious and

interesting notes on the minerals, plants, animals, etc., that had attracted his attention.² He has a chapter on "bezoard" stones and a long account of the properties of the Goa or Gaspar Antonio stone. "I have also," he adds,³ a cordial stone composed by Manouchi, a Doctor of Madras on the Coromandel coast. He sells it at a Crown an ounce. I do not know what it is made of; this Doctor makes a great secret of it."

H. HOSKINS.

["Manooch's stones" were also known to Lookyer in 1711. See *Trade in India*, p. 268. R. C. T.]

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁶ There were other Pāidyān kings who had the same title. See *Ep. S. Ind. Inscr.* III, 56, *Madu. Gazetteer*, 32.

¹⁷ I. e., Jatila Varman Kulāḥkhara, who came according to Kailhorn between November 1479 and November 1480 and whose 20th year was 1498.

¹⁸ The history of this series of kings however is not so easily defined. There are so many Kulāḥkharas and Parākrama Pāidyas mixed together in the inscriptions that the whole period is one of hopeless confusion. But I hope that the version I have given here is fairly correct and complete. See *True. Arch. Series and Ep. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 100-102, etc.

¹ *Storia do Mogor*, edited by W. Irvine, I. 54, II. 178, 431, III. 199.

² *Curiosities de la Nature et de l'Art*, Paris, Jean Moreau, 1703.

³ p. 109.

"DHARANI", OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

THE cult of protective spells, in the form of magical texts, has been shown by me elsewhere to be widely prevalent throughout Buddhism in all its sects, and to have played an important practical part in that religion from its commencement.¹ Such texts under the name of *Parittā* or *Dhāraṇī* are in universal use by all sections of Buddhists,—“Southern” as well as “Northern,”—and I there adduced evidence, almost unimpeachable, to show that some of these spells were used by Buddha himself.

I also described the early widespread use of these spells amongst the amulet-loving people, not only of India but of the adjoining lands, that embraced Buddhism. It is also attested by the fact that the great bulk of the ancient Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein and others consist mainly of fragments of these protective texts, the originals of several of which are as yet unknown.

The interest and historical importance of these spells is not merely Buddhistic. Most of the charms and their associated rituals (*sādhana*) exhibit elements which, like those of the *Ātharva-veda*, are manifestly pre-Buddhist and even pre-Vedic, and afford some insight into the religion of pre-Aryan India. Especially interesting in this regard are the vestiges thus preserved of the animal-gods; e.g., the Garuḍa, dating manifestly to the earliest nomadic and pre-historic ‘hunting’-stage of primitive society, and the references to the early anthropomorphic ‘mother’-fiends, (*Rākṣasī*), also pre-Vedic, and dating to the matriarchal and more settled stage of early civilization; as well as the light that is shed upon the evolution of many of the Brahmanical gods of the Vedic and later periods. Thus several of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon are disclosed by these contemporary texts in early or transitional forms, and in the process of being clothed by the hands of the Brahmans with the functions and attributes of popular aboriginal gods and genii, in regard to which prototypes Brahmanical literature is more or less silent.

As little of this Dhāraṇī Literature has hitherto been published for Western readers,² and a great mass of it exists in Tibetan texts translated with remarkable fidelity from the Sanskrit, it has been suggested to me that translations of some of these Tibetan versions into English would be acceptable to students of Oriental religion and mythology. I accordingly offer here an instalment of these texts and their translations.

The Tibetan material now available in Europe for this purpose is immense. The British collections in the national libraries are especially full, as they have been greatly increased by the large accessions collected by me during the Lhasa Expedition of 1904,³ which included several sets of the “*Dhāraṇī Piṭaka*”⁴ as well as the series contained in three sets of the great Mahāyāna Canon (*Ka-gyur*), in the Encyclopedic Commentaries (*Tan-gyur*), and in numerous separate texts, mostly in duplicate or triplicate.

¹ The “*Dhāraṇī*” Cult in Buddhism, its Origin, Deified literature and Images: *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, 1912, 155-195.

² Of the Pāli *Parittā* several have been translated by Gogerly.—“Collected Writings” edited by A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1908. Of *Dhāraṇī* a few have been translated or summarised from the Sanskrit by R. L. Mitra (“*Nepalese Buddhist Literature*” 1882), by Max Müller (*Upaniṣad-vijaya D.*); by R. Hoernle (*Mahā-māyārt* in *Bower MS.*). From the Chinese, a few by S. Beal (*Uatena*); by H. Kern (*Sacred Books of the East* XXI); and a list of others contained in the Chinese *Tripitaka* is given by B. Nanjio (*Catalogue*). Of the Tibetan collections, the titles of several are given by Csoma Kōrosi (“*Analysis*” in *Asiatic Researches* XX) and more fully by J. J. Schmidt (*Javlex*, St. Petersburg 1848), and for part of those in the *Tan-gyur* by F. W. Thomas (*Sādhana* in “*Museum*,” Louvain, 1903) and Dr. P. Cordier (in his *Catalogue of the Tan-gyur Collection*, Paris 1909). From the Uigur Dr. F. W. K. Müller has translated a few (*Uigurica*, II Berlin 1911.)

³ “*Tibetan MSS. collected in the Lhasa Mission*,” *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 1912, 80-113. The collection was dispersed between the libraries of the India Office, British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

⁴ *Hsuan Tsiang's Records* (Beal) II. 165, Watters, *do.* II. 160; Kern's *Manual Indian Buddhism* 48.

The texts which I have selected at present are with one exception (No. 6)⁵ now published and translated for the first time and relate especially to the *Garuda*, which is characterised in the title by its 'beak.' That monstrous bird, which incorporates a sun-myth as well as a thunderstorm-myth, from its widespread prominence amongst primitive people in remote antiquity, presumably was regarded as the supreme spirit in prehistoric times. It is the Phoenix or *Feng* of the Chinese in its combat with the dragon-spirits (the *nāgas* of India) who withhold the rain; it is the *gryps* of the Greeks and the *roc* or *rūkh* or *simurgh* of the Persians. In the ancient Indian Buddhist sculptures at Sāñhī and elsewhere it figures prominently in antipathy to the *nāgas*, and in process of being absorbed into Buddhist mysticism. Whilst into later Brahmanism it has been incorporated to form the car of Viṣṇu and as the symbol of victory to surmount the standards and banners dedicated to that god by the Imperial Guptas and other would-be Chakravartī emperors. In No. 2 the appearance and functions of the bird are described.⁶

By No. 6 important light is thrown upon the genesis and evolution of the Buddhist goddess *Tārā*, the so-called 'Queen of Heaven' and 'Mother of the (celestial) Buddhas.' The identity of *Tārā* with the goddess *Uṣṇiṣa-Vijayā* was pointed out by me long ago.⁷ Now, in this *Dhāraṇī* *Tārā* is identified with *Durgā* (who also bears the title of *Vijayā*) and *Kālī* and most of those other 'Mother' she-devils of pre-Vedic times, who have in later days been imported into and incorporated with Brahmanism. She is moreover especially identified with the *Garuda* under the title of the "Female Thunderbolt-Beak," *Vajratuṇḍī*.

In form, these *Dhāraṇīs* or spells are generally given the shape of the orthodox Buddhist *sūtra*. They purport to have been recited in the usual way by *Ānanda* at the 'First Council,' the place and circumstances where they were 'delivered' is usually mentioned; and the words of the spell are often put into the mouth of Buddha himself. The incantatory formulas, constituting *mantras* or spells-proper, are in a crude style of Sanskrit, with recurring cabalistic ejaculatory words, such as are also found in Brahmanical *mantras*.

1. The Iron Thunderbolt-Beak.

Vajra-loha-tuṇḍa Dhāraṇī.

[India Office Tibetan texts (Waddell Collection) No. 17 Vol. Z. (19). No. 261 in my list n 'Tib. MS. loc. cit.]

Om! In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ārya vajra loha-tuṇḍa nāma dhāraṇī*: in the Tibetan speech *Phags-pa rdorje gnam-lehags kyi meḥ'u* [or "The noble Iron-Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky."]

Salutation to Buddha and all the Bodhisattvas! Thus have I heard. The Blessed One having gone into the country of Magadha passed through 'the mango-grove.' Leaving the mango-grove he sat down in the rock-cave of the Indra hill⁸. Then Sakra the most powerful of the gods together with the [gods of the] directions, came to the outside of the place where The Blessed One was and saluted the feet of The Blessed One. Then Brahmā and Viṣṇu and Indra (Sakra) and the four great kings [of the Quarters] thrice circled around The Blessed One and besought him saying:—O Bhagvān we, all assembled, beseech you to

⁵ A fragment of this *Dhāraṇī* from the Sanskrit has been published with translation by Dr Hoernle from a Stein MS. in *J. R. A. S.* 1911, 461, etc., and a full translation of another Stein MS. is I understand to be published in the final Report on the Expedition Results. An Uigur version of the same is translated into German by F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II. 1911, 50.

⁶ For further descriptions of this bird-god from Buddhist sources with illustrations, see my article on "the *Dhāraṇī* Cult" above cited, pp. 187-191.

⁷ "The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and Tara," *J. R. A. S.* 1894, 83, No. 4.

⁸ *Indra-saila-guhā* in the Rājgir Hills.

capture the heart⁹ of the Nāgas to disperse their thunderbolts so that the malignant Nāgas may not destroy the harvest, with manifold despoilation. Turn them aside, the wind and hail of the clouds, that they do not destroy everything, that the flowers and fruits and the harvests be preserved from injury. We beseech you to utter the spell called "The Iron Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky." We beseech The Blessed One for the welfare of all beings to bestow upon us this gift!

The Blessed One [then] spoke thus to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, and the Four Great Kings [of the Quarters], Honourable Sirs! for the welfare of all beings I shall utter it as a blessing [like one?] of the noble truths. Then Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Indra and the four great kings heard the *mantras* of the *Dhāraṇī* [as follows]:

Salutation to the Three Holy Ones!

Salutation to Buddha Śākya-muni, to all the completely perfect Tathāgata Arhants.

Salutation to all the great Magical powers¹⁰ for compelling the calm of the glorious hereafter.¹¹

Salutation to the highest in the three worlds.

Maṭha maṭha pramathā (twice). *jvalita bhikṛita vajra jvaya jvaya; Mahāvaya viryapara-krāma. koṭari jaya, pramabhavavuma, pramasare! Bho bho nāga dīpa dīpa! Bhiswaramadha pramadane namur-bhanan ophotayana huṃ huṃ phaḥ phaḥ! . . . &c. &c. Hantu sarva-dushtana bhasvoddya hridaya mahyeṣare jilāditi iṣṭaradura hanahana hūṃ phaḥ . . . &c.*

This what you have just now heard is "The glowing¹² Iron Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky." It will break all the malignant Nāgas, and convert evil things into sweet perfumes. It will madden and destroy [evil] . . . &c.

At the same time, he called forth by name [the following spirits to receive his commands: The Nāga-king of the ocean Mātāṅga, the Nāga-king [known as] the 'Hooded One' (*Ok'atra*), the great 'Enchanter'.¹³ Ten billions, one thousand millions and one hundred thousand saluted the feet of the Bhagavān who, after those Nāgas had formed an outer assembly [said unto them] "Guard ye all the beings of the world (Jambudvīpa) the flowers and fruit and harvests, the trees, leaves and branches! Free them from wind, hail and excessive drought! Make timely rain to fall! By your own vow, by the vow to your tutelaries and to the Tathāgata, guard these for ever henceforth! Each of you becoming entirely perfect in mind do no injury to man." . . . &c., &c.

2. The Red-copper Beak.

[India Office. Tibetan text (Waddell Colln.) No. K. 17. Vol. Z. (18):
No. 265 in my List].

In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ārya ghadga prataḥ bhanda-ghṛitā kada britachakhadh-ayā*¹⁴; in the Tibetan speech *'p'ags-pa zais-gi moh'u dmar-pos gduḡ-paḥ phyogs t'ams-chad gnön por byed-pa tes-bya-baḥ grūḥ* [i.e. "The Dhāraṇī of the noble Red Beak of Copper, who expels the mischief in all the directions."]

Salutation to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! Salutation to all the noble ones (*āryas*)! Salutation to all the Buddhas of the directions, to all the Bodhisattvas and hearers! Salutation to the Blessed One. Tathāgatha Arhanta, the completely perfect Buddha, Sugata the fearless one whose words discipline humanity, the most high one, the leader of gods and men!

⁹ Or 'spirit,' 'heart,' or 'essence,' Tib. *skān-po*. Secondly it means *vajra* or thunderbolt, also the blue-jewel of Indra—*Indraṇḍika*. ¹⁰ *Mūḥ-po*.

¹¹ Literally "the other side" [of life]—*pa-roḥ zhi-gyis gnön-paḥ mūḥ-po*. The word which I have translated 'compelling,' namely *gnön-pa*, literally means to suppress to 'overcome by force,' and is frequently used in magical operations (cf. Jacschke, *Tib. Dict.*, 307.)

¹² *Bar-ba*.

¹³ *Mūḥ-ch'o-wa*.

Salutation to the faces of the thousand Buddhas ! Salutation to the illustrious Bearer of the Thunderbolt (*Vajrapāṇi*).

This speech was thus heard by me :—The blessed One was seated at the hermitage of the reed-grove¹⁴ by the sheet¹⁵ of lotuses on the bank of the river Ganges,¹⁶ in company with a great retinue of monks and novices.

At that time all the people were overpowered by disease caused by the *nāga* (dragons)¹⁷ and prayed [to Buddha] for the terrific supernatural power of the noble Red-copper Beak, so that the eight plagues of the hot countries should not increase their fury,¹⁸ carry off, upset, suck up the blood and flesh (of the people) ; that the angry flood of consuming fiery waves might not descend [further]. [Here part of the Shāman's operation in exorcising the *Nāgas* is indicated.]

By throwing the iron-nail¹⁹ the paralysed limbs will despatch their accumulated stupefaction to the cemeteries. By throwing up the seed²⁰ the diseases of the eight great *Nāgas* will be ejected and the stupefying wounds over the earth be purified.

He [‘ the Beak ’] has the head of the *Garuḍa* bird with a body of copper.²¹ He feeds overhead. He has a beak of copper 990 fathoms long. He devours anyone of the four races of *Nāgas*. He craves for blood and hail²² and water. He stares fiercely with red eyes. He crunches [even] the gods. He laps up the marrow of things. He sends suddenly²³ ulcerous diseases. He subdues the foundations of the three worlds. He scatters the poison of fearsome diseases. Below, he strikes widespread panic into the lower hells ; above, he sinks down the highest of beings. He splits down the six thousand kinds of plague. He lays low the thousand kinds of *Nāgas* of the interior [of the earth]. For these reasons there is [amongst the disease-causing *Nāgas*] fear of his appearance and re-appearance.

Then *Vajrapāṇi* besought the Blessed One, the beneficent ascetic, [saying] “ O Sugata, pray have compassion on the six classes of beings, pray set them free from their disease and distress ! Pray set them free from the disease of passion, pray kill the fire of anger, pulverize the rock of arrogance, clear away the darkness of ignorance, the poison of disease, deliver from the thousands of disease-demons ! ”

Thus having supplicated, [the Buddha], in compassion seeing [the distress], acted at heart.²⁴ [Seeing] *Vajrapāṇi* miserable and the torments of the fierce disease, the state of the bodies of all, the [disease-spirits] breaking [their] promises and vows had tormented by sickness and unfettered with the thread of passion [Buddha-exclaimed], “ Come all [diseases spirits] ! swiftly come near here ! I shall explain. Be advised.” Thus he commanded.

Then through *Vajrapāṇi*'s [request ?] there arrived near, distressed at the commands of the Victorious One, to attend the presence of the Victorious one, the eight classes of the *Rākṣa*-mother fiends²⁵ [also ? he or they] called “ The swift-goer of the depths, the middle and

¹⁴ Jam-bud. = Skt. *nala*. There was a hermitage of this name on the Ganges near Vaiṣṇī.

¹⁵ Or coverlet : *va-ka-ba*—Skt. *kuṇḍa* (?).

¹⁶ Literally ‘possessed of the eight limbs or arms,’ which the *Dictionaries* state is the Ganges.

¹⁷ *Mad-e-nad*, defined in the *Dictionaries* as ‘disease caused by *Nāgas* ;’ also leprosy, *kuṣṭha*.

¹⁸ *gnad kr'o-bo*, literally ‘furious spirit.’

¹⁹ *lokaṇa-kyi gzer* == Skt. *kila*, a form of Indra's bolt.

²⁰ *ś'ig*, also ‘lines’ or ‘spots.’

²¹ In Jewish mythology Brass is symbolic of irresistible weapons Dan. 2, 39 ; Mic. 4, 13 ; Zech. 6, 1.

²² *Chu'-ser*, may also mean ‘yellow water’ or ‘putrid water.’

²³ *Bur-du*, which may also read ‘by (his) bolts.’

²⁴ The construction here is very involved and obscure ; and Buddha is not mentioned, probably intentionally so, in order that the spell of so bloodthirsty a being should not be directly ascribed to the placid Buddha.

²⁵ *Lha-ma-er-in*, literally = god or spirit + mother (or not) - fiend (*rākṣa*), can read ‘the fiends who are not gods i.e. (*Asurī*) ;’ but the eight mothers *nik-ni* form a well-known group.

top," the race of the Brahman Nāga Vasuta.²⁶ Thus spoke Vajrapāṇi to the [whole] race of the Brahman Vasuta Nāga. "Who am I to . . . make useless speech? I am alone! You do not hear even me! You do not attend me, the mighty one . . . possessed of swift energy." Thus he said. Then Vajrapāṇi reflecting in heart [what he should do] said "You who are the lords of the earth, what should I say to you?" [Then the Nāga replied:] "I am the king of the Nāgas, and am called 'Vasuta' the gem of the Brahmins.²⁷ To me belongs all poison . . . [here follows five leaves describing the various diseases &c. caused by Nāgas, and the spell appears to be disclosed by the Nāga king himself in these words:] These were the words commanded:—*Om Hṛṣṇ Hṛi Hṛi Ah Tathāgatā nāga-hṛdaya. tathāgata namaḥ dhamaya. tathāgate raja śrī ūhanana, budya budhya, raja iāla pari parikīra, nagahū yarbada povamāka svaha! Guha rāja-la svāhā! hṛṣṇ hṛi!* . . . (&c. &c.)

By this fortunate talisman²⁸ of the noble one, the sharp Red Copper Beak, may the [evil] power of the six classes of 'Vasuta' be swept away! . . . Then straightway the vanquished race of the Brahman [Nāga] is turned aside.

This *Dhāraṇī* of the 'Red Beak of Copper' is translated by the Indian abbot Jñāna Deva and the Tibetan *Banle* Cho's-'grub, and the translator (-interpreter) sKa-ba Bha-po.²⁹

3. The Thunderbolt-Beak.

Vajra-tunda Dhāraṇī.

[From *Ka-gyur-rGyud*, Calc. edn. (also India Office?), Vol. M. fols. 426-466: Ceoma, *Analysis* p. 540-7 St. Petersburg ed. 754 W., fols. 27-50: Schmidt, *Index* p. 167, also in *gZuḥ* (*Dhāraṇī* Section) of latter, 937 W., fols. 38-79].

Om! In the Indian speech [this is called] *Vajra dṇṣṭa*³⁰ *nama nāga samaya*; in the Tibetan speech *rDo-rjei mch'u zēs-bya-ba khū-dam t'ig-go*—[that is The Nāga's vow called 'The Thunder-bolt Beak.']

Salutation to the Omniscient One! At that time The Blessed One³¹ was staying at the great city of 'The Striding Servant (?)'³²

Amongst the great retinue [there] assembled [were] Takshaka [king of the Nāga Serpent-dragons] and the rest of the Nāga retinue, also gods and a great retinue of men assembled for the welfare of living beings. Seeing these, he [The Blessed One] thought that he would completely fulfil the hope of all by explaining the religious means of doing virtuous acts. At this time in that city was a Brahman named Viṣṇu a rich man enjoying great wealth. Proud in the possession of fine clothes and many goods and chattels [yet] was he not blessed. The sacred *Vedas* and the Brahmins were [his] means of crossing to the other shore [of existence] These began and ended merely with *mantras* (spells). By respecting these spells the Nāgas were summoned; by burnt offerings [was summoned] the Fire [? god]. When the harvest of this Brahman ripened it began to be destroyed by exasperating rain. He said I forgot for

²⁶ This title suggests Kubera, who was lord of the Vasu spirits, and the *ratas* were latterly placed under him; but he is not usually described as a Nāga himself, yet in the Jatakas he is given control over *nāgas*. In later Brahmanism the chief of all the Nāga kings is Vasuki.

²⁷ *Brāhṇa-rin-poche*.

²⁸ *Oka's-pa* literally 'implement,' or weapon.

²⁹ The last-named, who is called in one copy of this text, Ka-ba, appears to me to be the same as the Ka-ba l'albotsegs (or Sṛf-Kūta), who was a pupil of Padma Sambhava, circa 748-802 A. D.; see my *Buddhism of Tibet* p. 31 fn. 3 No. 17; Also Grindwedel's *Mythologie* 49, 53. Several of his works are in the Great Commentary, *Tangyur*, *śālo* Section, Vols. 117-124.

³⁰ This is obviously a corruption of the copyist—the *Dictionaries* give *tunda* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan *mch'u*, a beak; and the correct form is given in the colophons.

³¹ Bhagavān.

³² Gyog-'dor, literally servant + thrown off or forsaken or striding; a possible restoration by the Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicons is *Urana + dāsa*.

obtaining victory over this to utter the excellent spell and therefore the rain has begun to fall ; so remembering the astrological formula he summoned the *Nāga* [and] performed the burnt offering of fire—mixing together sesamum and fruits, and the mustard grain, butter, salt, he made the burnt offering. Thereupon the *Nāgas* merely appeared [but] were not subjected. He praised the bolt [of Indra]³² and struck the head of the *Nāga*, and splitting it he enjoyed the pleasure of weakening the downpour. Thereupon the *Nāga* quivering with great rage and fury, instantly by the swift power of a *Nāga* forsook his [former] body and changed temporarily in a vapour of dazzling light to destroy [his assailant]. When this great spirit was descending like a shroud to destroy the body of the Brahman, the latter unassisted by his men was unable to make the burnt offering of fire. Helpless, in order to escape, he besought The Blessed One as a protecting mother to save him. Falling at the feet of the Blessed One he prayed saying : ‘ O Bhagavān, save my life I beseech you from destruction by the enraged *Nāga* ! Will you not save ! Save, O Bhagavan, Save, O Tathāgata ! ’ Then The Blessed One spake unto that great breathless Brahmin : ‘ Fear not great Brahmin, I shall be your protector, and saviour and friend,’ and having thus spoken and saying no more, he sat down.

Then Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the *Yakṣas* besought The blessed One, saying :— ‘ Grant this prayer O Bhagavān, so that the harvest be not destroyed by wild³⁴ *Nāgas*, also for the sake of [our] complete happiness,³⁵ in the future. Your instructions are necessary for all living beings. In what way should we act in such an alarming emergency ? O Bhagavān what is to be done to benefit the harvests, to protect them perfectly, to increase them to the utmost, for the complete protection of the fields against the hostile *Nāgas*—we beseech you tell us ! ’

Then, the Bhagavān answered Vajrapāṇi the lord of esoterism and said :—“ Vajrapāṇi, the angry heart of the *Nāga* causes it to do angry deeds. The *Dhāraṇī* called the ‘ Thunderbolt Beak’, the heart of the Tathāgata, the Arhant and most perfect Buddha, is the remedy. That I now declare [unto you]. By this speech the injury will be swiftly stayed and all the harvest be completely protected &c., &c.”

Thereupon Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the *Yakṣas* spake thus : ‘ The Blessed One is the healer of all living beings. We beseech him in kindness to utter the words of the *mantras* of this great *Dhāraṇī*. Then the Bhagavān in kindness said [the spell] : *Namo Bhagavate sarvā Buddhāna namo Bhagavate Śākyarājaya ! Om jala jala giri giri bhavana, dipata vega mahācchaḍanato hridaya jalani. huru huru. kana kana. dāha dāha. pāṭa pāṭa. sarvasaṁsa nāga-kula paśana, &c. &c. &c. Nāga dindhārini huṁ phaḥ jalamaṁ phaḥ jalini phaḥ phaḥ phaḥ phaḥ svāhā ! ’*

(The subsequent pages go on to enumerate the various specific ills and diseases, demons, and animal pests against which the spell is efficacious, and also details the necessary offerings to be made. The only other reference to ‘ Beak,’ which I have observed is the following, “ the owl and the rat and the various kinds of *long-beaks* and swarming pests shall not come forth on the muttering of this spell.” It ends by restating the title correctly as *Vajra-tuṇḍa*, and adds that it is the thunderbolt-heart³⁶ for allaying the harm done by *Nāgas* to the harvest. In the colophon no name of author or translator is mentioned.)

(To be continued.)

³² Tib. *par-bu*. This is the name of the large nail of wood or metal used to stab demons. My *Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary* gives its equivalent as *kili* and ‘ *kashbu* ’ and the former manifestly is intended for *kila* ‘ bolt, pin or lance,’ from *kil* to bind (Wilson’s *Sk. Dict.* 232); and the latter is obviously corrupt for *kaśba* = ‘ the thunderbolt of Indra, Wilson *S. D.* 848.

³⁴ Literally ‘untamed.’

³⁵ Or *nirvāṇa*.

³⁶ Or ‘ essence ’ *śrīṣ-po*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 36.)

SECTION VI 1500-1530.

The Empire under the Tuluvas.

We have already seen how the great Tuluva regent Narasa Naik deposed the Emperor Eâjuva Immudi Narasimha and established a new dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar. Men of great capacity and industry, the monarchs of the Tuluva line took prompt steps to bring the various provinces and feudatory states under the control of the central authority. It is true that Narasa Naik died within a year or two¹⁹ after his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but even within this short space of time, he made his name a real power throughout the Empire. His eldest son and successor, Vira Narasimha, the Busbal Rao of Nuniz, ruled till 1509 A.D. According to copper plates and inscriptions, he was a virtuous emperor who made gifts at various places, such as Râmâsvaram, and Srirangam; but according to travellers and chroniclers, a weak and incompetent sovereign, whose repose was constantly invaded by either external or internal enemies. Free from the dominance of the strong personality of Narasa, the feudatories of the various provinces shewed signs of disaffection and independence, and defied the central authority. Many of the Kanarese chiefs of upper Karnata or Mysore, for example, became overbearing. The Musalmân governor of Goa openly made war with his suzerain.²⁰ The chief of the small, but strategically well situated, feudatory state of Ummathâr in Mysore rebelled, and after a victory over the Emperor, made himself independent²¹ at Terkanambi and the surrounding country. Taking advantage of these troubles, the Gajapati king carried his arms into the empire, and seized the fortresses of Kondavidu and Udayagiri. The sultâns of the Trans-Tungabadra region naturally exulted in their immunity from chastisement and opportunity for aggression.

The Empire under Krishna Dêva Râya 1509—1530.

It was under such circumstances that the great Krishna Dêva Râya²² came to the throne. It is beyond our province to give a detailed account of the greatness, the magnificence and the achievements of this remarkable man. Nowhere in the world's history do we find a more striking example of a king who deserved to be king not because of his inheritance, but because of his kingly qualities. Soldier and statesman, administrator and conqueror, poet²³ and patron of arts and letters, Krishna Dêva was undoubtedly the greatest monarch that ever sat on the Vijayanagar throne. The works of Akbar seem to fade into insignificance before the glories of this monarch. Numerous are the romances that have

¹⁹ In the latter part of S. 1424 i. e., 1502 A. D.: See *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 171.

²⁰ *Ep. Carna.* VI; *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09.

²¹ Terkanambi is Gundlupet Taluk of Mysore. The *Kongu-dâsa Râjâhâ* also mentions the growth of the power of this chief at the expense of the Empire. See *Ep. Car.* III, 95, which says that a chief named Malla Râja was so aggressive as to extend his territory as far as Pennikonda. Inscriptions 578 and 379 of 1908 point out that Narasa Râja Udayâr held territory as far as Tirumuranjampûndi in Coimbatore in 1499 A. D.: (see also *Ep. Rep.* 1900).

²² He was about 20 when he came to the throne. Being the son of Nâgala, a queen of inferior status, Krishna Dêva was considered by many wrongly to be illegitimate. His predecessor had tried to deprive him of his eyes and, according to one version, to kill him; but Eâjuva Timma saved him. For details see *Ibid.*, 17-186. Mr. Krishna Sâstri bases his account on Sewell's *antiquities*; Virâsalingam *lives of Telugu Poets*; Post Venkatarâya's *Krishnârdja Vijayamu*, the account of Nuniz; *Forgotten Empire* and *Ep. Reports*.

²³ *Ep.* Krishna Dêva himself composed the poem *Amuktamadhya*, besides some Sanskrit works. He also patronised many writers and came to be known as the 2nd or Andhra Bhâja. (See *lives of Telugu Poets*, *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 185-186, also *Ep. Ind.* I, 370-1; *Ibid.* 398-402.)

gathered round his magic name. Numerous are the tales, embodying facts as well as fictions, with which poets and writers have, for centuries, loved to associate his beloved person. Poets have praised his poetic genius, scholars have admired his scholarship, kings his kingcraft, priests his piety, artists his taste, and the historian his towering personality in the history of Hindu civilization. Even to children his name possesses a charm. The hero of a hundred nursery tales, he is, with his friend and "father," Sāluva Timma²⁴ Appāji, their friend, their companion and their hero. Even to-day when the round of tales goes around the domestic hearth of the Hindu home, when the children, old or young, gather around the smiling old man and cry for the good old stories, heard perhaps scores of times, of the beloved "Rāya", and of the more beloved "Appāji," what a sunshine is there in their faces! how poignant their grief when the son of Nāgala was condemned by his cruel brother to be deprived of his eyes! What joy when he was saved by Appāji and the eyes of sheep were presented to the tyrant! How interested when the great emperor's personal habits, his gymnastic exercises, and his morning pursuits are narrated! Krishna Dēva Rāya, in short, is the national hero of the Āndhras, and more than any other sovereign, made the Telugu sovereignty over south India a reality. Immediately after his accession, he adopted effectual measures to reimpose the yoke of the empire on those who had defied²⁵ its standard. He first reduced the powerful Ummathūr chiefs of the Mysore-Kongu marches, who, as we have already seen, had grown turbulent in the time of Vira Narasimha. The pride of the Gajapati²⁶ was then humbled; not only were the fortresses of Udayagiri and Kondavidu once again brought under Vijayanagar, but the Gajapati dominions invaded, and the Gajapati king had to humbly acknowledge the supremacy of Vijayanagar. The king of Orissa then felt the puissant arms of the great emperor, and a pillar of victory in the heart of the Kalinga country remained, ever after, a melancholy reminder of the military aggression of the Telugu over the Uriya; and when the defeated chieftain was compelled to give his daughter²⁷ in marriage to the conqueror, he had to rue the proud and indiscriminate contempt in which he had held the family and powers of his adversary.

Krishna Deva Raya's foreign Policy.

An even more successful exploit of Krishna Dēva was the conquest of the Raichūr *duab*²⁸ from the Muhammadan, and the invasion and occupation of Bijāpūr itself. The country of the 'Adil Shāh was overrun, the fortress of Kalbarga²⁹ was destroyed, and the Vijayanagar emperor found himself the arbitrator in the internal politics of Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar. Never before had the enemies of Vijayanagar trembled so much as in the days of Krishna Dēva and never had Vijayanagar ruled over such an extensive territory.³⁰ While the emperor was engaged in these exploits in the north almost throughout his reign, he did not forget the comparatively tranquil South.

His power strongly felt throughout the empire.

Here, there was no corner of the extensive land which stretched from sea to sea and from the Krishna to the Cape which escaped his vigilant control. The large number

²⁴ For a connected account of this celebrated man, based on epigraphical records, see *A. A. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 183. The literature concerning him and his activities is legion.

²⁵ *Ep. Ind.* III p. 17-22, Mukku Timmanna *Pārijāṭapaharāna* refers to this campaign which ended in the capture of Sivasamudram; the Muhammadan historians, also refer to it.

²⁶ All the epigraphical and other authorities in connexion with this have been ably cited by Mr. Krishna Sāstri in *A. A. Surv. Rep.* 1908-09, pp. 176-179.

²⁷ *A. A. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 179 based on inscription and Telugu and Tamil literature.

²⁸ See Sewall's *Forgotten Empire* for an elaborate discussion of the date of the Raichūr siege and capture. (1520 A. D.); *Insc.* 47 of 1906; *Ep. Rep.* 1907; Nunis account; Scott's *Dakṣin I.* 239-40

²⁹ The poem *Amukta Māyada*.

³⁰ See Wilson's *Des. Catal. of Mack. MSS.*, 1882, p. 87.

and the wide range of inscriptions³¹ go to prove this. In the districts north of Madras, in the region covered by modern Mysore, in Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar, the Arcots, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely,—in the whole of South India, in fact, including Mysore and South Bombay, the marks of his sovereignty are apparent. In South India he distinguished himself chiefly by his temple architecture and by his religious endowments to almost every Vishnu and Siva temple. The temples of Chidambaram, Tiruvaimāmalai, were especially benefited by his magnificent labours. The thousand-pillared *mantapam*, the sacred tank, the eleven-storeyed *gōpura*, the car of Vināyaka, the central shrine, the gold and silver jewels, the gold pinnacle, cornice and doorways, and the other glories of the Tiruvaimāmalai temple were due to Krishna Dēva's liberality³². The lofty and imposing northern tower of the Chidambaram temple, again, was his work.³³ "The high towers of most of the temples of the south," says Mr. Krishna Sāstri, "must have been built in the time of Krishna Rāya, as also the picturesque and extended addition known generally as 100-pillared and 1000-pillared *mantapās*. We frequently hear of a Rāya-gōpuram, which means the tower of Rāyar (i.e., perhaps Krishna Rāya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited by Krishna Rāya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the Empire."³⁴ In 1517 he remitted³⁵ 10,000 *varaḥs* of the imperial revenue to the Siva and Vishnu temples of the Chōḷa country.³⁶ An inscription of 1528 at Piramalai says that the Emperor's power was felt in the island of Ceylon.

The Southern Viceroy between 1500 and 1530.

A word may be said about the viceroys of Vijayanagar in the south and the indigenous Pāṇḍyan dynasty during the period of thirty years covered by the reigns of Narasa Nāik, Vīra Narasiṃha, and Krishna Dēva. It has been already pointed out, how, after the usurpation of Narasa Nāik, the Sāluva Emperor, Immadi Narasiṃha, sank into the position of a subordinate viceroy, and ruled in the basin of the Kāvēri and Vaigai—S. Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Immadi Narasiṃha had the mortification to observe himself relegated to oblivion by Narasa's son, Vīra Narasiṃha, in 1502. The relations between the two are unknown, but there is clear evidence to prove that the former lived at least till 1505.³⁷ In the years which followed, the Sāluvas continued to rule over the Kāvēri and part at least of the Vaigai regions. From his headquarters at Tiruvādi, one Sellappa Vīra Narasiṃha Nāyakar, who has been styled in a Chingleput record,³⁸ "Ubaya Pradhāni," and occupied a very prominent place in the counsels of the Empire, gave various grants from 1515 to 1530. "In S. 1444 Sellappa Vīra Narasiṃha Nāyakar restored, apparently on his own responsibility, a grant to a temple at Tirumaiyam in the

³¹ In Salem *M. g.* an insc. of Karpūram Udaya Nāyanār temple at Uttamachōḷapuram (near Salem) shows that Sela Nadu was under him (see *Ep. Rep.* 1888). The Sendamangalam inscn. 1903 also proves it. In S. Arcot he built the N. Gōpura of the Chidambaram temple (*Ep. Rep.* 1888). His insc. are also found at Vilupuram (116, 117, and 118 of 1897); Acharapākam (233 of 1901) S. 1400; at Tiruvaimāmalai (*Ep. Rep.* 1904 p. 13); at Tiruppālathurai (238 of 1903); at Piramalai (146 of 1903); 35 of 1905 says that the governor of Tindivanam Simal gave a gift of land. In 1522 an insc. at Tādikombu near Dindigul (4 of 1894) mentions a gift in his name by a tributary Kondaiya Dēva Mahā Rāja, son of Senna Rājaiya.

³² *Arah. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 181; *Ep. Rep.* 1900, p. 27, (574 of 1902), etc.

³³ Insc. 175 and 174 of 1892.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 182.

³⁵ This gift has been recorded in the temples of Tiruvaimāmalai (S. Arcot), Sendamangalam (S. Arcot), Kannanūr (Trichi), Trichi, etc.

³⁷ *Arah. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 172.

³⁸ Insc. 233 of 1909, of S. 1450 records a gift for the merit of Krishna Dēva at Acharapākam.

³⁴ *Arah. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 186 (footnote).

Pudhukóttai state.¹⁰ Two inscriptions from Tirupattūr, dated 836 and 1432, refer to the same chief.¹¹ From these we understand that, Siluva Naik was a very powerful and conspicuous magnate of Krishna Dēva Rāya. So powerful was he, that he seems to have entertained ideas of treason, and to have been looking anxiously for the death of Krishna Dēva, so that he could declare himself independent; and when Krishna Dēva died in 1530, he actually declared himself independent, and excited, thereby, one of the most formidable rebellions in Vijayanagar history, a rebellion which had important effects on the history of S. India, and which indirectly led, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the establishment of the Naik dynasty in Madura.

The *Karnataka Rājās Savistāracharitra*¹² gives a different account of the southern part of the Empire under Krishna Dēva Rāya. It says that the affairs of the Karnataka were very much unsettled, that the chiefs were turbulent, and that an imperial army of 100,000 men had to be sent to conquer and compel the payment of tribute and allegiance. The imperial forces commanded by the Sirdārs Vyappa Naik, Tuppākki Krishnappa Naik, Vijaya Rāghava Naik and Venkatappa Naik, proceeded to Seringapatam and enforced tribute from all the chiefs of that region. Vyappa then descended into the lower Carnatic and arrived at Vāḷur by way of Ambūr. Here the numerous chiefs of Chittār and Tondamandalam met him and saluted the imperial flag. Making one Pennurutti Venkata Reddi, the Faujdar of this region, in accordance with the Rājā's orders, Vyappa then resumed his march and arrived at Jinji. Here the kings of the land between that place and Jayankondachāpuram saluted him and paid obeisance. Vyappa then despatched his colleagues Vijaya Rāghava Naik and Venkatappa Naik to the south to collect tribute from the Chōla, Pāṇḍya, and the Chēra realms. These generals visited, in the course of their triumphant career, the cities of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tirunagiri, and excited so much fear in the minds of the local chiefs and governors that they hastened to acknowledge the Emperor. The whole of the lower Carnatic now formed part of the Rāya's Samasthāna, and brought in an aggregate revenue of three crores to the imperial treasury. Vyappa divided the whole country into three divisions, each of which brought in a crore, and was ruled by a viceroy. He himself stayed at Jinji. To Vijaya Rāghava he gave Tanjore, and to Venkatappa, Madura and Tirunagiri, Vyappa, and his lieutenant Tuppākki Krishnappa Naik, had the country north of the Coleroon under them. Vijaya Rāghava had the Kāvēri region, and Venkatappa, the Vaigai and the Tāmbraparni basins. Each looked after his province, and collected tribute from the local rulers. The *Chronicle* then goes on to describe the actions and achievements of the viceroys of Jinji in detail.

We cannot say how far this account is correct. But there is no reason to make us think that it is not correct. The division of the Empire for purposes of good administration is not unnatural, and Krishna Dēva might have authorised such a procedure.

The Governors of Madura.

But if Venkatappa was the general Viceroy of Madura and Tinnevely, what was the relation between him and Saluva Narasimha Naik? Was he his subordinate or was he subject to Vijaya Rāghava Naik? It is difficult to say. Again, one

¹⁰ Inscription 399 of 1906.

¹¹ Inscr. 41 and 92 of 1908. Krishna Sāstri identified him first with Vira Narasimha, Krishna Dēva's father, (*Ep. Rep.* 1908-09), but has since rightly given up this theory. This Vira Narasimha was a Saluva, probably the "Saluvanay" of Nuniz, who held large territories which bordered on Ceylon.

¹² There are three copies of this work in the Oriental MSS. Library. The best is in Taylor's *Rep. Mack. MSS. Vol. I.*

of the Mackenzie⁴² MSS. says that between 1500 and 1535 there were a number of Naik governors in Madura. These were Tenna Naik who ruled from 1500 to 1515; Narasa Pillai,⁴³ 1515-1519; Timmappa Naikar, 1519-1524; Kottiyam Kāmaiya Naik, 1524-1528; Chinnappa Naikar, 1528-1530; Vijaya Naika,⁴⁴ 1530-1535; and Viśvanātha Naik, 1535-1545. What was the relation between these governors and Venkatappa Naik? Was he superior to them all? If so, how long was he in that position. All these questions are difficult to answer. Further epigraphical discoveries alone can enlighten us.

The local kings in the same Period.

It is certain that while Sāluva Naik, or Venkatappa Naik, was representing the imperial interests in the districts of Trichinopoly and Madura, the indigenous rulers continued to rule as his subordinates. In Trichinopoly, for instance, one Channaiya Bāliya Dēva ruled about 1530 and acknowledged the supremacy of Krishna Dēva, and gained distinction⁴⁵ by his gifts to the god and goddess at Uraiyūr. It seems that this chief looked on Sāluva Naik with suspicion, if not hatred, and proved himself, as we shall see later on, a no mean enemy of his. Coming to the south, the region around Madura was under the immediate rule of the Vānada Rāyars. Still further south were the Pādyan rulers of Tenkāsi, who claimed a nominal supremacy over the Vānada Rāyars, but readily paid allegiance to Vijayanagar and its representatives. We have already seen how, at the time of the usurpation of Narasa Naik, Alagan Perumāl Parākrama was ruling in Tinnevely. He continued to govern during the reigns of Vira Narasimha and Krishnadēva. He died in 1516 and was followed by the joint kings Abhirāma Parākrama and Ahavarāma, the first sovereigns of the Pudukōttai plates.⁴⁶ These held power till 1533 when one of the most remarkable kings of the dynasty, Jātīlavarman Srivallabha, ascended the throne.

⁴² The Pand. Chron. & see also Mad. Manual; Sowell's Antiq. II, p. 223.

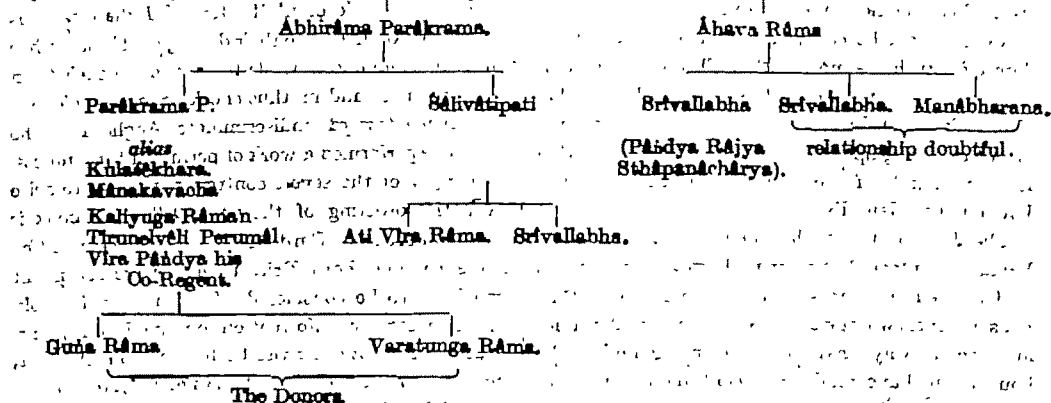
⁴³ Pillai, Naikan, and Atyar seem to have been used interchangeably.

⁴⁴ Also called Aiyakara Vyappa. Is he the same as Krishna Dēva's general mentioned in the Kerttaka Rājā's *Savitāra Charitra*?

⁴⁵ See, *Ep. Rep.* 1891, (aug).

⁴⁶ See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1908.

⁴⁷ *Tam. Arch. Series*. The genealogy as given in these plates is as follows:—



Mr. Venkaiyah thinks that Abhirāma Parākrama was the same as the Parākrama Pādya of Caldwell who ascended the throne in 1516 A.D. The relationship of Srivallabha and Manābharaṇa who are said to be the brothers of Srivallabha Pādya Rājasthāpanāchārya by Mr. Venkaiyah is disputed by Mr. Gopinātha Rao who believes that there is nothing to show in the original that they are his brothers. The actual donor is a certain Tirumāl Naik of Chintalapalle, minister of Vira Mahipati, (i.e., Virappa Naik). He is said to have fought in the battle of Vallaprākara wherein the army of Virabhūpa was annihilated and the troops of Achyuta were completely routed. For an explanation of the latter part see Chap. III.

The Death of Krishna Deva

In the year 1530 Krishna Dêva Râya joined his fathers, leaving a void in South Indian history which could hardly be filled by any other statesman. His death was a blow to the Empire from which it never recovered. His brother and successor, Achyuta Râya, was not wanting in capacity, but the moment the eyes of Krishna Dêva closed, there was a universal rebellion in the Empire, and Achyuta Râya had to go to the south and quell it. It was this formidable rebellion that indirectly led to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty in Madura; but in order that the condition of Madura and the south in general may at the time of the establishment of the Nâik dynasty be well understood, it is necessary that the civilization of South India in the period of Vijayanagar supremacy must be described. I shall therefore proceed to sketch the features of South Indian civilization in the next section, and then describe, in the next chapter, the events of Achyuta Râya's administration, which ultimately led to the Nâik Râj in Madura.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE GARDENS OF THE GREAT MUGHALS. By O. M. VILLIERS STUART. London, Black, 1913.

THIS is a notable work for two reasons. It breaks new ground and has been written by the wife of a young officer of a British Regiment serving temporarily in India. In the latter respect it supplies a welcome answer to the complaint that English ladies obliged to reside in India for a while take no interest in the country.

This is no butterfly book, but a serious attempt at the history of modern Indian gardening as introduced from further North and West by Baber and his successors, and at comprehending the symbolism in which the Indian lady of to-day enshrines her garden. There are minor mistakes in it, of course, for the writer is young and has had perforce to look for information and guidance to more experienced persons, who have not always guided her aright. But this fact need not trouble the reader. If he is experienced, he can put the errors straight for himself. If he is not, they will not affect him. The main fact for both classes of readers is that this book seriously starts a line of enquiry well worth following up by those who would know what is in the minds of the natives of India, while they live out their daily lives.

The fact of the author being a woman gives her an advantage that no man, however experienced and learned in things Indian, could have. Gardens are everywhere naturally attached to dwellings in such a way that the women occupying the houses can have ready and continuous access to them. So she has been able to make friends with the wives and other female belongings of the owners, and find out at first hand from them what their gardens mean to them, and how their contents and forms have come to be preserved. All this

enables her readers to get at the inner life of the people: always valuable information.

The author is rather severe on modern British taste in gardening as being inapplicable to India, whereas the formal Mughal garden and its successors are fully suited to situation and climate. The present writer cannot agree with this view altogether. India is a vast country and there are conditions in places to which the modern English system seems to be admirably suited, while in others, especially in the arid, dusty plains, the formal walled system seems to specially succeed. What does appear to be faulty taste is to mix up the modern British system with the Mughal, and to attempt, as is sometimes done, to combine both within the same four walls. The irresistible tendency in all Oriental countries is to follow the governing powers, and there is no doubt a danger under British rule of all the formal Indian gardens becoming Anglicised to their damage. If the author succeeds in giving native ladies a pride in their form of gardening and in thus checking a mischievous tendency towards indiscriminate Anglicising, she will have performed a work of permanent usefulness.

In view of the severe controversy bound to arise over the ordering of the new Delhi this book is most opportune. Gardens on a great scale will be necessary and both British and native sentiment will have to be considered. This book will supply much necessary information on the latter point, which would not otherwise be forthcoming. I must, however, point out that the Mughal System to be beautiful and successful is "millionaire" gardening, and if followed on a cheap scale is bound to be the unpleasant failure that the modern Indian *malki* achieves when left to himself.

R. C. TEMPLE.

"DHARANI," OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, O.B., LL.D.

(Continued from p. 42).

4. The Black Iron-Beak.

*Loha Kala-tunda.*³⁷ Tib. *1 Ohags mch'u nag-po.*

[*Ka-gyur Gyud.* Calcutta (& I. O. ?) Hodgson Coll. Vol. M: I. O., *Tib. texts.* (Waddell Coll.) No. K. 17. Vol. Y. (21), No. 264 in my list: Csoma, *As. Res.* XX. 540 (8).]

This purports to have been recited by Ananda in order to procure rain, etc. It is to coerce a large number of 'great Nāga-kings,' who are specified by name.

5. The Thunderbolt-Claw.

Vajra-Ratirū. Tib. *rDorje ader-mo.*

[I. O., *Tib. Texts* (Waddell Coll.) No. K. 17 vol. Ji. (31), No. 260 in my list].

It is addressed to several 'Mothers,' and other she-devils who are specified by name. No translator is named.

6. The White Umbrella-one of Buddha's Diadem.

Uṣṇīṣa Sītātapatra Aparajita.

The great Turner-away (of Evil).

[Tibetan: *Ka-gyur rGyud, Calc.* (& I. O. ?) Hodgson Coll. Vol. P. (13) fol. 181-188 224-229; Csoma *As. Res.* XX. 519 (18); St. Petersburg. Vol. Ph. (14) fol. 212-224. *Dhāraṇī Sect.* W. 133-138: J. Schmidt *Cat.* 162; I. O., *Tib. Texts* (Waddell Coll.), *Kā-gyur* as above. Sanskrit:—Raj. L. Mitra, *Nep. Budd. Lit.* 227; Stein, *Turkestan MSS.*, Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.* 1911, 461 ff: *R.A.S.* Hodgs. Coll. No. 77—Uigur; F.W.K. Muller *Uigurica* II., 50 ff.—Chinese; Bun. Nanjio, *Cat. Tripitaka*, No. 1016 (1)]

"In the Indian Speech [it is called] *Ārya tathāgatoṣṇīṣa sītātapatre aparājita*³⁸ *mahā-pratyāṅgira paramasiddha nama dhāraṇī*: in the Tibetan *P'ag-s-pa de-bs'in glegs-pai gtsug-tor-nas byuṣ-bai gdugs-dkar-po-ghan gr'an-gyis mi-t'ub-pa p'yir-zlog-pa che'n-po mch'og-tu grub-po s'es-byas bai grūis* i.e., "The *Dhāraṇī* called The Noble White Umbrella One, invincible against others who sprang from the diadem of the Tathāgata to accomplish³⁹ perfectly the great turning away [of evil]"

Salutation to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Noble Hearers and Pratyeka Buddhas! Salutation to the Blessed One, (Bhagavān),⁴⁰ the invincible queen of the diadem!

This word was thus heard by me. The Blessed One was seated in the storeyed temple of the gods of 'The Thirty Three' with a great congregation of monks, a great congregation of the Bodhisattvas together with Sakra, the ruler of the gods. At that time, the Blessed One seated himself on a low cushion, and at that low level entered into the deep meditation called 'the perfect Vision of the Diadem' (*Uṣṇīṣa vidarīṇa*).⁴¹

³⁷ One version reads '*dunpa*.'

³⁸ The masculine gender here, as well as in the Tibetan translation of the title, presumes, I think, a form antecedent to the deification of this spell as a female goddess.

³⁹ *grub-pa*, the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit *siddha* means to accomplish by yoga-methods

⁴⁰ This is masculine.

⁴¹ In the list of 'religious stages' (*dharma-pāyaraṇa*) enumerated in the *Mahāvastu* (No. 244, 82 St. Petersburg, edn. p. 81) is mentioned *Uṣṇīṣa-vicarmurdhnaś samadhi praveśa*.

Not long after he was seated in that meditation these words of an esoteric spell issued from the middle of the diadem of the Blessed One.⁴²

Salutation to the Buddha, the Law,⁴³ the Congregation! Salutation to the series of the seven All-perfect Buddhas, the congregation of Bodhisattvas and the hearers (*śrāvaka*), Salutation to the great embodied Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and the rest!

Salutation to the saints (*arhats*) of the world, to those who have 'entered the stream' (of saintship, *srotāṅgana*), to the saints who will transmigrate only once (*sakridāgāmin*)!

Salutation to the perfectly enlightened ones of the present age!

Salutation to the saints of the gods (*Devatā*) to the useful power of the saints who hold the spells (*vidyādhara*), to the saints (*śiddha*) who hold the spells!

Salutation to Brahmā, to Indra, to the blessed Rudra,⁴⁴ the lord of Uṃṃ (the turner away of, or from, difficulties),⁴⁵ also to herself!

Salutation to the blessed Nārāyaṇa in his forms doing great deeds!

Salutation to the blessed Mahākāla dwelling in the fearsome three-tiered city in the cemetery and the troops of Mothers doing energetic deeds, the adored ones!

Salutation to the line of the blessed Tathāgata!

Salutation to the line of the blessed Thunderbolt, the blessed Jewel, the blessed Elephant⁴⁶ the blessed Virgins (*Kumārā*), the blessed Nāgas!

Salutation to the blessed king holding hero-destroying weapons, the completely perfect Saint the Tathāgata, Buddha!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect saint Tathāgata Buddha Amitabha!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha Akṣobhya!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha of medicine Bhaiṣajya Guru, the king of beryl⁴⁷ light!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint Tathāgata Buddha, the vast flowery lord of the *Sal-tree*-grove!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha the 'king of the top-most jewel' (*ratna-sambhava*)!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha Samantabhadra!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha Vairocana!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathāgata Buddha, the vast-eyed king of the scented top of the *upal*-lotus flower!

Having saluted all these, the Blessed Mother,⁴⁸ the Invincible White Umbrella-One, the Great Turner aside of Evil, issued from the diadem of the Tathāgata, to cut asunder completely all the malignant demons;⁴⁹

⁴² The Stein MS. does not contain the foregoing important matter, which locates the origin of the spell and explains its name from its mode of origin. The Hodgson Sanskrit MS. (No. 77) omits the last sentence from 'at' to 'diadem'.

⁴³ To avoid needless repetition I omit several of the phrases 'Salutation to'.

⁴⁴ *Legs-lam drag-po*; my MSS. Dictionary restores *Legs-lam* to 'Bhāgavata'.

⁴⁵ *Dka'-ub-slog*. This Tibetan etymology for Uṃṃ, differing from the current Brahmanical one namely 'light,' is in keeping with the Brahmanist legend of the prohibition addressed to Durgā by her mother, Uṃṃ, 'practice not austerities'.

⁴⁶ In the Stein MS. Dr. Hoernle reads 'here *paṇḍita*' (J.R.A.S., 1911, 463) for which the Tibetan would suggest *paṇḍita*.

⁴⁷ *Vaidurya*.

⁴⁸ *Boṣom-lam* 'the mother', here the feminine form appears for the first time.

⁴⁹ *Gdon*.

To cut asunder all the [hostile] spells⁵⁰ of others ;
 To turn aside all untimely⁵¹ environments ;⁵²
 To save⁵³ the animated beings from all fetters⁵⁴ and from accidental death ;
 To turn aside all hostilities⁵⁵ and evil dreams and evil spectres (bhāṭa) ;
 To frighten away the injuries of yakṣas and rakṣas ;
 To frighten away the hosts of 80,000 malignant demons ;
 To cause happiness throughout the 28 lunar constellations ;
 To turn aside all enemies and dangers and hatred ;
 To frighten away all evil demons, all poisons and weapons ;
 To turn aside fire and flood.
 She is the saviour (Tārā)⁵⁷ from all fear of harmful things ;
 The great terrible destroyer (Ugrā)⁵⁸ is she, invincible against others (aparājita) ;
 Very fierce (Chandā)⁵⁹ is she, with great might ;
 Very fiery, with great shining brightness (Marici) !
 Of great whiteness, a white one is she, clad in a garland of flames ;
 The noble Tārā, with the frowning brows (Bhrikūṭī) (1) ;
 The renowned one known as the garlanded with thunderbolts of victory ;
 Her outward mark of the lotus is the mark of the thunderbolt ;
 The garlanded one, invincible against others (Aparājita) ;
 With thunderbolt-beak (Vajra-kūṇḍī) [yet] the shape of a beautiful damsel ;
 Placid (Sivā) is she, adored by all the gods !
 The placid one garlanded with gold !
 The great White One in a white robe of fire !
 Noble Tārā great in might, the thunder-bolt enchaining others,
 The thunderbolt maid, the upholder of the race !
 Be jewelled with the juice of the saffron flower !
 The famous thunderbolt diadem of Vairocana !
 May all this troop of thy mystic forms, protect our own circle and the [Buddhist] doctrine
 and all living beings !
 [Here follows the especial incantation or spell, the Dhāraṇī proper, in crude Sanskrit. It
 is a shorter form of the above prayer for protection with some additional or balletic words.]
 Oṃ sarva tatāgatānāṃ sītāpatre hūṃ hrūṃ hriṣṭāḥ
 Jambhānakari hūṃ hrūṃ hriṣṭāḥ
 Mōhanakari hūṃ hrūṃ hriṣṭāḥ
 Lambhānakari hūṃ hrūṃ hriṣṭāḥ
 Bhāṇakari hūṃ hrūṃ hriṣṭāḥ

⁵⁰ Sṃags.⁵¹ Dug-ma-gis-par.⁵² Ch'ib.⁵³ Grol-pa.⁵⁴ Bōhiko.⁵⁵ Sdaa.⁵⁶ Gdon.⁵⁷ Sgro.

⁵⁸ Drag sul, restored by my MS. Dictionary to Ugrā. Ugrā Tārā is one of the Nepalese series of the
 'Five Tārās' (Hodgson's *Nepales*, reprint, 94). See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pt. 436 for several of these
 fierce forms of Tārā.

⁵⁹ Gām-ol-en-mo.⁶⁰ Ekam apog-mo, literary 'shape' of dancing damsel.

⁶¹ Most of these epithets in this hymn of praise have been found by Dr. Hoernle in a Sanskrit text
 of this Dhāraṇī in the Stein collection, though in a different order.

Para piśabhaṭṭakari &c.

Sarva duṣṭāna pradustana, &c.

Sarva yakṣa rakṣa grahā nām vidhvāṣaṇa sanakari, &c.

Sarva para vidyā che'danakari, &c.

Okāśura-śiśnāṣa graha sahaśrā nām vidhvāṣaṇa, &c.

Aśtavi-śiśnāṣa nakṣatra nām prasādanakari, &c.

Aśtavi nām mahāgrahā nām Vidhvāṣaṇa, &c.

Rakṣa rakṣa nām sarva satvaśāṣa.

O White umbrella-one who issued from the diadem of the Tathāgata, the Blessed One !

The greater averter [of harm] the diadem-thunderbolt,

The great mother possessing a thousand hands,

The great mother with a thousand heads, with millions of eyes of unchanging fire,

The great vast thunderbolt by whom, in the cycles of the three worlds, we ourselves and all living things will become blessed.

The thunderbolt always gaping, possessed of eyes like glittering gold.

The white one with the gait of the thunderbolt [and] eyes like the Buddha.

The thunderbolt like the light of the sun, holding a thunderbolt like the moon.

Learned in all these various [mystic] forms and spells !

We beseech thee to protect us and all living beings !

Oḥ riṣiṅga prākṣeta sarva lathā jatoṇisa sītāpatre hāṣa druṣa, Stāśabhamakari, &c. . . . rakṣa māṣa svāhā.

O great averter, the thunderbolt diadem, the White Umbrella-one who issued from the diadem of the blessed Tathāgata !

O great owner of a thousand heads and a hundred thousand eyes ! thy distinctive name of the 'Fiery-one' is never changed !

Thy great vast thunderbolt is the terror of the three retinues of kings, of ourselves and the [other] beings !

It is the terror of everyone, the terror of water, of poison, of destructive weapons, of the hosts of foreign armies outside the frontier, of the famine, enemies, descending tongues, of untimely death, earthquakes, meteors !

It is a terror more than the punishment of kings !

It is a terror to the gods and *nāgas*, to lightning, to the Garuḍa of the skies, to ferocious beasts of prey, the harmful spirits of the gods, the devils of the *nāgas* and *asuras*, the wind-dust-devils, *gandharva* [. . . &c. several other classes of spirits are named].

Instead of the pricks of these demons let us obtain happiness.

Feed [us] with wholesome fresh food, with plenteous food, with red *amālaka* fruit,⁶³ and meat and the fat of the land !

Feed us with harvests of lifeless animals ! . . . [here various foods are specified].

Arrange for us the spells for doing all these things !

Bestow on us by the thunderbolt-dagger⁶⁴ [favourable conditions] for our grain ! Arrange we beseech thee for this on a vast scale !

Bestow on us by the thunderbolt-dagger the spells necessary for performing these works by the sky-going fairies [*dākinī*], by Brāhma, Indra, Nārāyaṇ, the Garuḍa and its associates, Mahākāla, the troops of [divine] mothers, human skeletons [spectres ?] and vanquishers of dreams, [also] for performing the deeds of a naked ascetic,⁶⁴ [Jaina] the deeds of a Buddhist

⁶³ *Myrobalan emblica.*

⁶⁴ *P'ur-bus gadab-po.*

⁶⁴ *Dye-sbyon gadab-bus.*

monk,⁶⁵ of an *arhanta* freed from sensuous desire, of the followers of 'the creator of living beings' [i.e. Brāhman], of the following Vajrapāṇi, of the male and female angels, of all the Saints, of all the gods!

Bestow by the thunderbolt-dagger the power of the Gandharvas (!)⁶⁶

Salutation to the White Umbrella-One who emerged from the diadem of the Tathāgata. The Blessed One [who is] the means of performing deeds like those of the Buddha and all the Bodhisattvas.

We beseech you to protect us and all living things . . . [Here follows an invocation to the goddess as 'the terror of . . .']⁶⁷ 'To destroy (evil)'.]

Oṃ a nīlāna lārka prabhā sphuṭa-vika Sītātapatre ! Oṃ jvala jvala, khada khada, hana hana, dāha dāha, dhara dhara, vidhara vidhara, ts'inda ts'inda, bhindabhinda, hūh hūh, phaṭ phaṭ, svāhā ! He he phaṭ, Ho-ho phaṭ, Amoghāya phaṭ, Apratihatāya phaṭ. Varadāya⁶⁸ vrapradāya, pratyagīrā ya, asuraśāstra-vanakarāya, Varavidra-vanakarāya, Sarva devibhayaḥ Sarva nāga-bhayaḥ.⁶⁹

[Here follows the series of Spirits good and evil to each of which *sarvas* is prefixed and *bhayaḥ phaṭ* is affixed, namely rakṣe, bhūte, prete, pīṣatse, kuṣmaṇḍe, pūtane, kaṭpūtane, skande, unmāde, o'ch'aye, apasmāre, ostarāke, dākinī, revatī, yamāya, śakuni, mātigane, skambhī kāmman, apalāṇavake, kantrane, gandharve, asure, kinnara, garude, mahorage, yakṣe, durlabdhigite, duṣprakṣite, jāre, bhaye, upadrave, upasarve, kṛtyakarmaṇika-khorda, kirāṇa vetāde, cirohapreśaka-sarvadaśoohardite, durbhugte, tīrthike (naked Jains) Śraṇ'mane, patake].

Sarva Vidyādhara phaṭ ! Jiyakara madhukara sarva arthasādhaye bhya vidyēdārye bhayaḥ phaṭ ! Chaturbhayāginiye [The four fear-causing sisters ?] *phaṭ !*

Sarva Kāmāri vajra, Kulandhāri, vidyācārye bhayaḥ phaṭ !

Sarva Mahāparityāgīrā⁷⁰ bhayaḥ phaṭ, Vajra Saṅkhala pratyagīrāya phaṭ⁷¹ ! Mahākā-lāya mātṛi gaṇa namaskṛitāya, Prahmaṇaye, Viṣṇavaye, Mahēśvaraye, Randaraye, Mahākālyāṇe, Oṣmundāyē,⁷² Kumārāyē, Vārāhyāyē, Indraya, Agnaya, Yasmāya, Varuṇāya, Marutya, Saumāyē, Itanā, Kāladāṇḍya, Kālarātrē, Yamadāṇḍē, Rātrē, Kāpālyē, phaṭ !

Adhimuktī imāśāna vasidyē !

Oṃ sloḥ, bandha bandha, rakṣa, rakṣa, māh svāhā !

We beseech you to protect us all, the sinful as well as the worthy . . . May we become the first born for a hundred years, may we see a hundred thousand lives free from trouble by *yakṣas*⁷³ and other demons may we obtain wholesome food in plenty . . .

If the White Umbrella-One [be invoked] then the Thunderbolt-Diadem, the great turner-away [of Evil], will save from death, wild beasts, accident. . . .

O White Umbrella-one [the product] of all the Tathāgatas and Buddhas destroy [all evil] ! Cause all the kings of the Nāgas, Ananta and Saṅkapa and the great Mahākāla to shed sea-

⁶⁵ *Mgo-rag.*

⁶⁶ Literally 'the eaters of human offerings.'

⁶⁷ It appears to read *bhaya*, which is not intelligible; possibly it is intended for a derivative of the Sanskrit *bhaya* 'fear.'

⁶⁸ After each of these titles comes *phaṭ*, which I omit for brevity.

⁶⁹ This is *bhayaḥ* and not *bhaya* and clearly shows the word = 'fear' and that the latter form, which occurs in several places, is presumably an error.

⁷⁰ This implies that there are several forms of Mahāparityāgīrā.

⁷¹ From the following titles I omit *phaṭ* for brevity.

⁷² It is interesting to find that Oṣmundā is identified with Sītātapatra (i.e., Tārā), for this avenging form of Durgā was, like Sītātapatra herself, sent forth as an emanation from the head.

⁷³ This prominence given to *yakṣas* suggests an early date.

sonable rain, to yield seasonable masses of cloud, seasonable loud-voiced thunder ! Be near to us in all dangers. Help us to perform the duties of a follower of the Buddha during the ages !

May the contents of this [book] through [the grace of] Buddha and all the Bodhisattvas be of use to gods, men, titans, (*asuras*) and angels (*gāndharvas*), to ourselves and fellow beings !

Praised be the word of the Blessed One, and may its meaning become fully manifest !

The *Dhāraṇī* here contained is named The Noble Invincible White Umbrella-One, which issued from the diadem of the Tathāgata to accomplish perfectly the great turning-away "[of Evil]."

[End of the *Dhāraṇī*]

As a postscript there are five pages containing a further list of Indian demons and diseases and other evils for which the spell is efficacious, including the following :—

'Tongues of fire, itching and ulcers, emaciation, cough, difficulty of breathing, insanity, poisonous drugs, curses, fire-water, fever, death by enemies, untimely (accidental) death, 'unworthy' beggary, scorpions, worms, leopards, lions, tigers, the black bear (*dom*), the red bear (*dred*), wild yak [possibly buffalo], water-devil.' It concludes with this prayer :—

"Against all these evil swarms we beseech you to protect us" !

Against all these may you be pleased to perform the binding spells (*mantras*).

O brilliantly shining one be pleased to bind evil ! Be pleased to perform the *vidyāmantra* spells against all others [counter-spells !] !

Be pleased to fix their bounds ! :—

Tadyathā oṃ anale khasame . . . vaire, Some itṛti, dānte viśade vire, Devi-Vajradhārī, Vandhāni, Vajrapāṇi phaḥ . . .

May it protect us ! *Svāhā* !

Oṃ Vajrapāṇi bandha Vajrapāṇīnamama sarva dustam vināśyakam phaḥ svāhā !"

Keep it near your heart !

Whoever having written this overpowering queen of magic spells (*vidya-mantra*) named 'The White Umbrella-One,' the great averter [of Evil], which issued from the diadem of the Tathāgata, on birch bark, or cloth, or on tree bark,¹⁴ and fixes it on his body¹⁵ or on his neck or causes it to be read [then] throughout his whole life he shall not be harmed by poisons, by fire, by water, poisonous drugs, curses . . . &c. &c.

(To be continued.)

¹⁴ *Bhā-jan* or tree + bark. It is restored by the Tibetan lexicons to the Skt. *valkā*, which in Wilson's *Sanskrit Dict.* (p. 786) is defined as 'the bark of a tree, garment made from bark.' In the Sanskrit scripts in Stein and Hodgson collections, the word is *kalke*, which Dr. Hoernle translates as 'paste' (*loc. cit.* p. 476), though he suggests it may be in error for *valka*, which the Tibetan version I find shows (and as Dr. Hoernle admits) is the correct form. See text in following note.

¹⁵ *Lus-du*. The Sanskrit versions have *kāyagata*, which Dr. Hoernle has translated as 'paper,' but the Tibetan text indicates clearly that this should be *kāya*, the body.

The Sanskrit text as given by Dr. Hoernle is :—

*bhāja-nātre vā vastra vā
Kalko vā kāyagata vā haṁṭhagata vā kṛtānta dhārtiṣyagata.*

The Tibetan text with its literal translation is :—

*gro-ga sam, ras sam, bhā inā w brieś,
i. e., birch-bark, or cloth, or tree valka-bark upon having written
l'u s sam ngul-du btags sam blog-par-byed ta,
body or neck on fixed or caused to be read it*

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 26.)

CHAPTER II.

PHONETICS.

§1. Old Western Rājasthānī possesses the same phonetical system as Apabhramça, with the exception of initial *ṣ* and medial *ṣṣ*, which in the former are dentalized much as in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. Possibly Old Western Rājasthānī had also the *ḥ*-sound, which is common to both Gujarātī and Mārwarī, though in the MSS. there is no particular character for it. Other sounds, which are not distinguished from one another in writing, are : *ṣ* and *ṣṣ*, *ḍ* and *ḍḍ*, *ṇ* and *ṇṇ*, *anusvāra* and *anuvārika*, *kh* and *ṣ*. *Anusvāra* and *anuvārika* are both represented by a dot over the *akṣara*, and *kh* by the same character *ṣ*, which is used to render the *ṣ* sibilant of Sanskrit. In *tatsamas*, of course, all Sanskrit sounds may occur. The consonant *y* was generally pronounced as *j* both in *tatsamas*, especially when initial, and in *adbhavas*, when not euphonic. Occasionally *y* is written for *j*, as in : *yamaṇa* (Çāl. 16) for *jamaṇa* < *jimaṇa*, *yovā sogya* (Indr. 43) for *jovā sogya*, *yugalid* (Ādi C.) for *jugalid*, etc.

(a) Single vowels.

§2. An *a* of the Apabhramça is generally preserved in Old Western Rājasthānī, except in the cases following :

(1) In initial syllables or in medial syllables, mostly when preceded or followed by a syllable having a long vowel, *a* is frequently turned to *i*. In Prakrit this was the case only when *a* fell before the accent of the word (cf. Pischel, *Op. cit.*, §§ 101-103). Old Western Rājasthānī examples are :

- īḍaḥ* (P. 504, 506, 508) < *iṇḍaḥ* (F. 783, 74) < Ap. *aṇḍaḥ* < Skt. *aṇḍakam* ;
kāchivai (Dd. 8) < *kāchavaḥ* (ibid.) < Ap. *kacchavai* < Skt. *kacchapakāḥ* ;
kimāḍa (Ādi C.) < Ap. *kaṇḍa-* < Skt. *kapāḍa-* ;
kimha-i (Da.) < Ap. **kahā-i* < Skt. *katham-āpi* ;
giu (Çāl. 9, 96, Kal. 44) < Ap. *gai* < Skt. *gataḥ* ;
jiriū (Bh. 23, Ādi. 35, 36) < Ap. *jaṇiū* < Skt. **janitah* (= *jātaḥ*) ;
jihā, tihā, etc. < Ap. *jahā, tahā* < Pkt. *jamhā, tamhā* < Skt. *yismā, tismā* ;
tijai (P., passim) < Ap. *tajai* (Piṅgala, i, 104 ; ii, 64¹⁵) < Skt. *tyajati* ;
dohila (Dd.) < **dāhila* < Ap. *dullaha-* < Skt. *dhṛlabha-* ;
sāvija (P., passim) < **sāvaya* < Ap. *sāvaa-* < Skt. *śvāpada-* ;
oiū (see §70, (5)) < Ap. *sahū* < Skt. *sākm*.

Other sporadic examples are : *Ilakā* < *Alakā* (F. 659), *iti* < *ati* (Vl., Çāl.), *kaiṭhiga* < *kautuka* (P. 125, 126, 158), *kāiri* < *kumārī* (Vi. 38, 48, 50, etc.), *kṛiri* < *kṛatriya* (Kānh. 23), *khiṇa* < *kṣaṇa* (Ādi C., Vi.), *giṇai* < *gaṇai* (Indr. 64), *pātika* < *pātaka* (F. 783, 75), *olāma* < Arabic *salām* (Kānh. 20).¹⁶

In Modern Gujarātī *i* has become *a* again, ex. : *kamāḍa*, *sāvaja*, *taje*, etc., but in Mārwarī the tendency to substitute *i* for *a* has been preserved.

¹⁵ Pischel corrects *i* to *a*. See *Op. cit.* § 454.

¹⁶ In examples like : *dhina* < *dhanya* (Rā. 65, 126, 167), *Oḍḍika* < *Oḍḍakya* (Dd. 2), etc., *i* is to be explained as the result of epenthesis.

(2) When falling before or after a labial consonant, *a* is often turned to *u*. For an analogy in the Prakrit see Pischel, § 104. Ex. :

Ubhayakumāra (Çāl. 96) < *Abhayakumāra* ;
purāṇuṇai (P. 680) < *prāṇuṇai* < Ap. *pāṇuṇai* < Skt. *prāghṛṇṇakāḥ* ;
puhara, *puhura* (P.) < Ap. *pahara* < Skt. *prahara* ;
puhṇai (P. 165, 168, 684) < Ap. **puhṇai* < Skt. **prabhṇakāḥ*, p.p. from *pra*+*bhṇ* ;
buhātari, *buhūtari* (see § 80) < Pkt. *bhātari* < Skt. *dhātari* ;
muṣṇa (Up. 55) < Ap. *maṣṇa* < Skt. *śmagāna* ;
mūhātari (Ādi C.) < Ap. *mahātari* < Skt. **mahantakāḥ* ;
muhuri (Vi. 20) < Ap. *mahuri* < Skt. *madhuri* ;
saṭṭai < Ap. *samappai*, *samappei* < Skt. *samarpayati*.

Rarely *a* is changed to *u* under the influence of another *u* in the syllable immediately preceding or following. Ex. : *Gurūda* < *Garuḍa* (P. 340 ff.) ; *durdura* < *dardura* (P. 539, 542), *puṇḍhiu* < *paṇḍhiu* (P. 432).

(3) Rarely *a* is amplified to *ai* and this mostly when two or more syllables ending in *a* follow each other. Ex. : *karāṇu* < *karau* (F 602), *kāḥai* < *kahai* (F 783, 24), *gahāḥai*, < *gahagahi* (F 783, 27), *gāḥaiḥai* < *gahagāḥai* (F 722, 10), *sahāḥai* < *sahāḥaiḥai* (F 722, 41), *māḥai* < *mahi* (Yog. ii, 26), *pāḥai* < *pahi* (= *para*), see § 75 (Yog. iv, 36, 47, etc.).

In Modern Gujarātī we have *e*, ex. : *sahēṇi*, *sehēṇi* < *sahāṇi*, and in Mārwarī *ai*, ex. : *sāḥaiṇi* < *sahāṇi*, *rāḥaiṇi* < *rahāṇi*. The two latter examples are from the *Nāsabeta-ri kākāḥi* for which see *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. vi (1913), pp. 113-130.

(4) Initial *a* is very frequently dropped. Ex. :

chāi < *achai* (see § 114) < Ap. *aachai* < Skt. *ṛcchati* (Pischel, §§ 57, 480) ;
jāḥai (P. 615) < Ap. **ajjāḥai* < Skt. **adhyadhyakam* ;
aiṇai (see § 73, (4)) < **paṇai* < Ap. *appaṇai* < Skt. **āṇmanakāḥ* ;
iḥai (Ādi C.) < Ap. *aiḥai* < Pkt. *aiḥai* < Skt. *aiḥai* ;
naḥai < *anaḥai* (see § 106) < Ap. *aṇṇai* < Skt. *anyāni* ;
bāḥai (P. 374) < Ap. *avaccaḥai* < Skt. *apāyākam* ;
raḥai (see § 71, (6)) < *arahaḥai* < Ap. **ora* < **oḍra* < Skt. *apṛāḥ* ;
rāṇai (P. 58) < Ap. *araṇṇai* < Skt. *araṇṇa*.

For the Prakrit of Pischel, Op. cit., § 141 ff.

(5) Medial *a*, when falling between two consonants of which one is *h*, is sometimes dropped. Ex. : *chvāi* (Up.) < *chavāi*, *deṇhāra* (Ibid.) < *deṇhāṇa*, *tiṇhi-ja* (Ādi C.) < *tiṇhi-ai-ja*, *kīḥvāraḥai* (Daç.) < **kēḥa-vāraḥai* (see § 96, (2)).

(6) Euphonic *a* is inserted in the following cases : (a) between conjuncts, (b) before conjuncts in which the first element is *s*, (c) after terminal *i*. Ex. : *garabha* < *garbhā* (F 783, 72, 77), *janama* < *janma* (Rq. 34), *paradhāna* < *pradhāna* (F, 783, 36), *mugati* < *mutti* (Rq. 35, *astri* < *stri* (F 795, i, 23) ; *ghoḍā-taṇṭa* < *ghoḍā-taṇṭi* (Kānh. 46), *jāḍta* < *jāḍti* (Rq. 60), *paṇamevi* < *paṇamevi* (Rq. 1), *matia* < *matṭi* (Rq. 7), *mūti-ni* < *mūti-ni* (Rq. 63).

(7) *a* preceded by *dh* or followed by *h* is lengthened. Ex. :

vāḥanāḥai (Yog. ii, 9) < *vāḥanāḥai* < *vāḥanāḥai* < **vāḥanāḥai* < *vāḥanāḥai* (see § 135) ;

māḥai (F 580, F 722) < *māḥai* (see § 83) < Ap. *māḥai* (see Pischel, § 434).

§ 3. Medial *ā* of the Apebhraṃṣa is occasionally shortened. In Prakrit this was the case only when *ā* fell before or after the accent of the word (see Pischel, §§ 79 ff.), but in Old Western Rājasthān the shortening of *ā* takes also place when a long vowel occurs in the syllable preceding or following. Examples are :

āḥi (Ādi C.) < *dja-i* < Ap. *ajja-i* < Skt. *adyā'pi*,
jāmāḥi (P. 354, 357) < Ap. **jāmāḥi* < Skt. *jāmātṛka-*,
pāraḥi (see § 75) < Ap. *paṭraḥ* < Skt. **prakāṭraḥ*,
bimāḥi (P. 576, 578) < Ap. **bimāḥi* < Skt. **dvimānakam*¹⁷,
vīṇāvāi (P. 348) < Ap. **viṇāvāi* < Skt. **viṇāḍpayati*,
sāi (Ṣaṣṭ. 85) < Ap. *sāḥi* < Skt. *śāḥni*.

For *a* in substitution for *ā* before a double consonant simplified, see § 43.

§ 4. Apabhraṇṣa *i* is liable to the following changes in Old Western Rājasthani :

(1) *i* is weakened to *a*. Ex. :

Andra (F 722, 13) < Skt. *Indra*,
asavi < *isavi* (see § 94, (1)) < Ap. *āsavi* < Skt. *yādrakavah* (Pischel, § 81, 121),
āgali (see § 101, (3).)
 < **āgali* (see § 145) < Ap. **agvili* < Skt. *agrile*,
eti, *ketavi* (see § 93, (1)) < Ap. *eti*, *keti* < Skt. *
ayatiyāḥ, **kayatiyāḥ* (Pischel, § 153),
karavāḥi < *karivāḥi* (see § 134) < Ap. *karevāḥi* < Skt. **kareyyakam* (Pischel, §§ 254, 570),
kuḥiṇi (Çrī.) < Pkt. *kuḥiṇi* (= *kārparah*, Deçl°, ii, 62),
ja < *ji* (see § 104) < Ap. *ji* < Pkt. *je*, *jeva* < Skt. *eva*,
traṇṇi (R̥s., F 602) < *triṇṇi* < Ap. *tiṇṇi* < Skt. *triṇi*,
paraṇai (Dd.) < Ap. **pariṇai*, °*ṇai* < Skt. *pariṇayati*,
pharasaḥi (Çrī.) < Pkt. *pharisaḥi* (Ho. iv, 182) < Skt. *apṛeṭṭi*,
māḥi (see § 71, (5)) < Ap. **māḥi*, *māḥi* < Skt. **nimittakena*,
Rukamaḥi (F 783, passim) < Skt. *Rukmiṇi*.

(2) *i* is amplified to *ai*. Ex. :

gāu (Çal. 10) < *giu* (see § 2, (1)) < Ap. *gai* < Skt. *gātāḥ*,
pratai (Dd. 1) < Skt. *prati*,
bāḥiḥi (F 602, Ādi C.) < *bāḥiḥi* (see § 80).

The case here is analogous with § 2, (3). Modern Gujarātī has *e*, as in : *bāḥiḥi*, and *Mārwaṇi ai* as in : *paḥi* < *piḥi*, *vaḥi* < *viḥi* (Nāsaketa-ri kathā).

(3) *i* is amplified to *ī*. Ex. :

raḥiḥi (Daç. viii) < Skt. *raḥita-*,
sāḥiḥi (ibid.) < Skt. *sāḥita-*.

The two examples above are the only I have met with. An instance of an analogous case, in which *a* is amplified to *ai*, is : *raicāḥi* < Skt. *racitam* (F 588).

(4) *i* is lengthened to *ī*. Ex. :

āḥi (Daç. iii, 3) < Pkt. *darisa-* < Skt. *ādarṣa-*,
kāḥi-i (Bh., Yog., Ṣaṣṭ.) < Ap. **kāḥi-i*, °*vi* < Skt. *kāsmīn-āpi*,
āḥi (see § 98 (2)) < Ap. *dhāḥi* < Skt. **adakaśmin* or **ayakaśmin* (cf. Pischel § 429),
āḥi (Ādi. 13, 47) < *kāḥi* (see § 98, (1)) < Ap. *kāḥi* < Pkt. *kāmāḥi* < Skt. *kāsmī*,
nāḥi (see § 115) < Pkt. *nāḥi* < Skt. *nāḥi*.

In the last three examples the lengthening of *i* is to be explained as having been brought about by a metathesis of quantity (see § 48).

(5) *i* is changed to *ya*. The cases, in which this change may take place, are : a) when a medial *i* is preceded by *a*, as in :

payasāra (P. 246) < *pāśāra*, abstract noun from O.W.R., Ap. *pāśai* < Skt. *praviṣati*,
vayara (P. 503) < Ap. *vāra* < Skt. *vaira-*,

¹⁷ Another explanation of *bimāḥi*, which had previously occurred to me, is Ap. **bimāḥi* (cf. Pischel, § 231) Skt. *dvimānakam*.

vayardgi (F 616, 126) < Ap. *vayrdgi* < Skt. *vairdgin*.

and b) when a terminal *i* is preceded by a long vowel. This is especially common in poetry, when the terminal *i* falls at the end of a word. Ex. :

doya (P. 57) < Ap. **do-i* < Pkt. *do-vi* < Skt. *dvav-api*,

kahivdiya (P. 123) < *kahivdi* (see § 140).

Rarely *ya* is written for *i* when the latter falls after a consonant and before a vowel and still more rarely when it falls between two consonants. Examples of the latter case are chiefly confined to the MS. F 722, where they are very common and it is thereby clear that they are to be looked upon as a mere writing peculiarity of the MS. Examples of both cases are :

dya (Ādi C.) < *dii* < Ap. *dei* < Skt. **dayati* (= *dadāti*),

lyai (ibid.) < *lii* < Ap. *lei* < Skt. **layati* (= *lāti*),

vyahāṇā (Vi. 73, P. 522, 627) < *viḥāṇā* (P. 323) < Ap. *viḥāṇā* < Skt. **vibhāṇakam*,

yama, *kyama*, *iyama* (F 722) < *ima*, *kima*, *tima* (see § 98, (3)),

vyarū (F 722, 63) < *virū* < Ap. *virāvi* < Skt. *virāpakā*,

vyand (F 722, 64) < Skt. *vind*,

sunya (F 722, 60) < *suṇi*, imperative 2nd sing. (see § 119).

§5. Apabhraṃsa *u* is retained except in the cases following :

(1) *u* is frequently weakened to *a*, mostly when another *u* (*ā*, *au*) occurs in the syllable following or a long vowel in the syllable preceding. The former case is also common in Prakrit (see Pischel, § 123). Ex. :

araha (P. 479) < *uraha* (Ādi C.) < Ap. **avāra* < Skt. *apāra*,

alika (P. 675, 685,) < Skt. *ulika*,

asira (P., Ratn. 234) < Ap. *usāra* < Skt. *utsāra*,

olagu (P. 105) < Pkt. *oluggo* (Deçl°, i, 164 = *sevaka*),

karisa (see § 121) < Ap. *karisu* (Ho., iv, 396, 4) < Skt. **kariyam* (Pischel, §§ 63, 351),

jelala, *telala*, etc. (see § 93, (2)) < Ap. *jettulā*, *tettulā* (cf. Ho., iv, 435),

ta (see § 86) < Ap. *tuhā* < Skt. **tvakam* (Pischel, § 421),

tāhara (see § 86) < Ap. *tuhāra* (see § 48) < **tūha-kāra* (Pischel, § 434),

raṇajhaṇava, verbal infinitive (P. 34, 197) < Ap. *ruṇajhuṇi*, onomatopoeitic substantive (Ho., iv, 368),

sāhama (P. 594) < Ap. *sammuhā* < Skt. *sammukhākam*,

kata (see § 113) < *hūta* (Mu.) < *hūta* < Ap. *hōta* < Skt. **bhavaṇṭakā*,

hā (see § 113) < *hu* < Ap. *hou* < Skt. *bhavatu*.

(2) *u* is amplified to *au*. Ex. :

hāud (Rq. 71) < *hūd* < Ap. *hāu* < Skt. *bhātā*.

(3) initial *u* is dropped. Ex. :

ba'sa (Dd. 2) < Ap. *uvāsa* < Skt. *upaviṣati*.

In the following example, *u* previously to being dropped was weakened to *a* :

raha (see § 71, (6)) < *araha* (Mu.) < *uraha* < Ap. **avāra* < Skt. *apāra*.

§6. Old Western Rājasthāni *ū* is occasionally changed to *o*. Ex. :

loha-i (Bh. 78) < *lūha-i* (P., Kal., Bh.) (see § 86),

dohila (Dd., F 576) < **dūlaha* < Ap. *dullaha* < Skt. *durlabha*.

After the analogy of the latter is formed *sohila* (F 576) < Ap. *solaha* < Skt. *śulabha*. The equivalence of *ū* with *o* is incidentally evidenced by Hemacandra, sūtra i, 173 of his Prakrit grammar, where it is stated that Sanskrit *upa-* may contract either to *u* or to *o* in Prakrit. The same interchange of *ū* and *o* occurs in Jaipurī (see L.S.I., Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 33). Cf. the analogous case of *i* = *e*, § 7, (2).

§7. Old Western Rājasthānī has both a long and a short *e*, as Apabhraṃṣa and Gujarātī and Mārwarī. As in writing no distinction is made between *ē* and *ĕ*, I shall transliterate both by *e*, save in a few particular cases, where it is important to know whether *e* is long or short. Generally *e* is long in *tatsamas* and short in *tadbhavas*, but there are many exceptions to this rule as shown by Old Western Rājasthānī poetry as well as by the evidence of the modern dialects. Cf. the list of words containing a short *e* given by Sir George Grierson, p. 344 of *L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii. In Old Western Rājasthānī poetry *e* in one and the same word may be accounted short or long only to suit the exigencies of prosody. Thus in *P.* we find: *jēha* (100), *tēha* (25, 100), *jē* (21), *tē* (69), *jēhē* (270) and *jēha* (25), *tēha* (23, 38, 59), *jē* (100), *tē* (100) *jēhē* (62).

Apabhraṃṣa *e* undergoes the following changes in Old Western Rājasthānī:

(1) *e* is changed to *i*. This process had already begun in the Apabhraṃṣa stage, but was chiefly restricted to the case of terminal *e* (Cf. Pischel, § 85), Ex.:

amhi (see § 84) < Ap. *amhe* < Skt. *asme* (—*vayam*),
ima, *kima*, *jima*, *tima* (see § 98, (3)) — Ap. *eṇa*, *keṇa*, *jeṇa*, *teṇa*, (Pischel, § 281),
karijyo (Bh. 44) < Ap. **karejjahu* (see § 120),
kariṇa (Kal. 5) (see § 134) < Ap. *karevva* < Skt. **kareyyakam*,
dii (Rq. 13) < Ap. *dei* < Skt. **dayati* (—*daddti*),
ii (Ādi. 11) < Ap. *lei* < Skt. **layati* (—*lāti*),
bi (see § 80) < Ap. *be* < Skt. *dve*,
hoije (Kal. 42) < Ap. **hojjahi* (see § 120).

In Gujarātī *i* is further weakened to *a*, ex.: *karajo*, *karavā*, or brought back to *e*, ex.: *ēma*, *kēma*, *amhē*, *bē*. It is therefore probable that in some of the cases, in which Old Western Rājasthānī has *i* for Apabhraṃṣa and Gujarātī *e*, the former vowel stands simply to indicate *ē*. In Old Western Rājasthānī poetry, original *e* is often preserved, mostly when a long *mātra* is required. Thus: *karē* (*P.* 250, 255) for *kari* (see § 119) < Ap. *kari*, *karē* (Pischel, § 461), *ka-tvā* (*P.* 96) for *kariṇā* (see § 134), *bē* for *bi*, *ēma* for *ima*, etc.

(2) *e* is changed to *i*. This was already the case in Apabhraṃṣa, as is evidenced by the two examples: *viṇi* < Skt. *veṇi* and *tēha* < Skt. *lekṣhā*, cited by Hamacandra, sūtra iv, 320 of his Prakrit grammar. In Old Western Rājasthānī *i* appears to be often written for *ē*, in the same way as *i* is written for *ē*.—Thus: *valē* (Ādi C.) for *vali*, *ē* (Up.) for *i*, an emphatic particle (see § 104). Similarly in poetry we find *ima*, *kima*, for *ēma*, *kēma* < *ima*, *kima*, *jihē*, *tēha* for *jēha*, *tēha*, etc. In the following prose-passage a form with *i* is used by the side of a form with *ē*, which clearly means that the two vowels are easily interchangeable: *jīṇāṇi prakṛāṇi koi gṛhaṣṭha piḍā na pāmaṇi, tēṇāṇi prakṛāṇi...* (Daç. i, 4). "In which way no householder suffers, in that way..." Cf. the common interchange of *i* and *ē* in Northern colloquial Gujarātī (*L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 329).

(3) Initial *e* is dropped. Ex.:

havā (VI. 18, P. 590,) < *ehavā* (see § 94, (3)),
hivadā (Crā.) < *ehavadā* < *ehavadā* (see § 94, (4)).

§8. The case of *o* is very similar to that of *e*. Though Modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī do not possess a short *o*, yet Old Western Rājasthānī possessed it much in the same way as Apabhraṃṣa. Take the following examples from *P.*: *bō* (171), *jō* (188), *jōi* (125), *jōt* (131), *tamhō* (466). Examples of Apabhraṃṣa *o* having become *u* in Old Western Rājasthānī are:

hūi (see § 113) < Ap. *hoi* < Skt. *bhāvati*,
hūta (see *ibid.*) < Ap. *honta* < Skt. **bhavantakā*.

(b) Vowels in Contact.

§9. Apabhraṃṣa *aa* is never allowed to remain in hiatus in Old Western Rājasthānī, but is either contracted to *ā*, as in the oblique of nominal bases in *-aa* (see § 62), or euphonic *y* is inserted between the two *a*, as in: *rayaṇa* < Ap. *raaṇa* < Skt. *ratna*, *vayaṇa* < Ap. *vaana* < Skt. *vacana*.

The only case, in which *aa* is suffered in Old Western Rājasthānī, is formed by the *-aā* termination of the second person present indicative, where *aa*, however, is not original, but derived from Old Western Rājasthānī *ā* (see § 117).

Apabhraṃṣa *āā* and *āa* are as a rule contracted, ex. :

ānālaī (Ādi C.) < Ap. *uṇāālaī* < Skt. *uṇakālakaḥ*,
paraī (see § 75) < **pāraī* < Ap. *pāraā* < Skt. **prakāraṇa*,
rā (Qāl. 110, 124,) < Ap. *rāa* < Skt. *rāja*,

but in the case of *āa* contraction may be as well avoided, euphonic *y* or *v* (see §§ 28, 34) being inserted between the two vowels. Ex. : *rāya*, *pāya*, *jāvaī*, etc.

§10. Old Western Rājasthānī *ai* remains as a rule in hiatus, both when original and when resultant from Apabhraṃṣa *-ahi*. Ex. :

pāisai (Yog. iii, 123) < Ap. *pāisai* < Skt. *praviṣati*,
kaṇhai (see § 74, (1)) < Ap. *kaṇṇahi* < Skt. **kaṇṇasmin* (*karne*).

Notice, however, the following exceptions :

(1) *ai* is simplified to *i*. Ex. :

anī (Dd. 5) < *anaī* (see § 106) < Ap. *aṇṇaī* < Skt. *anyāni*,
iṇi (Qrā.) < *iṇai* (see § 89) < Ap. **eṇaī* < Skt. **onaṣmin*,
kari chi (Pr. 3) < *karai chai* (see § 118) < Ap. **karai acchāi* < Skt. **karati ṛcchati*,
jisai, *tisai*, etc. (see § 94, (1)) < Ap. *jaisai*, *tisai* < Skt. *yādr̥ṣakaḥ*, *tādr̥ṣakaḥ*
(Pischel, §§ 81, 121),

hoṣi (Qāl. 61) < Ap. *hoṣai* (Ho., iv, 388, 418, (4)) < Skt. **bhoṣyati* (= *bhaviṣyati*).

(2) *ai* is assimilated to *ii*. Ex. :

eki-i (P. 496) < *eka-i*,
kaṇṇii (Kal. 4) < *kaṇṇai* (see § 91) < Ap. *kaṇṇaṇaḥ*,
kahiisii (Qrā.) < *kahisai* (see § 121),
tiī (Kānh. 101, 102) < *taī* (see § 86) < Ap. *taī* < Skt. *tvayā*,
pariī (Qrā., Kal. 32) < *paraī* (see § 75) < Ap. *pāraā* < Skt. **prakāraṇa*,
biiḥai (Vi. 130) < *baiḥai* < Ap. *uvaiḥai* < Skt. *upaviṣṭakaḥ*,
bhantiī (Vi. 8) < *bhantiāī* < Ap. *bhantiā* < Skt. **bhāntiakena* (cf. Pischel, § 501),
mīhiī (P. 410) < *mīhai* (see § 74 (7)) < Ap. *majjhāī* < Skt. **madhyasmin* (= *madhye*),
hoṣii (F 663) < *hoṣai* (see § 121) < Ap. *hoṣai* < Skt. **bhoṣyati*.

(3) *ai* is contracted to *i*. This change seems to have taken place through the intermediate step *ii* described in the foregoing paragraph. (Cf. § 16). Ex. :

aīi (Ādi C.) < **dji-i* < *āja-i* < Ap. *ajja-i* < Skt. *adyā 'pi*,
trijai (see § 82) < **trijai* < **traijan* or **traijai* < Ap. *taijjai* < Skt. *trīṣṭakāḥ*,
lagi (see § 72, (9)) < **lagiī* < *lagai* < Ap. *laggāī* < Skt. **lagnasmin* (= *lagne*),
hiti (see § 72, (11)) < **hitiī* < *hitiāi* < Ap. *hontiāī* < Skt. **bhavantasmin*.

(Cf. the case of Marāṭhī, in Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar*, § 79).

(4) *ai* is contracted to *e*. This change is already met with in Prakrit and Apabhraṃṣa (cf. Pischel, § 166), and in Old Western Rājasthānī it occurs only in the termination of the

instrumental plural (see § 60) and of the precative singular (see § 120), where it is no doubt very old. Ex. :

core (Kal. 9) < Ap. *corahī* < Skt. **corabhis* (= *corais*),

jāñje (Bh. 21, P. 564) < Ap. **jāñjahi*.

§11. Old Western Rājasthānī *aī* remains in hiatus, except in the cases following :

(1) *ai* is simplified to *u*. Ex. :

karu (Rq. 10, 13) < *karau* (see § 110) < Ap. *karahu* < Skt. **karaiha*.

kūṇa (Ādi, Indr., Yog., etc.) < *kaiṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa* (Pischel, § 428),

caithu (Yog. iv, 137, Qil. 25) < *cauthai* (see § 82) < Ap. *caṭṭhau* < Skt. *caturthakāḥ*,

sāpai (F 783, 53) < *sāṭpai* < Ap. *samappai* < Skt. *samarpayati*.

(2) *ai* is changed to *iu*. Ex. :

bolū (Daq. ix) < *bolai* (see § 117).

(3) *ai* is assimilated to *uu*. Ex. :

kūṇa (Up. 215) < *kaiṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa*-,

puudhu (P. 432) < *puaiḥhu*,

in which latter example *a* has possibly passed into *u* under the influence of *p*. See § 2, (2).

(4) *ai* is contracted to *i*. Whether the reason of the contraction lies in the *ai* being first assimilated to *uu* (as in the analogous case of *ai* > *ii* > *i*) or in the *u* being accented, I am not able to say. Possibly, in some cases prevailed the former reason and in some other cases prevailed the latter. Thus in the example :

mī (Vi. 77) (see § 83) < Ap. *mahu* < Skt. *māhyam* (Pischel, § 418),

the passing of *ai* to *i* might be assumed to have been effected through *uu*, and all the more so as there is a labial, whereas in the example :

hī (see § 83) < Ap. *hai* < Skt. *ahakām* (Pischel, § 417),

the contraction of *ai* to *i* seems to have been brought about by the *u* being accented.

Other examples are :

āpanapī (Daq. i, 2) < *āpanapaī* (see § 92),

kāṇa (Ādi. 3) < *kaiṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa* (Pischel, § 428),

bolī (F 715, i, 3) < *bolai* (see § 117),

sī < *sai* (see § 70, (5)) < Ap. *saiḥ* < Skt. *sakām*.

(5) *ai* is contracted to *i*. The intermediate step may be supposed to have been *aa*, the weakening of *ai* to *aa* being evidenced by the MS. *Kal.*, where the *-ai* termination of the second person present indicative is often substituted by *-ai*. Ex. :

kanhī (Ādi C.) (see § 61) < **kanhai* < Ap. *kaṇṇahī*,

karī (Ādi C., Śa. 7.) < *karai* (see § 117) < Ap. *karahī* < Skt. **karamas* (= *kurmas*).

This contraction is amongst the peculiarities of Mārwaṇī and Eastern Rājasthānī and it is utterly foreign to Gujarātī proper.

(6) *ai* is contracted to *o*. The case here is exactly identical with that of *ai* > *e*, see § 10, (4). The only example available is formed by the termination of the second person plural of the precative, which is *-ijo*, *-ijyo* < Ap. *-ejjahū* (see § 120).

§12. *ai* is contracted to *i*. Ex. :

anēru (Yog. ii, 88) < Ap. *anānēru* < Skt. **anyakāryaḥ*,

beṭ (Da. X) < **beṭai* < Ap. **biṭai*, plural instrumental from *biṭai* (see § 60).

§13. *ai* is contracted to *o*. Ex. :

pōli (Ratn. 5, 111) < Ap. *paoli* < Skt. *pratoli*.

In the example above, however, *o* might likewise be explained as a contraction from *ai* < *ao*, and all the more so as P. 100 we have *paṭṭā* for *polid*.

§14. *di* is contracted to *ḍ*. Ex. :

anerḍ (Kal. 84) < Ap. **aṇṇaerāḍi* < Skt. **anyakāryakāni*.

For other examples of plural neuters see § 58, (3). An exception is formed by Apabhraṃṣa *kḍi* (< Skt. *kāni*), in which *i* does not combine with *ḍ*, but remains distinct, it being generally lengthened to *i*. See *kḍi* and *kḍi*, § 91.

§15. *ia* is contracted to *i*. Ex. :

ami (Rq. 56, F 715, ii, 12) < Ap. *amia* < Skt. *amṛta*,-

ekendri (F 602, 1) < Skt. *ekendriya*,-

jānḍi (P. 354) < Ap. *jānḍia* < Skt. *jānḍika*,-

ḍivī (Yog. ii, 87) < Ap. **ḍivia* < Skt. *ḍīpikā*,

ḍisa (P. 129) < Ap. **ḍiasa* < Skt. *divasa*,-

ḍiḥa (P. 416) < Ap. *ḍiḥa* < Skt. *divasa*,-

paṇḍau (Ādi. 87) < Pkt. **paṇḍao* (cf. *paṇḍam*, Deçf°, vi, 64),

pīi (Deç. ix) < Ap. *piai* < Skt. *pibati*,

haṇḍi (P. 8) < *haryāḍaḥ* (F 715, passim) < Ap. *hīaḍaḥ* < Skt. **hṛdayaśakam*.

§16. *ii* is contracted to *i*. Some examples of this change have been already given § 10, (3) above. Others may be derived from the *i*-termination of the conjunctive participle, which, as I shall show further on, is but a contraction of the locative ending *-ii* of the past participle in *-iu* (see § 131). Ex. :

mehali (Bh. 70) < **mehalii* < **melhii* < Ap. *mellii*, °ie (—Skt. *mukte*).

§17. *ia* is contracted to *i*. Ex. :

kahi (F 715, i, 10) < *kahiai* < *kahiyai* < *kahijai* (see § 136) < Ap. *kahijai* < Skt. *kahyate*,

Modern Gujarātī *bi* < Ap. *bia* < Skt. *bija*,-

māriū (Yog. ii, 26) < *māriyāū* < Ap. *mārijjantū* < Skt. **māryantaḥ*.

In the following example *ia* is changed to *ia* :

kariai (Ādi Cl., passim) < *kariai* < *kariyāi* < *karijai* (see § 136) < Ap. *karijjai* < Skt. *kriyate*.

§18. *ua* is contracted to *u*. Ex. :

cūu (Bh. 48) < Ap. *cuaū* < Skt. *cūṭakāḥ*,

jūjūyāi (Dd. 1) < Ap. *juanjuai* (Hc., iv, 422, (14)) < Skt. **yugamyugakāḥ*,

mūū (Yog. ii, 97, Ādi. 35) < Ap. *muai* < Skt. *mṛtakāḥ*.

§19. *ia* is contracted to *ḍ*. Ex. :

jḍ (neuter) (P. 254) < Ap. *jḍa* < Skt. *dyāta*,-

jḍ (feminine) (P. 424 ff.) < Ap. *jḍa*, *jḍḍ* < Skt. *yākd*,

rḍai (Ādi. 85) < Ap. *rḍai* < Skt. **rāpaṭakāḥ*,

ḥai (see § 113) < Ap. *ḥai* < Skt. *bhātakāḥ*.

Occasionally, however, the two vowels are allowed to remain distinct, as in : *rāyadaū* (F 715, i, 11) and *ḥaiū* (Dd.) For the latter example, the form *ḥaiū* is also met with (Dd., P² 322), whereby an analogy is afforded to the case of *ia* > *ia* mentioned § 17.

(c) *Anusvāra and Anundśika*.

§20. In Old Western Rājasthānī MSS. no distinction is made between *anundśika* and *anusvāra*, the *bindu* being employed for both cases alike. So we cannot decide whether such forms as *जं*, *कायं*, etc. should be read *jam*, *kāyām*, namely with *anusvāra* as in Apabhraṃṣa, or *jā*, *kāyāi*, namely with *anundśika*. But it is highly probable that the *bindu* represents *anundśika* throughout, except of course in *talasamas*, where it stands for *anusvāra* or the

various class nasals. The passing of *anusvāra* into *anundśika* had already begun in the Prākṛit and Apabhraṃṣa stage. Prākṛit Grammarians state that in Prākṛit and Apabhraṃṣa poetry the terminations °ṣ, °ṣṣ, °ṣṣ, etc., can be accounted both long and short i.e., the terminal nasal may be optionally treated as *anusvāra* or as *anundśika* (see Pischel, § 180). Hemacandra, sūtra iv, 411 of his Prākṛit grammar, states that in Apabhraṃṣa the terminations °ṣ, °ṣṣ, °ṣṣ, °ṣ are 'commonly,' (*prāyas*) pronounced as short and from the examples quoted in his grammar we can see that the same is the case with the terminations °ṣṣ, °ṣṣ and °ṣ. It would therefore seem that terminal *anusvāra* had already passed into *anundśika* in the Apabhraṃṣa and if we judge from the evidence of the verses quoted by Hemacandra, where nearly all terminal nasals are *anundśika* and only a few ones *anusvāra*, we feel inclined to believe that the former represent the rule and the latter the exception, i.e., that in Apabhraṃṣa terminal *anusvāra* had actually become *anundśika* in the ordinary language and had survived only in poetry, where it continued to be employed whenever a long syllable was required.

In passing from Apabhraṃṣa to Old Western Rājasthānī *anusvāra* and *anundśika* are treated as follows :

(1) Medial *anusvāra* is changed to *anundśika* when the preceding vowel is lengthened. Ex :
ślocaṣ (P. 388) < Ap. saṃcarai < Skt. saṃcarati,
śbhalai (Kal. 35) < Ap. saṃbhalai (Cf. Ho., iv, 74) < Pkt. saṃbharai (cf. Pischel, § 313)
< Skt. saṃmarati.

(2) Medial *anusvāra* preceded by two vowels, which contract into a long vowel different from ā, may be dropped. Ex :

jéjéyaṣ (Dd. 1) < Ap. juamjuaṣ < Skt. *yugamyugakāḥ.

(3) Medial *anundśika* is generally retained. Ex :

kāra (Dd. 1) < Ap. *kāra-, *kāra- < Skt. kumāra-,

kātri (Vi. passim) < Ap. kātri, kātri < Skt. kumātri.

In the following examples, medial *anundśika* has been transposed :

śāṣi (Qā. 72) < Ap. śāṣi < Skt. *śāṣiṃ (=śāṣiṃ),

bhāṣi (Qrā., P. 318) < Ap. bhāṣi < Skt. bhāṣiṃ.

(4) Terminal *anusvāra* or *anundśika* of the Apabhraṃṣa is generally retained under the form of *anundśika* in Old Western Rājasthānī. Ex :

tāṣ, tāṣṣ (see §§ 90, 98, (1)) < Ap. tāṣṣ (Ho. iv, 355) < Pkt. tamṣ < Skt. tasmāṣi,

pāṣi (Daç. iv) < Ap. pāṣi < Skt. pāṣiyakena,

rākhaṣ (Kal. 30) < Ap. rākhaṣ < Skt. *rakṣakam (! See Pischel, § 454),

vāṣṣ (Ādi. 22) < Ap. vāṣṣ or *vāṣṣ < Skt. *vallabhasṣam (!—vallabhaṣṣam),

hāṣ (see § 83) < Ap. hāṣ < Skt. ahakam.

Occasionally, however, it is transposed, as in :

kāṣi (see § 91) < Ap. kāṣi < Skt. kāṣi,

and it is dropped, when falling on two vowels, which contract into e, as in :

dīṣe (P. 685) < Ap. dīṣi < Skt. *dīṣiṣi (=dīṣiṣi).

(5) In the following example *anundśika* is changed to m :

kimha-i (Daç., passim) < Ap. kṛṣ-i, kṛṣ-i < Skt. kṛṣam-āpi.

(6) Euphonic *anundśika* is commonly added to medial ā, chiefly when the latter is followed by the nasals ṣ, ṣ, m or by h. Ex :

purāṣa (P. 3), svāṣa (P. 48), nāṣa (P. 521),

urāṣa (P. 26), māṣi (P. 573).

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF TAMRALIPTI.

SINCE the time of Lassen it has been accepted by Indianists that 'Tāmrālipti' is a Sanskrit word, that it is connected with *tāmrā* (ताम्र). As a matter of fact the word has nothing to do with *tāmrā* or any other Sanskrit word.

A form nearer to the original I find in the *Dato-kumāra-charita*, viz., *Dāmālipta*.¹ In *Dāmālipta* the principal member *Dāmaḥ* is only a little removed from the original (Tāmil) *Draṁiḥ*.² The variations of *Draṁiḥ* are the Skr. *Draṁiḥ*, and the Pali *Donḥi* as in the *Mahāvamsa*. Tārinātha drawing as usual on some old authority gives *Draṁiḥ*.

The second member *-ipta* or *-ipti* is clearly non-Sanskritic. Its original form is best preserved in the Pali *-iti* of its *Tāmal-iti*. In Tāmil *-iti* or *-ti* is a neuter-feminine ending.³ Hindu writers applied the rules of Prakrit philology and restored *-iti* into *-pti*!

The classical form of *Draṁiḥ* in Tāmil is *Tāmrāḥ*.⁴ The Skr. *Tāmrā*—(s. g., *Tāmrālipti* of the *Mahā-Bhārata*), and *Tāmaḥ* (s. g. *Tāmalīpti* of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*) are derived from the classical *Tāmrāḥ*.

The original forms of *Tāmrālipti* and *Dāmālipta* would thus have been: **Tāmrāliḥ* and **Dāmāliḥ*. Both forms seem to have been current, the former being classical and the latter, popular.⁵ The expression rendered into Skr. would be **Draṁāḥ* or **Draṁāḥ*.

Both members of the expression, the base *Dāmaḥ* or *Tāmaḥ* and the ending *-iti* or *-ti*, are Dravidian. This is sufficient to establish that *Tāmalīti* was originally a Dravidian town, founded by the Dravidians before the Gangetic delta and Orissa were colonised by the Aryans.

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Calcutta.

BOOK NOTICE.

MUDRĀRĀKHAṢA by VIBAKHADATTA edited by ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. BRESLAU 1912. *Indische Forschungen in Zwanglosen Heften herausgeg.* etc., von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. H.

THE *Mudrārākhaṣa* is one of the best Indian plays, and it occupies a somewhat peculiar position within the dramatic literature of India. It is a *Nāṭika* and conforms to the rules laid down by the authors on rhetoric. The main interest, however, centres about the dramatical conflict in the minds of the acting persons and in the intrigues spun by the leading actors. The principal plot is, as prescribed by Bharata and his successors, *prākhyāta*. According to the *Dakṛpāvaloka* (I, 68) it has been taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*. In support of this statement Dhanika quotes a stanza from the *Bṛhatkathā*, which actually occurs in Kāśhemendra's *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* I, ii, 216. There is however some difficulty about this statement, which is not found in all manuscripts. Kāśhemendra's time was the 11th century, and the author of the *Dakṛpāvaloka*

lived under king Muṣṭja in the 10th. Moreover, there is not much in the *Mudrārākhaṣa* which is taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*. The events narrated there form the frame into which the plot of the play has been woven. So far as we can judge, the main intrigue is the work of the poet himself. It is not, however, possible to judge with confidence about this matter. We know that various tales about the downfall of the Nandas and the rise of the dynasty of the Mauryas were popular in India. Some of them have been preserved in the *Kathā sarit-sāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*, others by Hemachandra in his *Parīśiṣṭa-paṭṭa*, and others by Dhruvacharya in his commentary on the *Mudrārākhaṣa*, published in Telang's edition of the play. That these traditional tales have been largely circulated can also be inferred from the fact that they have been incorporated in the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Mahāvihāra* and the *Uttaravihāra* in Ceylon,¹ and some of them have even influenced the folklore of Europe.² So far as we can see, however, the

¹ Lassen, *Alt. I*, 145.

² Ch. VI.

³ Caldwell, *Gr. of. Dra*: Lange, 2nd ed., Introduction, p. 18.

⁴ Caldwell, p. 125. of the Canarese neuter-feminine *-iti* (p. 125), and the Telugu *-ti*, an inflectional increment of neuter singular nouns (p. 160)

⁵ Caldwell, *Intro*, p. 18.

⁶ Its present-day survival *Tāmāliḥ* would prove that the pronunciation with *T* was more popular amongst the Aryans.

¹ See Hall, *Vasavadatta*, Introduction, p. 55.

² Cf. Geiger, *Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa*, pp. 42 ff.; Turnour, *The Mahāvamsa*, pp. xxxviii ff.

³ See my paper in the Norwegian journal *Maal og Minder*, 1913, pp. 1 ff.

events which form the principal contents of the *Mudrārākhṣaṣa*, Chāṇakya's intrigues with a view of bringing Rākhṣaṣa, the minister of the last Nanda king, over to the side of Chandragupta, are not dealt with in these popular sources, and even the name of Rākhṣaṣa seems to be a free invention by the author.

We have accordingly to acknowledge that Viśākhadatta has freely invented the principal plot. He was possessed of great dramatic skill and the intrigue is extremely cleverly thought out. In itself the *Mudrārākhṣaṣa* comes nearer to the idea of a tragedy than any other Indian play. Our sympathy is, the whole time, with Rākhṣaṣa in his fight against Chāṇakya's intrigues, and our interest in the development of the action ceases when the former is defeated. According to our ideas the natural end to the whole would have been that Rākhṣaṣa should become a victim of the misunderstandings created by Chāṇakya, or that he should have rushed against the enemy or committed suicide, or something of the sort. Then we should have had a real tragedy in Indian literature, and, I may add, a tragedy according to modern European notions. The struggle of the central figure, the honest and faithful Rākhṣaṣa, is not broken in vain attempts to brave the blind forces of fate, as in the Greek tragedy, but the fight is fought between the devoted servant of a fallen dynasty, who trusts his friends and is beloved by them, against the traditional master of political intrigue. Rākhṣaṣa is of course also intriguing. He could not have been an eminent minister of state according to Indian ideas without that. But he does not live and breathe in intrigue as his adversary. On the contrary, we have the impression of an honest and straightforward man, who only occasionally takes to intriguing in order to satisfy the requirements of the *Nītiśāstra*. The conflict in the *Mudrārākhṣaṣa* is therefore the same as in the tales of the *Pañcātanta* and similar collections which aim at teaching the advantages of shrewdness and versatility in all walks of life, even against honesty. It is therefore quite in keeping with the general tendency of the play that Chāṇakya achieves his aim in every respect.

The *Mudrārākhṣaṣa* is accordingly a *nīti* drama, evidently intended to show the advantages of political training according to the *Nītiśāstra*. Though in many respects it impresses the European critic as different from other Indian plays, and almost as a modern European play in its development of the plot, it is therefore entirely Indian in its

general notions. This is of interest. Those scholars who maintain that the Indian drama is borrowed from the Greeks have paid considerable attentions to such points in which the *Mūcchakaṭikā*, which has often been supposed to be the oldest Indian drama, agrees with Greek plays. The *Mudrārākhṣaṣa*, where the agreement in general ideas with later European plays is, to my mind, much greater, warns us to be very careful in such comparisons. It not seldom happens that we are more struck by the similarity between India and Europe than by the difference, and in such cases we are apt to suppose that one of the two has been influenced by the other. But often we find that there are rather two different lines of development which have led to similar results, and I think we are usually on the safe side if we carefully examine whether such details which we would like to explain as due to foreign influence, cannot be the result of an independent development. In the case of the *Mudrārākhṣaṣa* there cannot, I think, be any doubt. The whole atmosphere is entirely Indian and not European, though we are constantly reminded of European ideas. The whole question about the possible connexion between the Indian and the Greek play cannot be decided at the hand of such considerations. The oldest Indian plays we know, the *Āvaghosha* fragments published by Professor Liders, do not remind us of the Greek stage at all. To judge from the *Prākṛit*, the *Mūcchakaṭikā* is considerably later. The dropping of single stops between vowels is already taught by Bharata. We do not however know how old Bharata is, and we do not know how far we can rely on the printed text of his treatise on *Prākṛit* phonology. It seems however impossible to assume that the dropping of such consonants became the rule before the third or perhaps the fourth century. In Pali and in *Pañcābhi* they are retained, and this is, I think, a sign of the priority of these dialects as compared with the ordinary *Prākṛit*. Bhāsa, on the other hand, uses a *Prākṛit* which has already reached the secondary stage, and he is older than the *Mūcchakaṭikā*,⁴ and than Kālidāsa. It is impossible as yet to arrive at certain chronological results. It seems to me, from the point of view of the *Prākṛit*, that we can only fix the chronological order between these works. The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhyā is probably at least one century older than Bhāsa, and so are the plays of *Āvaghosha*. If Professor Liders⁵ and Dr. Marshall⁶ are right that Kanishka and *Āvaghosha* belong to the second century A. D., it is hardly possible to

¹ See Ganapati Sāstri, *Śaṅkhaśāstradatta*, pp. xxxviii, ff.

² *Epigraphische Beiträge*, Berliner Sitzungsberichte, 1912, p. 830.

³ *Archaeological Discoveries at Taxila*, Lecture before the Panjab Historical Society, Sept. 4th 1913, p. 13.

date Bhāsa before the third or fourth, and consequently the *Mricchakatika* cannot well be older than the fourth. At all events, the *Mricchakatika* cannot any more be considered as the oldest Indian play, and the arguments in favour of the Greek hypothesis which have been drawn from its supposed similarity with the Greek comedy can no more be maintained.

This hypothetical dating would of course have to be changed if Dr. Fleet were right in assuming that Kanishka belongs to the first century B. C. I have myself long held this view, but I have found it necessary to give it up after Professor Lüders' and Dr. Marshall's discoveries. I also think that it is necessary to assume that Kanishka is later than the Kadphises kings in order to explain a statement in the Chinese sources, which seems to have been hitherto overlooked. We hear that after the conquest of India by Kadphises II, the Yue-shi became exceedingly rich and flourishing and were everywhere designated as "Kings of Kuei-shuang." Now this title "King of Kuei-shuang" is nothing else than the well known *Shao-nan-shao Kuei-shao*, which title begins to be used by Kanishka. When the Chinese inform us that this designation only came in use after Kadphises, and when Kanishka is the first to use it, the only possible inference is that Kanishka is later than Kadphises.

I therefore think it probable that Bhāsa is not earlier than the third century. I should even be inclined to think that the fourth century is a still more likely date. The wish in the *bhāratavadya* of the Bāla-charita, the Dātavākyā and the Svapnavāvadatta that the King may become the sole ruler from sea to sea between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, leads us to think of a state of affairs in India which was not brought about before Samudragupta's conquests. If this theory proves to be right it constitutes a land-mark in the history of the Indian drama. Now the late Professor Speyer in his excellent *Studies about the Kathāsaritāgara* has tried to show that also the *Mudrārākshasa* belongs to the fourth century A. D. The stanza *Mudrārākshasa* II, 13 also occurs in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* I, 46. Now, the *Tantrākhyāyikā* was used by the author or compiler whose work was the source of the *Kathāsaritāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, and the stanza in question must have formed part of that work. Professor Speyer infers that it also formed part of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya. I do not think that this conclusion

can be adopted. For I agree with M. Leconte that the source of the two Kashmir recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* was not the old work of Guṇādhya, but a later work, compiled in Kashmir, probably about the seventh century A. D. The fact that the stanza occurred in the Kashmir *Bṛhatkathā* which was made use of by Somadeva and Keśamendra does not accordingly carry us back to a very ancient time. If it belongs to the original *Tantrākhyāyikā*, it is of course much older. But then it will hardly be possible to assume, as does Professor Speyer, that its author was Viśakhadatta. It must then have been borrowed by him from the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, or from the floating stock of *nīti* verses which have been current in India from the most ancient times. I agree with Mr. Keith¹⁰ that it is impossible to draw any chronological inference from the occurrence of the stanza in the *Mudrārākshasa* and the *Tantrākhyāyikā*. Nothing would be more natural than that the author of a *nīti* drama like the *Mudrārākshasa* was indebted to the *nīti* literature proper.

Professor Speyer is inclined to suppose that the Chandragupta named in the *bhāratavadya* of *Mudrārākshasa* may be some prince of that name who belonged to the dynasty of the Guptas. He who is eulogized in that final stanza as a successful protector against the threatening Mlecchhas may be Chandragupta I, the founder of the new and national dynasty, who lived in the beginning, or his glorious descendant Chandragupta II at the end of the fourth century. It would be no matter of wondering at, if the brilliant exploits, especially of the first Chandragupta who subverted a secular domination of "barbarians" in the N. and N. W. parts of India, had prompted the unknown poet Viśakhadatta to "glorify a similar establishment of a mighty national monarchy by the namesake of his king and by his famous minister."

I have myself thought of a similar solution of the chronological question. And in this connexion I have noted the curious fact that the beginning of the *Mudrārākshasa* in the excellent manuscript M is *nāndy-ants tataḥ pravṛttaḥ sūtradhārāḥ* just as is the case in Bhāsa's plays, while in other plays and in the remaining manuscripts of the *Mudrārākshasa* the remark *tataḥ pravṛttaḥ sūtradhārāḥ* comes after the introductory stanzas. The arrangements wherewith the *Sūtradhārā* recited the introductory stanzas was clearly a peculiarity of Bhāsa's. Compare *Harsha-charita* v. 15.

*sūtradhārayitṛrambhair nṛpaibair bahubhānibair
sapatibair yato lobhe Bhāso devakulair iva.*

¹ See O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türken und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 66.

² *Verhandelingen, der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks Deel VIII, No. 5*, pp. 51 ff.

³ *Revue des Études Indiennes et de la Bibliothèque*, Paris 1908, pp. 143 ff. and passim.

¹⁰ *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 145 ff.

Other authors however did not in this respect follow Bhāsa. If now the reading of M is the original one that would tend to show that Viśākhadatta was probably one of the immediate successors of Bhāsa, and that he stuck to his arrangement with the introductory stanzas.

There cannot, moreover, be any doubt that Viśākhadatta has, to a not inconsiderable extent, imitated Bhāsa, and more especially his Pratiśāyanganārdyaṛa. The solemn vow made by Yaṅgandharāṇḍa, his use of spies and persons in disguise, the curious use of a kind of argot in order to convey a hidden meaning in act III, and even minor details such as the comparison of dependents without affection to a wife (*Kalatra*) in I, 4 [cf. *Mudrār.* I, 11], and many other details in Bhāsa's play constantly recall similar features in the *Mudrārākhana* and add strength to the supposition that Viśākhadatta was an immediate successor of Bhāsa. But then the king alluded to in the *Ākṛatandhya* cannot have been Chandragupta I, must have been Chandragupta II.

It may be objected that the whole tendency of the *Mudrārākhana* militates against the assumption that it was written in praise of a king Chandragupta. Our sympathy is the whole time not with Chandragupta and Chāṇakya, though we admire the latter, but with Rākhana and the defeated dynasty. It is only by the force of circumstances that Rākhana is brought to adopt the case of the Mauryas. If we were to think that the *Mudrārākhana* is written at the hand of actual events it would be more natural to assume that the author's patron had fought the king of Magadha. Now this would suit the hypothesis based on the reading *Banti-varma* instead of *Chandragupta* in the *Ākṛatandhya*, occurring in some manuscripts, advanced by Mr. Telang in his edition of the play, and adopted by most scholars that the author's patron was the Maukhari king Avantivarman whose son married the sister of king Harsha of Kanauj. Their contemporary was the Gupta King Mādhavagupta, whose father Mahāsenagupta defeated Suśhitavarman, who was probably a contemporary of Avantivarman, and there must have been frequent wars between the Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha¹¹. On the other hand there was also more peaceful relations between the two families, and two Maukhari queens wear names which show that they belonged to the family of the Guptas, viz., Harabaguptā, the queen of Ādityavarman, and Upaguptā the queen of Jvaravarman. If we assume that Ādityavarman was an ally of Suśhitavarman, who was defeated by Mahāsenagupta, it is conceivable that Ādityavarman was conciliated in some way by Mahāsenagupta, just as Malayaketu in the play is reinstated

in his kingdom by Chandragupta. Hillebrandt¹² has also drawn attention to the fact that Graharvarman, the son of Avantivarman, was killed in Rājyavardhana's expedition against the Hūpas, and he agrees with Dhruva and others in assuming that the *Mlecchakas* mentioned in the *Ākṛatandhya* were the Hūpas. Attention has also been drawn to the fact that the *Mudrārākhana* must have been written before the destruction of Pāṭaliputra, because that town plays such a great rôle in the play. Now this argument would naturally lead to the conclusion that Professor Speyer's dating of the play is the right one, because Pāṭaliputra ceased to be the Magadha capital at a comparatively early date, and in the *Mudrārākhana* it is throughout treated as the natural capital. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to follow the late Professor Speyer with regard to the date of the play. The reading *Banti-varma* was perhaps introduced on the occasion of a later representation.

Professor Jacobi has advocated¹³ another dating of Viśākhadatta. He is of opinion that the *Mudrārākhana* shows traces of imitation of the poet Ratnākara, who lived under king Avantivarman of Kashmir in the 7th century. He also draws attention to some striking parallels between details in the *Mudrārākhana* and Kalhapa's description of Avantivarman, and at the hand of the astronomical data mentioned in the introduction of the play he calculates that it was acted the 2nd December 880 A. D. Dhruva, on the other hand,¹⁴ maintains that Ratnākara has imitated Viśākhadatta, and he also draws attention to such cases, where the *Mudrārākhana* seems to have been imitated by authors older than Ratnākara. It is almost impossible to judge about such cases. We never know whether there are direct loans or common loans from a third source. The direct allusions to the *Mudrārākhana* in Indian literature mentioned by Dhruva are still less decisive. The stanza *Pañchatantra* (ed., Bühler), III, 138 cannot be dated. Nor is it possible to come to a decision about the date of the Chan'akauśika, in which there is an allusion to the *Mudrārākhana*. Of greater importance is the fact drawn attention to by Dhruva that there did not, in the days of Avantivarman of Kashmir, exist an independent king of Sindh, while the Sindh king is mentioned as a mighty ally in the play, and further the way in which Viśākhadatta mentions the Kashmir king. Against such a late dating as suggested by Professor Jacobi it is also possible to draw attention to the high respect with which the Buddhas are mentioned, V, 6; to the recurrence of the stanza II, 18 in Bhartṛhari's *Nṛsīṅgataṭa* 27, in the *Pañchatantra*, and in the *Vetālapañchavinhāṭi*, where it is probably borrowed from the *Mudrārākhana*, and to other

¹¹ Cf. *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 14 f.

¹² *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.

¹³ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, pp. 25 ff.

¹⁴ *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 251 foot note.

¹⁵ *EDMG*, xxxix, 131.

minor details. Wilson's view¹³ that the *Mudrārākhasa* was written in the eleventh or twelfth century has now only historical interest. It was based on the assumption that the *Mlechchhas* mentioned in the *Charatavṛtta* were the *Musalmāns*.

Who the author of the *Mudrārākhasa* was, we know not. His name was Viśakhadatta, and he was the son of the Mahārāja Bhāskaraḍatta, or, according to most manuscripts, Pūthū, and the grandson of the feudatory (Sāmanta) Vakeśvaraḍatta.

We do not know any of these persons. Wilson¹⁴ thought it possible that Pūthū was identical with the Chāhamāna Prithvīrāja of Ajmer (12th century), but that is of course excluded. Hillebrandt¹⁵ seems inclined to identify Bhāskaraḍatta with Haraha's friend king Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa. According to the *Harahacharita*, however, Bhāskara-varman was the son of Śuśthiravarman Mṛigāṅka and the grandson of Sthiravarman. Now this agrees with the information derived from the newly discovered copper-plate grant of Bhāskara-varman which has been brought to light by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācharya.¹⁶ We only here learn that Sthiravarman and Śuśthiravarman are misreadings instead of Sthitavarman and Śuśthitavarman. It is then probable that Śuśthitavarman, the father of Bhāskara-varman, was the king defeated by Mahāsenagupta. Dr. Fleet's supposition¹⁷ that Śuśthitavarman was a *Maukharī* has hitherto been generally adopted. Now that we know of a Śuśthitavarman whose time suits the case, it will be necessary to change our opinion. We know that Bhāskara-varman was the contemporary of Haraha, who again was a contemporary of Mādhavagupta. Now it was Mādhavagupta's father who defeated Śuśthitavarman, and the Kāmarūpa king Śuśthitavarman was the father of Bhāskara-varman. There is then a perfect accord in the chronology, and there cannot be much doubt that Mahāsenagupta's adversary was the Kāmarūpa king Śuśthitavarman Śrī-Mṛigāṅka. Now it is tempting to assume some connection between the *Maukharis* and the Kāmarūpa kings. Both dynasties use names formed in the same way. It has already been suggested that Avantivarman may have aided with Śuśthitavarman in his war against Mahāsenagupta, and the chronology is in favour of such a supposition. On the other hand it seems impossible to reconcile the genealogy of Viśakhadatta with that of the Kāmarūpa kings.

We cannot therefore say who the author of the *Mudrārākhasa* was though it is highly probable that he belongs to the Ganges country and lived in the fourth century. We know of no other work by him, but the *Mudrārākhasa* itself has long been known and admired. It has also been published several times. Professor Hillebrandt however is

the first to give us a really critical edition, with full materials. To judge from his review of Telanga's edition¹⁸, his edition was planned more than thirty years ago, and the *Mudrārākhasa* has evidently been in his mind during all those years. In 1905 he published an edition of all the *Prākṛit* verses,¹⁹ and now follows the complete edition, with exhaustive apparatus criticus and an index of *Prākṛit* words.

It is an exceedingly careful work. Professor Hillebrandt has given us. It would have made the book still more useful if he had added an index of *pratikas*. It very often happens that we have to identify verses, and such indexes are extremely useful. This is however a minor consideration, and I prefer to think of all we have got in this new edition.

There are of course many minor details where it is possible to have different opinions. Thus I am very doubtful about the restoration of the *Prākṛit* forms required by the rules of the grammarians. This is more especially the case with the *Māgadhi*. The *Prākṛit* grammarians are all comparatively late, and their rules about *Māgadhi* are probably to some extent artificial. Professor Hillebrandt has corrected throughout so as to bring the *Prākṛita* into agreement with the grammarians, and he has done so in an excellent way. It is perhaps the only possible thing to do, and in the case of Sauraseni and Mahārāṣṭri our knowledge is so far advanced that we can do so with some confidence. But it is more difficult to be confident in the case of *Māgadhi*, about which dialect we are still very unsatisfactorily informed. The use of a comparatively correct *Māgadhi* in the fragments of plays preserved in later inscriptions does not prove much for the older plays, now that we know that the *Prākṛit* grammarians cannot be so old as some of us were once inclined to think. It is also possible to find individual cases where one is inclined to disagree with the editor. Thus I would read *jāḍḍi* and not *jāḍḍi* in the Sauraseni, or else I would also read *jāḍḍi* instead of *jāḍḍi*. I would substitute *ā* and not *a* for *am* when it is short; I would not allow Sauraseni in verses, at least not if the Mahārāṣṭri forms occur in some of the manuscripts; I would read *śuśthit* instead of *śuśthi*, p. 13, l. 10; *śiḍḍ* or *śiḍ* for *śiḍḍi*, p. 18, l. 5, and so on. It is possible to disagree about such questions, and to think that the editor has erred. But the principal thing is that he has given the full materials so that we can judge for ourselves in every case. And his methods are so sound that we usually feel convinced that he is right. Of misprints which have not been corrected I have only noted *Sindhāśāśāśā* for *Sindhāśāśāśā*, p. 140, l. 6, and *karayā* for *karāya*, p. 177, l. 5.

STEN KONOW.

¹³ l. c.; p. 128.

¹⁴ *ZDMG.*, Vol. xxxiv, p. 181.

¹⁵ See *Bijaya*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1880, pp. 625 ff., and Radha Govinda Basak, *Dacca Review*, 1913, June.

¹⁶ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18.

¹⁷ *ZDMG.*, Vol. xxxiv, pp. 107 ff.

¹⁸ *Zur Kritik des Mudrārākhasa*, Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.-hist. Klasse 1905, Heft 4.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FIRST ENGLISH
COMMERCIAL MISSION TO PATNA, 1620—1621.

EDITED BY SIR R. O. TEMPLE, BART.

Prefatory note.

[I have recently edited volume II. of the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 1608-1667, for the Hakluyt Society. This volume covers the years 1628-1634 while Peter Mundy was travelling to and from India in the interests of the English East India Company of that date.

He spent part of the year 1632 in a commercial expedition to Patna, and as he made several references to the previous commercial mission of Messrs. Robert Hughes and John Parker to that place in 1620-1621, I had reason to examine the whole of the proceedings of those two men while there.

In Appendix D of my volume on Peter Mundy's Journals, I have given a brief account of the work of Hughes and Parker and in Foster's *English Factories* (1618-1621) there is a concise account of their doings. But in the course of my enquiries I had to collect together and edit all the original documents left behind, relating to the time spent by Hughes and Parker in Patna. They are of considerable value, as illustrating the kind of work the pioneers of British enterprise in India had to do, the manner in which they set about it, the conditions under which they lived, and the qualities required of such men. It is therefore worth while to reproduce the original correspondence in this *Journal*.

Hughes and Parker are exhibited to us as typical commercial pioneers, level-headed bargainers, quick to perceive where trading possibilities lay; brave, imperturbable, venturesome men, loyal to their employers; men whom neither difficulties nor dangers daunted.

Incidentally, the interesting fact came to light that even in those days the value of the subsequent great trade in Bengal (*tasar*, tussore) silks was foreseen and that much trouble was taken to introduce them into European markets. Among other things, Hughes tried to send talking *mainds* to England in 1620. In a letter to his superiors at Agra he writes of "a cupell of pratlunge birds called mynnas, which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company and intreate you carre may bee taken for their conveyence to Surratt."]

I.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna 18 July 1620. Lovinge Friends, Mr. Kerridge etta. After longe expectation and no airtayne newes of Mr. Younge¹ and his companies aproche neare Agra (the yeare spendinge so fast), it was thought needfull to dispeede mee for Puttana; and havinge accorded upon a computed some of monnyes for some presant investment, with bills of exchange for 4,000 ru[pees], I departed Agra the 5th June and (thankes bee to God) arived here in safitye the 3rd presant, havinge binè on the waye 29 dayes, in which I outran 300 Jehanger courses [Jahāngīrī kos.] Presentlye upon my arrivall I procured acceptance of my exchānges, and hope of good payment, theire date beinge expired; of whose currant performance, when received, I shall advise to Agra.

I have since my comeinge vizited the Governor Muckrob Con [Mukarrab Khān], whose seemes wonderous pleasant for our arrivall here, and was as inquisitive to knowe what goods I had brought with mee; wherunto I as exactlye answered that at presant I had nothinge, but that what futurely should come fityng his circare [*sarkār*, government, establishment]

¹ At a Consultation held in Surat on the 22nd Jan. 1620, it was decided that John Young should "assist Mr. Hughes in Hogreoporepatania, [Hātpur-Patna] or where else the ambortees are made." Foster *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, pp. 182, 191.

hee should have the first sight of, wherwith hee seemed well contented, and hath given order to serche out for a house for mee, but as yet cannot finde anye conveyent enough, yett hope shortlye to bee well seated, though I feare not rent free. The Nabobe is desierous of some cloth and hydes, for which I have advized to Agra for what theye can spare, or maye lye there unvendable; also tapestrye, clothe of tishoo [tissue], velvetts, embrodarres, fethers, or anye other rich commodities to bee gotten, and hath desiered me to write you to procure him some from the expected fleete, of which if you may spayer anye, doubtlesse theye wilbe well sould, and your selves knowe him to bee as free in payinge as in buyinge.

I have made some enquirye into the commodities here to bee procured and by you required from England. And first for clothinge (as I have bine enformed, for I have not had tyme yet to make anye experiences), the usiall custome of buyinge the amberty² calicoes at Lackhoure [Lakhāwar] (which is the pente [petā, pentā, market-town] or fayer for that commoditie, and is a towne 14 course from this place) is as followes: theye are dalye brought in from the neighboringe gonges [gauj, a village] by the weavers, from whome theye are bought rawe, of length 13 coveds Jehangery (which is one-fourth longer then the clahye [ilāhi gas, 33 in.] of Agra), from which the buyer, of an antient custome, teares of 1½ or 2 coveds, and soe deliverse them marked to the whitster, whoe detaynes them in whitinge and starchinge about three mounthes, the charge whereof is neare upon 3 ru[pees] per couge [score], and the abatements and disturies [dastāri, commission] in buyinge them rawe from the weaveres * per rupye or 25 per cent. In this maner, by reporte, dalye maye there bee bought 50,60, and some dayes 100 peeces. Almost in the like nature are theye sould here in Puttanna, beinge likewise brought thence by the weaveres, but readye whited and cured, and the same customes and abatements as in the cuntrye; and by computation here maye bee provided within the space of three or four mounthes, soe bought, and of the broadest sizes, called saferconyes [safar-khāni], two or three hundred coerge.

Of sahanes [sahan, fine sheeting] and hammomes [hammām, towelling] there are but fewe at present in towne. Theye are brought from the lower partes of Bengalla in smalle parcells by Puttanes [Pathāns]. Other sortes of choutare³ cloth are not here to bee gotten, unlesse some fewe rahmoutes.⁴ What of theise sortes shall come to towne, I shall not slip anye oportunitie for their procuringe, for the yeare is alreadye so farr spent that it will not permite anye conveyent investments to bee made at Lackhoure in th'ambertyes rawe, the tyme beinge soe shorte for their dispeed hence, and theye soe tedious in whittinge.

Of rawe silke of Bengalla I have sent musteres [samples] to Agra, and have entreated, after perusal [inspection], to send them you joyntlye with this my leter. In the paper No. 1 are two skaynes of the first and second sortes, which is the sortes cheffye by the Companye required, and by us provided [at] Agra, which at present is here to bee bought (wounde of into skaynes of a covd longe) for 5½ rupees groas the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare, from which is abated 17 per cent. keasure [basar, diminution, discount] and disturye; and will falle out net not above 4½ rup[ees] the seare of 34½ pices weight. In the paper No. 2 is two skaynes of the third and fourth sortes wee usalye buye in Agra, not wound of aparte,

² Amberty, ambertes ambartree (Hindi, *amrit, imrit, amrit imrit*), a name applied to a stout cloth of N. India, See *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II. 141 n.

³ The word is *chaidā, chaidā, chaidā, chaidā*, lit., four folds, a coarse double-width cotton cloth of two lengths.

⁴ This word clearly means a kind of *chaidā* or wide, coarse cotton cloth, but I am unable to trace it in any vernacular, unless it is a mistranscription for *raut, raut, raut raut*.

for want of tyme, and is here worth at present, to bee wound of as the former, $4\frac{1}{2}$ rup[ees] gross per seare, out of which the prementioned disturye abated, will cost 3 rup[ees] 9 annyes [āna, anna] net the seare of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pices weight per seare. These are their present prices, betwene which and that wee buye in Agra you will perceave a great diferance in price for these four sortes, to saye, one-third of the sorte No. 1 and two-thirds of the sorte No. 2 hath the cost us together in Agra neare upon $5\frac{1}{2}$ rup[ees] net the seare of 30 pices, which here halfe on [e] half th'other maye bee bought for about 4 rup[ees] net the seare of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pices weight per seare; and I am promised at about these rates to have delivered in from the silkwynderes 10 or 15 m [aun]ds per mounth, and doubtles a greater quantitie therof maye bee procured, but then wee must venture out some monye before hande, which I resolve upon, findinge sufficient securitye for performance; and herupon have advised them at Agra to deale farther in its investment there, which per computation is at least 35 per cent. derer then here it maye bee bought. Serbandy⁵ silke, the best of Mucksonde [Makṣāḍ-bād Murahidābād] and Sideabande [Saidābād], from whence these sortes are wounde of, is at present here worthe 100 rup[ees] gross per maunde of 40 seeres per maunde and $34\frac{1}{2}$ pices per seare, from which is abated the savoye [sawāi, an excess of a fourth] or 25 per cent.; soe it rests net worth about 75 rupees per m[au]nde net. The brokeridge as well on this as on all other sortes of silke is, by the Nabobes comande, but 5 annes of a rupye per cent. from the buyer and 10 annyes from the seller; but the brokeres doe usialye take one-half per cent. from the buyer and one per cent. from the seller. For brokeridge of clothe theye can clayme nothinge as due from the buyer, onely his curtizeye; but from the seller their right is half a pice per rupye.

I shall here provide some quiltes of Sutgonge [Satgāon], wrought with yellowe silke, at reasonable rates; and have already halfe a score in possession, and am promised more dalye as theye come to towne.

There are some Portingalls at present in towne, and more are latlye gon for their portes in Bengala; into whose trafique I have made enquirye, and gather that theye usialye bringe vendable here all sortes of spices and silke stufes of Chyna, tyne, and some jewellers ware; in lewe wherof theye transporte course carpets of Junapoore [Jaunpur], ambertyes, cassaes [khāsa] and some silke. The Mogoles [Merchants from Upper India or Persia] and Praychaes⁶ are here like bees, whose cheefest provisiones are mandyles [mandil, turban-cloth], girdells [kamarband], layches [alācha, ilācha, silk cloth] and doupattas [dopattā] of Malda; also a sorte of thine cloth called caymeconyes [kām-khāni]⁷ of Beyhare [Bihār], and are much like unto course cassaes, 14 coveds longe and four-fifths of a coved broad, of 40, 50, and 60 rup[ees] per counge. These are bought for transporte to Lahore, and thence for Persia; samples wherof, and of all other commodities here to be provided fittinge that trade, I purpose to buye some smalle quantities of each for a tryall. And also ambertyes is a principall of their investments, for the compassinge wherof theye bringe hether either redy spetys [specie] or exchanges.

I praye advise whether th' ambertyes you mention to bee provided rawe are ment as from the loome, without washinge and starchinge, or to bee whited onely without starche.

⁵ *Sirbandi*, head-winding, evidently a cocoon, the ordinary words for which are *boya*, *pūkh*.

⁶ Mr. Foster conjectures that this word is the Sanskrit *prachya*, used like *pāriya* to indicate an inhabitant of countries to the eastward. See *English Factories in India*, 1618-1631, p. 195 n.

⁷ See Mr. Foster's note on this kind of cloth, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

The generall transporte of goods from hence to Agra is by Carte, but now in the season of the raynes the wayes are soe deepe that no Cartes Can passe, and therfore for necessitye whatever goeth hence is laden on oxen. It wilbe the prime October at soonest before the Carts can stir hence, whose freight to Agra is Commonlye $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ rup. per maund and goeth not under lesse then 35 dayes. What goods maye here bee provided betwixt this and the begininge October shall, God willinge, bee dispeeded hence about that tyme, which wilbe the soonest.

I have written to Agra to dispeed John Banggam with some goods advised for which I ye unvendable there with the first oportunitye, for that this place will requier an assistant or two, for that it promiseth plentye of Commoditye and doubtles will to good purpose bee established a factorye. I have also advized for 5 or 6000 rup. more to bee forthwith remitted hether, for th' exchange here is cheaper by $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per Cent. then there, for th' intrime I am promised at intrest for $\frac{3}{4}$ per Cent.

At the foote of this my letter you will perceave the present prizes of sondry Commodities as well vendable here, as that here maye bee provided, which with the prescribed I entreate you acapte untill future experyence maye Imboulden mee to enlarge. Untill when with hartye Commends and prayers for prosperitie in our Joynt affayeres, I take leave and rest, &c.⁸

*The present valleeues of sondry Commodities as well Vendable
as to bee provided in Puttana, advized to Surat and Agra.*

Broade Clothe good redd, worthe 15 rup. the Jehangir Coved
Elyphants teeth, the best worth 80 rup. per md. of 40 sers per md. and 33 pices per sr.
Seamorse [walrus] teeth, worth 10 rup. per seare 37 pices
Bulgare hydes, worth 18 rup. per payer
Quick silver, worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ rup. per seare
Vermillion, worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ rup. per seare
Lead, worth 9 rup. per maunde
Tyne, worth 38 rup. per maunde
Amber beads, worth 2, 3 and 4 tankes [*tānkā*] per rup.
Corrall, no settled price, but accordinge to its goodnesse
Saffron, worth 16 rup. per seare
Swords, knives, fine wares, etc., no price Currant

[The remainder of this list is illegible]

The Nabobe would faine have 3 or 4 Cases of emptie bottels. He was impertinent [importunate] with me and would not bee satisfied but that I had brought some with mee, soe that I was Constrayned to give him the 3 small bottels out of my standishe [inkstand, bottle-stand]. Hee required many other thinges, which in regard theye are not to bee had I here omite, and not havinge elce at present rest &c.⁹

II.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 6 August 1620. Good Friends, Mr. Kerridge etts. My last of the 12th last month by waye of Agra advized you of my arivall here, and what elce the then poore experience of this place encoouraged mee, a Coppye wherof (to avoyde repitition) I send you herewith,

⁸ Factory Records, Patna, L, 2-4

⁹ Factory Records, Patna, I, 1, 4.

referringe you, and havinge now made some experiance of what my formeres gave you hopes of, it rests that I advize you therof.

I have bine dealinge with the weaveres of Lackhoure (Lakhāwar) which bringe th Ambertyes to towne, from whence in smale parcells I have bought about 16 Courge [*tori*, score] from 1 to 6 rupe. net the peece, and allmost all of the broadest sizes. The raynes is some impediment to theire provision, for that the weavers by reason therof Com not to towne, as wontedye, and there are greate store of buyers abroad, which hath somewhat inhansed the Commoditye. Also there are latlye Come up diverse frigitts of Portingalls from Sutgonge [*Satgān*] whose merchants buye up all theye can laye hand of. If tyme would have permitted some investments to have bine made in the Country, it had bine the best and Cheapest Course to have bought them rawe [undressed] from the weaveres and have put them fourthe to whittinge, but the season for theire dispeed hence to Come to you tymlye to send this yeare for England is soe neare at hand that this yeare it was impossible to get them ready. For the future, if you resolve that quantityes therof be provided it wilbe needfull that this place bee furnished with monnye in such season that no tyme bee lost, for that theye are teadious in whittinge; as also it is requisite that for what provisions shall heare bee made bee at Agra before the raynes to take the first oppertunitye for Conveyance with theire goods, which will bothe save Charges and regayne tyme.

Lackhower afords greate quantityes of fyne clothe, to saye of four, five, six, eight to ten rupees per peece, and by bespeakings them and deliveringe monyes out before hand the weaveres will make them a full Jehanger coved [*Jahāngiri covado*, cubit] broad, which is yeard, halfe quarter [*i. e.*, about forty inches] English (which breadth, as theye saye, they cannot exceed, to have them close wrought), but of what reasonable lengths wee shall desier them.

For your list of goods required this yeare from Agra, you specifie th'ambertyes to bee all Course at or under 2 rupe. per peece. Wherefore in your first praye advize how you stand affected to the fyne. Theire breadth are generallye neare upon an elahy [*alāhi*], coved and broader then your narowe baftas of Baroche [Broach].

Of Sahannes theire come none to towne. Diverse boates are shortlye expected from the lower partes of Bengalla, which by reporte bringe quantitye. I have bought for 400 rupees in tusser stufes of Bengalla,¹⁰ of halfe silke, halfe cotten; and of Biountpoore layches [Baikantpur *alāchāh*] about 16 courge at 12, 10 and 18 rupees per courge. Theye are 5½ coveds longe and somewhat more then ¾ broad, some patternes wherof I send you herewith. Theye are fitt lenghets for petticotes, cheape, and doubtles will sell in England to good profit. Theye are made five course hence, infinite quantityes, and are generallye bought up by the Mogolles for Persia; by bespekinge them (if theye give Content) wee maye have them made of what lenghets and breadthes wee shall desier.

With my former I sent you musteres [samples] of Bengalla silke and theire prices, since which I have made further serche therinto and herewith send you other samples by mee wounde of from the Serbandy [cocoon], of which I bought a maunde for a triall, and wound it of into seavene severall sortes, wherby I finde that theise 4, to saye the second, third, fourth and fifthe will stand us in about 4½ rupe. net the seare of 34½ pice with all Charges of wyndinge it of defrayed; and the 3 other sortes, to saye the first, sixth and seaventh, rated at worthe here at present to bee sould for readye monnye, the first at 4½ rup. per seare, the 6th at 1½ rupe. per seare, and the 7th at ¾ rupe. per seare; soe that the Chea-

¹⁰ Tassar, a coarse silk. See *ants*, vol. xxix. pp. 339 f.

best and surest dealinge is to buye the serbundye and wynde it of my selfe and thereon have resolved, havinge bought about 6 mds. more, And at present have thirty men at worke thereon, purposinge to increase them to a hundred, and if you approve therof and the price (which is $\frac{1}{2}$ cheaper then in Agra) I may have two or three hundred silkwinderes to worke in the house all the yeare, wherof I praye advise your oppiniones, for to buye it from the Cottewalle [*Kotwal*, *nowab's* agent] it will cost $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupy dearer, and yet not soe good stufe; and the first 6th and 7th sortes, beinge sent hence to Agra, will sell here for 20 per Cent. more then it is worthe heere, which Course will much ease the price of the rest. And I purpose also to dye and dresse some of the Course sortes into sleave [*floss*]¹¹ silke and send you to bee sent for England as samples. It will wast the $\frac{1}{2}$ in the dressinge, and the Charge herof be about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupy the seare and will not stand in above $2\frac{1}{2}$ rup. per sere readye drest.

I have taken a house in the greates bazare, neare unto the Cutwalls choultrye [*choultry*, *chabûrâ*, office]; the rent $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupes per month. I have not herde from Agra since my departure thence, but expect John Banggam with some goods and monneyes formerlye advised for. Halfe my former exchange are runn out, And I hope to have the remaynder speedilye invested in Ambertyes, of which commoditye the partes about Lackhoure afords such quantitye that (by the weaveres reportes) daly 1,000 peeces are taken from their loomes; and without question you maye have 50,000 rupes yearlye invested therein if you approve of the said sortes. Your order wherin and in the silke provisions for the aprochinge yeare I shall expecte. And not havinge aloe at present, &c. &c.

rup. an.

The Verourd [<i>barboard</i>] or proportion wound of from a sere of serbandy.	
raw silke, containing $34\frac{1}{2}$ pices weight the sere; wounde of into seven	
severall sortes, and Cost net	2 00
more for the Charge of wyndinge it of	$\frac{1}{2}$
	$2 : \frac{1}{2}$

rup. an.

$8\frac{1}{2}$ pices wt. waste or losse in the wyndinge it of rated at	00 00
$6\frac{1}{2}$ pices wt. shakesty ¹² or the 7th sorte at $14\frac{1}{2}$ anna. per sere is	00 03 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 pice wt. Cattaway ¹³ or the 6th sorte at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupe. per sere is	00 02 $\frac{1}{2}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$ pice wt. Gird ¹⁴ or the first sorte at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rup. the sere is	00 06 $\frac{1}{2}$
$12\frac{1}{2}$ pice wt. of the 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th sorte (of which this inclosed is the sample) rated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rup. net per sere	01 09 $\frac{1}{2}$
$34\frac{1}{2}$ pice wt. rated together and costs rup. net	03 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

and is as it is worth here at present, about which price, within $\frac{1}{4}$ more or lesse the seare, quantityes maye bee provided wound of accordinge to this sample and of the lengthes of theise skaynes.¹⁵

¹¹ The O. E. D. defines sleave-silk as silk thread capable of being separated into smaller filaments for use in embroidery; floss silk.

¹² *Shibasta*, broken, irregular (threads).

¹³ *Kahedi*, imperfect, discoloured.

¹⁴ *Gird*, round, i. e., even quality.

¹⁵ *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 4-6.

III

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna; 3 September 1620. Kinde Friends, Mr. Fettiplace, etts. After longe expectation and desier to here from you; Yesterdaye I received yours of the 9th August.....

I perceave that you take notice of what I writt Concerninge the provision of Amberty Callicoos and your opyniones jump with what I have bine latlye large unto you Concerninge that Commoditye in theire future investments to bee made at Lackhoure. I once thought, and indeed fullye purposed to have made some small tryall there this yeare, but meanes and meanes promises faylinge kept mee from them spight of my teethe [in spite of my efforts]. Eowsoever, I doubt not but to have the monnyes you now sent Employed therin here in Puttana tyme enough to bee dispeeded hence by the begininge of th'ensuinge mounthe and these with the cost of my provision to bee with you in Agra by the prime November, whereof more hereafter.

You have discouraged mee in the silke provisions of which I had and yet have [great] hopes to doe much good therin, of which I sent you second samples [hence the] 6th August, and therin was large of the settled Course I have taken for providing in the Condition required by the Companye, and I am sner at Cheaper rates then theye aprove of, to send fourthwith what quantitye possiblye maye bee procured, which imbouldned mee the rather therin, so that I have encreased my Cor Conna [*kārkhāna*, workshop] to almost a hundred workmen, but here will stop untill I here further from Surrat. I have delivered them mony out beforehand, which now can hardly bee recalled, and therefore they must worke it out; 10 or 12 mds. serbandyes wilbe the most I shall wynde of for this yeare, which will not bee much, yet I hope such a sample as shall Confirme its future provision, its price beinge Considered; neither (I am sure) were theye at Surrat Ignorant of its price in Agra when in their letter, which arrived a littell before my departure, theye desiered what quantitye possible might be procured this yeare. I have bine large unto them therof, and expeete theire order for the future. My last samples I hope you have sent them.

For quilts of Sutgonge I have not exceeded above a dozen, nor shall not ad therunto manye more, unlesse such as promise good Content. Th [ose] alreadye bought I have trymed up with silke fringe, tassells, etts. and lyned them parte with tafetye, parte with Tassar [*tassar*, tassore]. what goods I have in a redinesse I am packinge to regayne tyme. I perceave at what rates your exchange runns, which is much lower then here. I ofered 4 per Cent. to have taken up some smalle matter of Byrumdas Chebill Sansye [Bhairon Dās Chibillā Shāh], but could not procure it, soe that you maye thanke Shame [Shyām, Shām] for his Casmana [*kāsmāna*, letter of introduction], thoughte his letter of Creditt was of no Validitye. I have not to doe with Pragdas [Prāg Dās] his sonne, havinge long since cleared with him. He is almost Craakte [bankrupt], theire havinge latlye Come hondyes [*hundi*, bill of exchange, cheque] on him for a lack of rupees, and reporte of his fathers troubles in Agra. In your occasiones to remitt monyes by exchange, you maye bee bould to deale with Chāmsayee [Chāndsahai Shāh's¹⁴ sonne, whose father is the Currant dealler [generally accepted agent] of Puttana.

The Ambertyes you mention to bee provided browne [unbleached] must of necessitye bee refered until the next yeare, and then (as you saye) theye must bee washt out of theire

¹⁴ See *infra*, letter of 3 March 1621 where this name is given in full as "Chamsayshaw", Chāndsahai Shāh.

mandye;¹⁷ or else hapilye they will rott before they arive in England, which Course I all waise endeavored to take and shall endeavor my utmost therin, and in all other sortes of that clothe accordings to your direction, bothe for its length, breadth, starch and close workinge.

It seemes Mr. Younge and his Companye arived with you in safitye, and since have bine dispatched for Lahore. I expected Mr. Banggam to my assistance, in whose roome you mention Mr. Parker to bee longe since dispeeded and with him the goods I advized for, of whose aproche I yet here no newes. When hee cometh I shall take notice of the partikulers, which wilbe welcome to our Governor, whoe hath bine and is in expecte of some toyes aswell as rich Commodities. After Mr. Parkers arivall and receypte of your Invoys and examination of the goods, I shall give you Credit, as well for them as for the 200 rupees delivered for their expence on the waye, and shall expecte more monnyes forthwith to bee remitted to keepe us still in action, wherof I praye consider and what it is to gayne oportunitie. And so much in answer to the perticulers of your letter now received, wherof I may conclud for ought I have done since my last. Upon the arivall of Mr. Parker I shall enlarge, or in th'intryme, if necessitie requier. Untill when, with a hartye Commend &c. I have enquired after spicknard, but at present here is none for our turnes. It comes out of the Northe Cuntry in the cold wether and will not bee here to be gottene this 2 or 3 mounthes at the soonest.¹⁸

IV.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna 4 September 1620. [Identical in substance with the letter of 3 Sept. to Agra. The following are additions]. I yet here no newes [of Mr. Parker] although hee hath bine a mounth on the waye, nor shall not expecte him yet this 10 dayes for that the countreyes are so overflowne that I feare his Carte with much difficultye will finde passage. What goods hee bringes will come to late for their proceed to bee this yeare invested.

I praye remember our governor with what fyne goods and toyes you maye spare of what you expecte in this fleete. Hee is verry earnest with mee to procure him some, And I have promised to write you in his behalfe. Hee groweth rich, and no feare but that he will paye well and a good price.¹⁹

V.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna 14 September 1620. Mr. Fettiplace etts. My last was of the 3d present by a sherafes [sarrāf], money-changer] conveyence which advized you of the receypte of yours of the 9th August and therewith the second bills of exchange for 2500 rupees of their acceptance and what also that instant required, since when, I praye take notice. This your expresse came hether the 10th present by whome I received yours of the 23th August, and therewith bills for 2500 rupees more, and the second bill for parte of the 3000 sent before, all which are well accepted and no feare but of Current payment. About 2000 rupees of the first exchange I have already received, as having occasion therof before it was dewe. The remaynder within this daye or two wilbe also received, of which ther is no feare.

I take notice of Pragdas his breakinge [bankruptcy], though I hope it's no damadge to us. I am suer I have sondrye tymes advized you of my clearing with his sonne here for those exchanges I brought on him, which I hope is sufficient to cleare that doubt and assure your selves I shall not bee backward in receavinge in the monye of these exchanges when dewe

¹⁷ *Mānd, mānr, māndā, mānrā, māndī, mānrī*, any greasy dirt, also used for starch.

¹⁸ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 6-7.*

¹⁹ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 8-9.*

Two dayes since came hether one of Mr. Parkers servants, whoe brought mee a letter from him dated in Aughmull surraye [Amwākanthā]²⁰ 2 dayes Journye shorte of Bannaree [Benaree]. Hee writt mee littell save his troubles on the waye, and the damadge the goods have susteynde by the raynes etts., which in 2 or 3 dayes more I shall expecte him with his letter. Hee sent mee the first bills (which nowe are of no Importe) as also the Invoice of what goods you have sent by him, for which when received (and what moneyes elce received from you) I shall give your Account Creditt.

I take notice of the clause in the Surratt letter, and doe endeavor my utmost for provision of Ambertrees and what elce maye give content, and doubt not but to have what monyee you have remitted mee wholye invested by the fyne [end] of this present mounthe, neither shall I omitt the first oportunitye for theire dispatche hence to bee with you with what expedition possible. I have detayned your bearer the longer in hope Mr. Parker would have arived, that therby I mought have had wherewith to have bine larger, but therof now uncertayne, I thought best to dispeed him, for that you earnestlie requier advice of the Exchange receypte and acceptance which is as prescribed, wherunto I have not aughte elce materiall to add save my hartye commend &c.²¹

VI.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to The Agra Factory.

Patna, the 6th October 1620.²² Very good Friends Mr. Fetiplace etts. Our last unto you was of the 14th September by retorne of your expresse which brought your last bills of exchange. Therin wee advized you of theire acceptance and now intreate you take notice that wee have founde satisfaction bothe for those and all your formers, save only a rest of Champseyes [Chāndsahai Shāh] which as yet is scarce dewe, and may bee about 600 rupees. In a postscript of our last²³ wee also advized you of the then present arrivall here of John Parker with the goods mentioned in your Invoice sent therewith, which havinge examined, wee finde to fall out Just in quantitie, though in quality they were somewhat damnified on the waye by reason of th'extremitye of fowle wether theye met in theire passadge. Yet the most parte therof, to saye the broadcloth, kensyes, hydes, swords, and small wares wee have delivered into the Nabobs Circare [sarkār, court, establishment] and theye have past his view, but as yet wee have not founde leisure to come to a price for them. Our quicksilver wee have sould (but not delivered) for 4½ rupees. per seare of 37½ pice weight but have not bine offered for our Amber beads above 10 rupees. the seare of 14 pice the seare, wherefore detayne it in hope of a better market.

Wee have finished our provisions for this yeare, which consist of 1975 peeces Ambertyes, 60 pcs. sahanes and hammomes, 12 course of Tusres 22 quilts of Sutgonge [16 Course 14 pcs. Biountpore Layohes (Baikunthpur *alāchāh*, silk cloth)²⁴] 270½ seeres Bengall silke [600 rupees in Malda wares for Persia], besides diverse other goods for samples, of all which wee have sent you an ampell Invoice hereinclosed, wherunto for theire pertickuler cost refer you. The totall wherof Amounts to 7600 rupees., and our remaynes in Cashe, silke wrought, etts. may bee about 1200 rupees. The rest of your monye remitted is disbursed in Charges etts.

²⁰ The "Ahumohol or Sara" of Mundy (*Travels*, ed. Temple II, 115) and the "Aoomal-sarā" of Rennell (*Bergal Atlas*) now represented by Amwākanthā (*Indian Atlas*). ²¹ *Factory Records, Patna*, I, 9.

²² A letter of the same purport was also written to Surat on this date. It contains some slight additions. These have been added to the Agra letter and placed between square brackets.

²³ Not extant.

²⁴ Added from the letter to Surat which is omitted.

The forementioned goods is all packed in 26 balles laden on 4 Cartes and was dispeeded hence under the conduct of 10 servants the 4th presant, whoe by agreement are to bee with you in Agra within 30 dayes, to saye by the second November. The transporte hence of the goods to Agra hath cost us [somethinge more then the ordinarye freight hence, to saye]²⁵ 2 rups. the Jehanger maund.²⁶ Theye contayne in all 81 maunds, for which wee have paid the Carters here 153 rups. and have delivered them our bills on you for 8 rups. more, which wee intreate you paye them, if theye arive with you within theire tyme lymited, otherwise detayne it, for theye not accomplishinge with us accordinge to agreement theye are to have but 1½ rups.²⁷ the maunde, the price now out [reduced] of the Caravan which goeth in 40 dayes. Of theire performance wee praye advize us, that accordinglye, if theye faile, wee maye have redresse here from the owners and theire suertes.

The balle of silke no. G. consisteth of Girde, Cattawaye and shekesty, which wee send you purposelye to sell in Agra. The rest is all for England, of which ther is a small bale of sleave silke [packed up with the cannister of Lignome alloes],²⁸ drest from the Uttaway and shekestye and dyed into severall Colleres, a sample wherof wee send you by this bearer and is all Uttaway, save the keyne of watchet [pale blue] which is shekestye. The crimson is died in Lack and all the rest of the Colleres Carrarye [*karāri*, fast, ingrain]. After your perusiall, if you please, you maye send it with the goods to Surrat for theire view.

Wee have delivered into the hand of our servant Dyalla [*Dyālā*] 15 rups. to defraye the charge of the goods on the waye, wherof wee charge you. Wee had sent Abdel Caryme [*'Abdu'l-Karīm*] with the Cartes but that hee is lefte sick at Lackhoure, where Mr. Parker hath bine since his cominge and invested about 1000 rups. there amongst the weavers in white clothe; also 25 ps. browne (as from the loome) wee have sent to Surrat for samples. [Packt up with the rawe Ambertyes have wee sent 8 peeces Camshukes [*kam-sākhā*, unfinished cloth] whited onely without starch and 10 ps. with starch, all provided at Lackhoure].²⁹

Wee have paid our servants which went with the goods 4½ rups. per pee. [apiece] for theire Journye. Wee entreat you retorne Dyalla with the newes of theire arrivall, and when you conceave them to aproche neare, send out one to meete them... ..

Wee expecte no more monye for this yeare past, for a tymlye dispatche hath left us somethinge in Cash which, with the proceed of our goods, wee purpose to begine our provisone in the rawe clothe of Lackhoure in the ensuinge yeare ... The silke wound of [off] you will perceave to falle out in price as formerlye advized and by us expected, For its future provision wee shall not bee over hasty, onely worke out our monye delivered the silkewinders, wherin their can bee no losse but gayne in its present sayle here ... Here hath bine nothinge as yet effected save investments ... Wee intreate you deliver Abdell Carymes wyfe 4 rups. more ... With our goods wee have sent a cupell of pratlinge birds called mynnas [*mainā*], which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company, and intreate you carre maye bee taken for theire conveyence to Surratt. At the foote of our Invoyce you will perceave theire cost, [also a muster (sample) of Lignome alloes of which here is quantittye, and cost 1½ rups; the seare of 33 pices weight].³⁰

²⁵ added from the letter to Surat.

²⁶ The Jahāngiri *man*, the royal *man*, was rather heavier than the commercial *'manu*, and weighed 62½ lbs. in Mundy's time. See *Travels*, ed. Temple, II. 237.

²⁷ The letter to Surat says they were to forfeit ½ of their freight if they exceeded the limited time.

²⁸ added from the letter to Surat.

For what goods lye by you ded, if you send them hether, doubtless theye will finde good sayle. The bone lace²⁰ is so well liked that the Nabobe requieres all the rest, which wee entreate you send by the first conveyence, with what sword blades, knives, etts. you can spare²⁰.

VII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 31 October 1620. Mr. Kerridge, etts. Our last unto you was of the 6th present . . . Since the dispeed hence of our goods wee have sould into the Nabobs Circare allmost all the goods sent to us from Agra, viz., . . . brocade cloth . . . reds . . . greens . . . yellows . . . Bulgare hydes . . . Carseyes . . . besides diverse other brayed [damaged, tarnished] wares to good profit, in all for 2400 rups. for which wee have got out a Berate [*berât*, order for payment], and are in speedye expectation for our monyes, which once received I purpose for Lackhoure, whether Mr. Parkér is gon before with 900 rups. to make enterance into the rawe Ambertyes, the tyme beinge now principall good for theire provision and no buyers alreade. We intend provision of none but the broadest sizes and are promised of a full Coved brocade which oomes littell shorte of an Englishe elle. Wee shall expecte your order what sortes and quantities therof to bee provided for th' ensuinge yeare as also for other Commodities this place may aforde. And for that tyme is pretious and the whitinge of th' Ambertyes tedious, wee purpose out of hand to invest all the monnyes wee have in that Commoditye, and for the future will expecte from you or Agra. Our provisions of silke wee have almost let falle, untill wee here how you approve therof. Diverse letters have wee written you since our Comminge into theise partes, answere unto none wherof have wee received, but live in hopes.²¹

VIII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 11 November 1620. Lovinge Friends, Mr. Kerridge, etts. It is not manye dayes past since I received yours of the 5th September, answere to myne from hence of the 12th July . . . By what I then writt you concerninge provisions of Amberty Callicoos, you rightlye aprehende the quantity to bee but small. I had that information but from reporte, which since hath not proved much contrary. Here in Puttana where buyinge them at the best hand, to saye from the weavers which bringe them readye whited to towne in small parcells, I could not with all my endeavors atayne to above a thousand peeces, wherefore was foured for the present to make up our Investments of that Commoditye partlye bought in Lackhoure and partlye from other marchants who bought them there rawe and whited them themselves, which Course tyme would not permitt us to take, comming hether soe late in the yeare, and wee perceaved for what the weavers bringe readye to towne is onlye to serve the Bazare. And merchants that make theire provisions abroad will not sell here for halfe a savoye [*saw.î*]²² profit, but transporte them for Agra, Lahore, etts. where they make a far greater gayne. So that it is the extraordinarye profit which induceth merchants to furnishe Agra with that Commoditye, from whence doubtles you wilbe this yeare suplyed with a good quantity, in that wee understand theye have

²⁰ Bobbin lace, usually of linen thread. See *O. E. D.*, s. v. Bone-lace.

²¹ *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 10-11.

²² *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 14.

²³ *saw.î* means $1\frac{1}{2}$, i. e., $\frac{1}{2}$ or 25 p. c. profit. So "halfe, a savoye" would mean $\frac{1}{2}$ or 12½ p. c. profit.

bought all came to hand, though question at what rates, as having not harde of their bargayne. Those I provided here, bought from the weavers, was accordinge to custom of the buzare, bothe for price and allowance, which is a savoye per cent . . . and makes 20 per cent. difference or abaitment, to saye, for 100 rupes gross wee payed 80 net,³³ which is the 4 aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ distury [*dastāri*, discount]. . . . Now for the future provision of rawe Ambertyes at Lackhoure (which must bee our Course if you intend anye greate investments therin), theye are bought there in Infinite quantityes browne from the weavers, and of all sizes and prices, of which there is 3 sortes, viz., rasseyes [*razāi*]³⁴ zeffer conyes [*zafar-khāni*] and Jehngeres [*jahāngiri*]. The rasseis are generallye course narowe bredthe, of about our halfe Jehanger Coved Broade, and fewe or none above 2 rupees net the peece. The Zefferconyes are $\frac{1}{2}$ or at most $\frac{1}{4}$ broader then those from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 rup. the net peece. And the Jehangers the broadest of the 3 sortes, whereof som are a full Jehanger Coved, but those very fewe, fine, and high prized, from 3 to 12 rup. net per peece. In lenghte these are about 13 coveds and therin litell difference betwene either of the sortes. And theise are all the sortes of Ambertyes Lackhoure yeldeth, of which if you intend provisions in all of them, 20000 peeces maye yearlye bee provided browne, but then wee must have the yeare and meanes beforehand to bee perpetuallye doeing therin for that their whitinge (as formerly advized you) is exceedinge teadious and troublesome, though put forth as bought, and their charge in cureinge them more or lesse, accordinge to their finenes and breadth, some 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ some 3, and some 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupe. per cource, besides sope etts. But herin maye bee bothe some tyme and charges gayned if you aprove to have some of them caumsoucks [*kam-sūkhā*, unfinished] and onlye washt out of their grease or mandye [*māndi*] and no starche; but to send them you rawe as from the loome, wee are cirtaynlye perswaded their thred will rott before theye come to your hands (and therefore intreate your expresse order therin), and was the principall resone wee sent you so fewe this yeare, which were only 25 peeces for samples; wherby you might judge of the cloth, beinge rawe, and know it's lought, breadth and vallue, all which it selfe expresseth. The disturies [*dastāri*, discount] in buyinge it browne at Lackhoure is as the merchant makes it. Some out of [f] a savoye [25 p. c.] some halfe a savoye [12 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c.], some a rupeye per peece, and some buye it for nett, which is all to one efecte, for what allowance soever you deducte it is inhaunced in the price, and therefore no settled custom, everye one accordinge to his fansye. The custome of tearinge of the *reza* [*reza*, scrap or fragment] from the length of the browne amberty is more beniftiall to the merchant here, by its sayle aparte, then the length of the remaynder oan advantage by its seeminge fyner, and is at least ten per cent.;³⁵ which in their gaynes theye accompt not of, but allot it to the defrayinge their charges and ouringe of the rest; which custom wee neither have nor purpose to follow, but to white the intier pece as bought from the loome. Theye are not all of one exacte length, but some come out shorter then others by a coved, and generallye maye bee 13 coveds Jehanger longe, or of Puttanna, betwene which and the coved of Lackhoure is

³³ They paid, however, Rs. 5 too much. Discount of a *razāi* would be 25 p. c. not 20 p. c. This is shown by the statement "which is 4 aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ distury," i. e., 4 annas in the rupee or $\frac{4}{16}$ discount=25 p. c. "Four aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ " is also interesting as showing that the rupee of account in Patna in c. 1620 was of 16 annas and not of 12 as usual in Bengal at that period.

³⁴ *Razāi*, ordinarily a quilt, coverlet; here applied to narrow breadth cloth.

³⁵ This statement means that the *reza* was usually 10 p. c. of the whole piece and constituted a species of discount, like our own 13 to the baker's dozen."

some small difference, the country covered being the longer by almost a *giery* [*giriā*, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *gaz*] or $\frac{1}{8}$. In buying the brown cloth the buyer payeth no brokeridge; but in the sale of the cloth the brokers inhanceth five pices in each piece of what price soever; whereof the brokers share two pices, two pices the Governor or Shekdare [*shikdār*, revenue officer] of the prigon [*pargana*, district] and one pice they retorne back to the merchant; which custome is very large, and wee shall endeavor if possible to reduce it to lesse. And this is as much as I can advise you bothe for quantitye and Custome for buyinge the Ambertyes either here in Puttana or at Lackhore.

What I was enformed concerninge the provision here of Bengalla silke, wounde of as our masters requiered, my letter of the 8th August acirtayned you bothe for price and quantitye, with which I sent you [thereof] musteres and advized you of the constant course I had taken for it's provision at the best hand, but our frends at Agra upon your advice unto them not to proceed further in that investment wholye discouraged mee which was th' occasion I almost let f[all my] determined purpose therein, yet with the rest of our goods have sent you a good sampell, which both for goodnes and price you will perceave to exceed what hath bin provided in Agra, the difference of them advized you; so that it cannot but prove a profitable commoditye in England, and for the future if you shall determine on anye greate provisions to be made therein, I cannot prescribe or advise of a better course to attayne quantitye therof at cheape rates then for our selves to buye the silke rawe, as it comes in serbandy [cocoon] from Bengalla, and wynde it of here in Futtanna into the condition the Companye ayme at; and in that nature have now sent you from hence but hope at somewhat better ratte then that was, for that the serbandy is latlye much fallene in price, of which sortes fittinge England I can acirtayne you the provision of 30 mds. per mounth, which as yet is the most I dare affirm to, and that will requier a good some of monye to keepe us Continually in Imployment, and if but 300 maunds per Anno at 4 rupees the seare of $33\frac{1}{4}$ pice weight (at which price wee maye without doubt furnishe you from hence) will requier at Leaste 50000 rupees for it's performance, wheron I leave you to conclude and determine. And if you shall desier sleeve silke of the best and principall sorte, it will cost us drest and died unto severall Colleres 4 rupees net the seare of $33\frac{1}{4}$ pices weight. What wee now sent for a sample was drest from the coarsest sortes of the serbandy silke, which is much inferior in goodnes to what maye here be provided in quantitye. And thusse have you my opynion and advice of the two mayne propes which must uphold this a factory, and theye not to be provided in anye quantityes without a continuall residence.

For other sortes of callico cloth, as sahanes and hammomes, wee perceave them not to bee brought hether in anye greate quantities, but a continuance here maye doubteles provide some, but to what number I cannot saye. For tusser stufes, 40 or 50 corges yerlye. And wares for Persia (of which wee have sent you some sampels) greate quantities of all sortes; 100,000 rupees speedilye employed therein. Lignom aloes, also good quantitye, whereof likewise wee sent a sampell of the ordinarye sorte knowne here by the name of simmulye [*samaleh*]³⁸. . . . Of this commoditye there is here of diverse sortes and prizes from 20 rupees per maunde to 40 and 50 rupees per seare.

³⁸ Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products*, s. v. *Aquilaria Agallocha*, gives the three kinds of this wood as *gharkī* (the heaviest), *nīm gharkī* or *samaleh-i-a'ld*, and *samaleh* (the lightest or commonest sort.)

The Caymeconyes [*kāim-kānī*] of Beyhara [Bihār] I with you acord to bee a commoditie fitter for Persia then England, yet as fit for Barbary or Turkey as anye other place. . . .

Of Sutgonge quilts wee sent you this yeare a pack . . . and all of them bought at such reasonable rates that wee expecte good muzera³⁷ for them from the Companye. Theye are not made here, but brought from the bottom of Bengala . . . Other sortes of quiltes are not here to bee gotten of any kinde. . . .

The transporte of our goods from hence to Agra at 1½ rupees per maund is no dearer then usialye all men paye for their goods which goeth in Carravan and are 40 dayes on the waye. . . .

In our last wee advized you of the saile of some goods into the Nabobs Circare and to what vallue theye amounted. Since which wee have received parte of the monyes and hope within 2 or 3 dayes to cleare that busines. The poore rest of our Caah hath since bine invested at Lackhowre in the broadest sorte of raw Ambertyes; and they all delivered out to whittinge. Wee have bought about half a score maunds serbandy silke and are agayne settinge a foote its wyndinge of, and want but means to goe throughe for some good quantitye of that Commoditie and our country provisiones of browne Ambertyes, both which is now to bee effected to good advantage. And therefore if suplye in som good some arive not from Agra the sooner, wee shall endeavor what possible on Creditt, beinge sorye for [1 to lose] the least oportunitie which promiseth advantage.

If your encouragement from Persia shall induce you to enorder provisiones of Banarso mandiles [*mandil*] it is from hence but a step tuether, where doubtles wee may furnishe you with more varietye and at farr better rates then Agra can aforde. And so intreatinge your speedye order for what quantitye goods you shall requier from hence and meanes for their accomplishinge &c.³⁸

IX.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Honnorable Company.

Patna, 30th November 1620. Right Honorable: Our humble dewtyes promised etts. Your Worships in your last yeares letters dated the 15th February and 6th March, 1618 [1619], sent by the *Charles*, *Ruby* and *Diamond*, earnestly requiringe quantity of commodities fittinge England, and their provisiones to bee made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attayninge quantitye as also for their procuringe to best advantage for price, condition etts., amongst sondrye other newe imployments thought on by the President and Councell in Surratt, after dispeede of the *Lyon* the last yeare for England, theye enordered some experience to bee made in the partes of Bengalla, for that by reporte it promised good store of callico clothinge, rawe silke, etts., the commodities by your Worships most desired; for which cause theye appoynted Robert Hughes to bee sent from the Agra factory to Puttanna, the chefest marte towne of all Bengala, apoynting him likewise an assistant then in Surratt, but afterwards sent up for Agra in companye of Robert Younge; whoe beinge longe detayned in Ahmadavād, for want of company wherewith to proceed for Agra, spent a greate parte of the yeare there; wherof wee havinge notice in

³⁷ The word is apparently P. '*mazra*,' lit. a place of seed produce: hence used mistakenly by this writer in the sense of produce, profit.

³⁸ *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 13-16.

Agra, the tyme spendinge so fast, and the waye betwene Puttanna and Agra somewhat tedious, it was thought requisite to dispeede Robert Hughes before and th' assistant to followe him upon advice of the necessitye. And havinge accorded upon a computent some of monnyes for some presant trialls, with bills of exchange importinge 4000 ruppees, hee departed Agra the 5th June, and after 29 dayes travell arived here in Puttanna the 3d July, where havinge procured acceptance of his exchanges, and made some inquisition into the hoped good here to bee effected, and upon good information beinge acirtayned that this place to good purpose might bee established a factory, hee fourthwith advized Surrat and Agra therof, and intreted the sendinge his assistant and by him some English goods which in Agra laye unvendable, with more suplye of monyes, to proceede in provision of what goods might possiblye bee compased tymelye to be sent hence this yeare for Surrat and England; of which advize and information the Agra factors approved, and in place of John Bangam, which was proceeded with Robert Younge for Lahore, theye sent hether John Parker, and by him the goods advized for, whoe came hether about the midst of September; before and since whose arivall what wee have effected in our provisions, etc., we will preceed to give Your Worships notice. [Here follows a list of the goods provided at Patna for which see previous letters]. All which goods weare dispeeded hence for Agra the 4th October, exceedinge well packed and fenced with wrappers, cotton woll, waxcloth, and what eloe requisite for their preservation both by land and sea. . . .

The severall stufes now sent you . . . if theye give Content and prove vendable in England, greate quantities therof maye yearlye here bee provided, as likewise the quints wrought with yellowe silke, fethers, and Lignom Alloes, which are all but for tryall; and therefore the two mayne propes which must uphold this a factory is Amberty Callicoes and rawe silke, neither wherof are to be provided in anye quantities without a continuall residence, for that theye requier great tyme, carre, and dilligence, th' one in the procuringe them whitted, and th' other in it's wyndinge of, and maye not be effected to anye purpose under a yeares tyme, wherof wee have bine large to Surratt, and expect their resolutions how to proceede. . . .

The Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with their friggitts from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two porttes, th' one called Gollye [Hügli], and th' other Pieppullye [Pipli], and therin are licenced by this kinge to inhabitt. Gollye is their cheefest porte, where theye are in greate multitudes, and have yearlye shippinge both from Mallacka and Cochine. The commodities theye usuallye bringe up hether is for the most part tyne, spices, and China wares, in lewe wherof theye transporte amberty callicoes, carpets, and all sortes of thine cloth, which theye die into reds purposelye for saile to the sothwards. This citty stands upon the river Ganges, whose swifte current transportes their friggitts with such dexteritye that in five or six dayes theye usuallye go hence to their portes, but in repairinge up agayne spend thrice the tyme.³⁰ . . .

(To be continued.)

³⁰ *Factory Records, Patna, I.* 16-18. Certain paragraphs of this letter have been omitted as they contain information previously given.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 63.)

(d) Single Consonants.

Apabhramça consonants, in passing into Old Western Rājasthānī, undergo the changes following :

§21. *g* is occasionally aspirated to *gh*. Ex. :

saghalau (P. 329) < *sagalaui* (P. 267) < Ap. **sagalaui* < Skt. *sakalakah*.

saghari (P. 604) < *sāgarī* (P. 598) < Ap. **sāgarī* < Skt. *sāgarikā*.

In *āghai* (P. 584), from Apabhramça *agga*, *gh* is possibly the result of *g* having combined with the locative suffix-*hai* (see § 147). The original form would therefore be **āghahai*. For the analogous case of *p* > *ph* see § 26. For *g* > *gr* see § 31.

§22. *j* is occasionally changed to *y*. In many cases this change is only apparent, for in the writing the two characters *j* and *y* are often interchanged and there is no doubt that they were pronounced much in the same way, i.e., as *j* (see § 1), but in some other cases it would seem that an actual weakening of *j* to *y* took place, i.e., between vowels *j* gradually lost its force as a consonant and came to be used as a mere euphonic element like the *yagru* of Jaina Prakrit. Ex. :

kahi (F 715, i, 10) < *kāhiya* (Çrā.) < *kāhiyā* (Ādi C.) < Ap. *kāhiyā* < Skt. *kāhyate*,

vāhiya (Dd. 5) < **vāhiyā* < Ap. *vāhiyā* < Skt. *vāhiyaka*.

§23. Initial *ṇ* is always changed to *n*. Cf. the case of the Ardhamāgadhi and the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, where dental *ṇ* is always substituted for cerebral *ṇ* of Prakrit and Apabhramça, both when initial and when doubled in the middle of a word. Thus in Old Western Rājasthānī we have :

navi (Çāl. 45) (see § 103) < Ap. *navi* < Skt. *nāpi*,

nāhai (Ādi. 2) < Ap. *nāhai* < Skt. *nāpaka*, etc.

§24. *t* is changed to *ṭ* in the following :

nāṭa (see § 71, (5)) < **nimāṭa* < Ap. **nimatta* < *nimittas* < Skt. *nimittakena*,

Modern Gujarātī *etalo* < O.W.R. *etalaui* (see § 93, (2)) < Ap. *etulaui*.

§25. *t* is occasionally changed to *p* and vice versa. Ex. :

jagapevara (Rq. 67) < Skt. *jagalevara*,

jipava (Ja. 3, Dd. 2) < *jitava* (ibid.), a denominative infinitive from *jita* < Ap. **jitta*—

(Cf. Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *jitta*, in Jacobi's *Asogeo. Erz. in Mdh.*, p. 18, 6) < Skt. *jitt-*,

taṇa (see § 73, (4)) < **paṇa* < Ap. *appaṇa* < Skt. **āṭmanakā*,

potā < *ṭpopa* (see § 92).

Cf. the case of Sanskrit *ātma*, which in Prakrit appears under the two forms *appa*- and *atta*-(Pischel, §§ 277, 401). For *t* > *tr* see § 31.

§26. *p* is occasionally aspirated to *ph*. The case here is somewhat analogous with § 21, only from the two single examples available it would seem that *ph* has been brought about by *p* combining with an *h* in the subsequent syllable. Ex. :

Mod. Guj. *āphāṇis* < O.W.R. *āpāhāṇi* (Dac. iv.) (see § 92) < Ap. *appaṇa* < Skt. *ātmana-*,

āpharaṣ (Ādi. 55) < *āpaharaṣ* (Daṣ. v, 13) < **āparahaṣ* (see § 147) < Ap. *uppara* < Skt. *upara*.

See § 38. For *p* > *pr* see § 31.

§ 27. *m* is changed to *l* in :

lācā (Yog. II, 67, 111, Indr. 1) < Ap. **mussā* < Skt. **mūṣṣā* (= *mūṣṣā*).

§ 28. Euphonic *y* is inserted before *a*, *d*, when the latter are preceded by another vowel, in much the same function as the *yagru* of Jaina Prakrit. Ex. :

kāyara (Kānh. 10) < Ap. **kādra* < Skt. *kumāra*,

joyā (P. 158) < Ap. *joā* < Skt. *dyotate*,

tīyā (Ādi C., passim) < *tī* (see § 90) < Ap. **tehaḥ*,

nayara (P. 10) < Ap. **naara* < Skt. *nagara*,

rayā (Rq. 52) < Ap. *raā* < Skt. *rajanī*,

kāyā (Ādi. 37) < Ap. *kād* < Skt. *bhāṭṭā*.

In some MSS. it is however omitted, thus :

kāra (Dd. 1), *tī* (Ādi C.), *bhaviāra* (Rq. 1), *kād* (Kal. 11), etc.

Euphonic *y* is also inserted, though rather rarely, after *c*, *n*, mostly when these consonants are followed by *a*, *d*, after *j*, when followed by *o*, and after *kḥ*, *s* to give the sound of Sanskrit *kṣ*, *g*. Ex. :

cyāri (see § 80) < Ap. *cāri* < Skt. *catvāri* (Pischel, § 439),

nyāpita (P., passim) < Skt. *nāpita*,

karijyo (see § 120) < **karijo* < Ap. **karejjahu*,

saṁkhyepa (F 585) < Skt. *saṁkṣepa*,

syāpa (P. 559) < Skt. *śāpa*.

For other examples of the change *jo* > *jyo* cf. the case of the relative pronoun in the dialects of the Rājasthāni.

§ 29. *r* is occasionally changed to *ḍ* and vice versa. Ex. :

keḍ (F 715, i, 14) < *ker* (see § 73, (2)) < Ap. *kerā* < Skt. **bāryakam*,

bāśārai (Daṣ. iv) < *bāśāḍai* (Ādi C.) (see § 141, (3)) < Ap. **uvāśāḍai* < Skt. **upaviśyati* (= *upaveśayati*).

Cf. the common interchanging of dental *r* and cerebral in colloquial Northern Gujarātī (L.S.I., Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 329-330).

§ 29a. *r* is changed to *l* in the termination-*ālā* < *-ārai* < *-ālai* of the causal. See § 141, (3).

§ 30. *r* is occasionally elided, when falling between two vowels of which the second is *i*. Ex. :

olū (Mu.) < **orilā* < **orilā* (see § 144) < Ap. **orillā*, **avtrillā* < Skt. *apārīlīkaḥ*,

pailā (Mu.) < **parilā* (see § 144) < Ap. **pārillā* < Skt. **pārīlīkaḥ*,

sāira (Çāl. 118, Up. 28, 29, 41, 44, 50 etc.) < **sarira* < Ap. *sarira* < Skt. *garira*.

§ 31. Euphonic *r* is occasionally inserted between an initial single consonant and the following vowel, much in the same way as euphonic *y* after *c*, *n*, *j* (see § 28). The consonants, to which *r* is more commonly added, are : *g*, *t*, *p*, *bḥ*, *s*. The same tendency is to be observed in Apabhramṣa (see Pischel, § 268). Old Western Rājasthāni examples are :

gīrōhā (Yog. iii, 67) < **grōhā* < Ap. **gohā* < Skt. *godha*,

grahā (P. 290) < Ap. **gahā* < Skt. **grahā* (= *grāhā*),

tīrō (Indr. 23) < Ap. **tāmō* < Skt. *tāmram*,

trīpī (see § 80) < Ap. *tīpī* < Skt. *trīpī*,

trijā (see § 82) < Ap. *tāijā* < Skt. *trīyakaḥ*,

trīa (see § 80) < Ap. *tīa*, *tīam* < Skt. *trīṇai*,

trīṭai (Bh. 74) < Ap. *tūṭai* < Skt. *trūṭai*,

tōḍai (F 783, 77) < Ap. **toḍai* < Skt. **troḍai* (Pischel, § 486),

prēmai (Mu.) < *pēmai* < Ap. *pēṣai* < Skt. **prēpati* (= *prēpnoti*),
prdhurāṣ (Ādi. 51) < Ap. *pḍhurāṣ* < Skt. *prḍghurāṣakāḥ*,
bhṛdsadi (Daç. iv) < Ap. Jaina Māh., Ardhamāg. *bhṛdsadi* < Çauras. *bhṛdsadi* < Skt. **bhṛs-*
maṣi,

Mod. Guj. *sardṣa* (fem.) < O.W.R. **sardṣi* < Ap. **sṛṣi* < Skt. *gṛṣi*.

It will be seen that in many of the examples above *r* is the survival of an original *r* in the Sanskrit. In *etra* (Daç.) < Ap. *etra*- (of. *etrula*-, Pischel, § 268) we have an instance of euphonic *r* added to a medial consonant.

§ 32. *l* is occasionally changed to *n* and vice versa. Ex. :

nḍhāṣ (Daç.) < Pkt. *laṇhao* & Skt. *glakṣṇakāḥ*,

nildā < Pkt. *nildā* < Skt. *laldā*-,

nba (Up. 36) < Ap. *nimbu* < Skt. *nimbā*,

Mod. Guj. *lilī* < O.W.R. *nīlī* (Indr. 20) < Ap. *nīlī* < Skt. *nilam*.

In the MS. *Up.* we commonly meet with *lkhāṣ* instead of ordinary *nkhāṣ* (33, 105, 139, 149 etc.) For analogous examples in Prakrit see Pischel, § 260.

§ 33. Medial *v* is hardened to *b*, when by apheresis of a preceding vowel it becomes initial. Ex. :

baisai (Dd. 2) < Ap. *vaisai* < Skt. *upaviṣati*,

bḍcaṣ (P. 374) < Ap. *avaccaṣ* < Skt. *apatyakam*.

The latter word is the regular form of Gujarātī *baccā* (Hindi *bacca*), the origin whereof had been hitherto wrongly traced to Sanskrit *vacca*.

§ 34. Euphonic *v* is inserted before *a* preceded by another vowel, much in the same way as *y* (§ 28), only more rarely. Ex. :

jḍvai (F 722, 254) < *jḍai* (Ādi C.) (see § 116) < Ap. *jḍi* < Skt. *yāti*,

jovana (Ādi C.) < Ap. *joana* < Skt. *yojana*-,

pivai (F 535, iv, 3) < *piai* (see § 116) < *pīi* (Daç. ix) < Ap. *piai* < Skt. *pibati*.

§ 35. Medial *v* falling between two vowels is occasionally elided. Ex. :

sviṣai (Ṣaṣt. 159) < Pkt. *sviṣao* < Skt. *svapnakāḥ*.

When *v* is followed by *a*, the entire syllable *va* is elided. Ex. :

Kānhade (Kānh.) < Ap. *Kaṇhadeva* < Skt. *Kṛṇadeva*-,

Jayasiṃghade (Vi. 59) < Skt. *Jayasiṃghadeva*-,

deharaṣ (P. 334) < Ap. *devagharaṣ* < Skt. *devagrhakam*.

Cf. the case of Prakrit in Pischel, § 149.

§ 36. Medial *v* accompanied by *anunāsika* passes into *m* and the *anunāsika* is dropped. Ex. :

ima (see § 98, (3)) < Ap. *eṣa* < Skt. *eva*,

kimḍa (Ādi C.) < Ap. *kaṣḍa* < Skt. *kapḍa*-,

In the following *v* is retained, *anunāsika* only being dropped. Ex. :

kḍava (Daç. v, 4) < Ap. *kaddava* < Skt. *kardama*-,

§ 37. (1) *h* falling between two vowels in the last syllable of a word and forming part of a termination, is generally elided and the two vowels are either contracted or remain in hiatus. Ex. :

karahḍ (P. 582) < Ap. *karahahḍ* < Skt. **karabhasām* (= *karabhāśām*),

kḍ (Ratn. 18) < Ap. *kahḍ* < Pkt. *kamḍ* < Skt. *kasmāt*,

jḍvai (Bh. 44) < Ap. *jḍvai* < Skt. **jḍvasi* (= *Jāṇḍsi*),

jito (Ṣaṣt. 93) < **jivai* < Ap. *jivaho*, vocative plural,

nayane (F 783, 71) < Ap. *ṇaṇai* < Skt. **nayanabhis* (= *nayanais*),

mḍ (see § 83) < Ap. *mahu* < Skt. *mahyam*.

In old poetry, however, *h* in a termination is occasionally retained. Ex. :

gayāha (Vi. 45) < Ap. *gadhā* < Skt. **gadhāsm* (—*gadhāsm*),
gurihi (Vi. 70) < Ap. *gurihi* < Skt. **gurebhis* (—*gurehis*),
bāpaha (Vi. 140) < Ap. *bappaha* (see *Deṣi*, vi, 88),
manahi (Rq. 29) < Ap. *manahi* < Skt. **manasmin*.

In the plural oblique forms *biḥḥ*, *triḥḥ*, *ciḥḥ* (see § 81) and *saviḥḥ* (see § 96), the *h* in the termination is always retained. In the case of Apabhraṃṣa *kaḥḥ*, *jaḥḥ*, *taḥḥ*, *h* may be optionally retained or elided, as in the example *kaḥḥ* quoted above.

(2) *h* falling between two vowels in the last syllable of a word and not forming part of a termination is generally retained. Ex. :

naḥḥ (see §§ 48, 103) < Ap. *ṇāhi* < Skt. *na-hi*,
paḥḥ (see § 72, (8)) < Ap. *pakke* < Skt. *pakṣe*,
bhamuḥi (P. 564) < Pkt. *bhamuḥā* < Skt. **bhramukā* (Pischel §§ 124, 206.)

Two exceptions are formed by :

siḥḥ (see § 70, (5)) < Ap. *saḥḥ* < Skt. *sākam* (Pischel, § 206),
caḥḥ (see § 80) < Ap. *caḥḥ* < Skt. *catardaga-*,

in the latter of which, *h* has been dropped along with the following *a*. The same is the case with the other cardinals from 11 to 19.

(3) *h* falling between two vowels in the middle of a word is generally retained, except in the later stage of the language, when it is occasionally elided. The only instance I have noted of the latter case is :

paḥḥ (Ādi C.) < *paḥḥ* (see § 82).

This process, which was but at its start in the later Old Western Rājasthānī stage, is nowadays found to be largely spread in Modern Gujarātī, especially in the Northern colloquial, and in Mārvāṛī, where elision of medial *h* has become almost a rule.

§ 38. Euphonic *h* is occasionally inserted between two vowels, to avoid hiatus. Ex :

kuḥḥaḥ (Deṣ. iv) < **kuḥḥaḥ* < **kuḥḥaḥ* < Ap. **kavaḥḥaḥ*,
cheḥḥaḥ (Deṣ.) < Ap. *cheḥḥaḥ* < Skt. **chedaḥḥam*,
prāḥḥi (Yog. iii, 180) < **prāḥḥi* < Ap. *prāḥ* (of. *prāḥ*, Ho., iv, 414, (1)) < Skt. **prāyakeḥḥa* (—*prāyena*),

suḥḥaḥ (Yog. ii, 70, Ādi C., ÇūL.) < **suḥḥaḥ* < Ap. *suḥḥaḥ* < Skt. *svapṇakam*.

Insertion of an entire syllable *ha* seems to have taken place after *pa* in :

ḍpaḥḥaḥ (Deṣ. i.) (see §§ 28, 92) < Ap. *appaḥḥa* < Skt. *ḍṛṇṇa-*.

Prefixing of *h* occurs in :

heva (P. 184) < Ap., Skt. *eva*.

(c) Compound Consonants.

§ 39. Apabhraṃṣa consonantic compounds are of two kinds, to wit : a) compounds formed by a consonant doubled, and b) compounds formed by a consonant preceded by a nasal. To these might be added c) compounds formed by a consonant followed by *r*, but these undergoing no change in Old Western Rājasthānī, we need not take them into account here.

§ 40. Double consonants of the Apabhraṃṣa are as a rule simplified in Old Western Rājasthānī and the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. Examples for each class of consonants are :

(1) gutturals :

māḥḥaḥ (P. 422 ff.) < Ap. *māḥḥaḥ* < Skt. *maikṣa-*,
lāḥḥaḥ (P. 292) < Ap. **lāḥḥaḥ* (of. Ardhamāgadhī *lāḥḥa-*) < Skt. *lāḥḥaḥ*,
ḍgaḥḥaḥ (Rq. 29) < Ap. *uggaḥḥaḥ* < Skt. **udgaḥḥaḥ*.

(2) palatals :

sācavai (P. 297) < Pkt. *saccavai* (Ho., iv, 181) < Skt. *satyāpayati* (Pischel, § 559),

lāchi (Rq. 55) < Ap. *Lacchi* < Skt. *Lakṣmi*,

āja (Dd. 6) < Ap. *ajja* < Skt. *adya*,

dājhai (P. 21) < Ap. *dujjhai* < Skt. *duhyate*.

In the termination of the precative plural *jj* is optionally simplified to *fy*. See §§ 28, 120.

(3) cerebrals :

vaṭa (Qrī.) < Ap. *vaṭṭa* (fem.) < Skt. *varimā* (nom. n.),

dīṭhan (Dd. 6) < Ap. *dīṭṭhai* < Skt. *drṣṭakāḥ*,

pachāḍai (F 783, 55) < Ap. **pacchāḍai* < Skt. **pracchardati*,

kāḍhai (P. 303) < Ap. *kaṭṭhai* < Skt. *karṣati*.

Cerebral double *ṣ* having a peculiar treatment, it will be well treated of separately under § 41.

(4) dentals :

pātali (Dd. 7) < Ap. *puttali* < Skt. *puttali*, *puttalikā*,

udēga (Daç. V, 90) < Ap. *uddega* < Skt. *udvega*,

siddhai (F 535) < Ap. *siddhai* < Skt. *siddhakāḥ*.

(5) labials :

āpai (Dd. 2) < Ap. *appaī*, *appeī* < Skt. *arpayati*,

rāphadaī (P. 63) < Ap. *rapphadaī* (of. Pkt. *rappho* — *valmikaḥ*, Deçt°, vii, 1),

cibhada (P. 252) < Ap. *cibbhadi* < Skt. *cirbhavi*.

(6) semivowels :

ghālai (Dd. 10) < Ap. *ghallai* (= *kṣipati*, Ho., iv, 334, 422),

ḍāvaī (Dd. 7) < Ap. *ḍavvaī* (of. Deçt°, iv, 6).

For *ḷ* > *ḷh* see § 42.

(7) sibilants :

viṣṭa (P. 284) < Ap. *viṣṭa* < Skt. *viṣṭa*.

§ 41. Cerebral double *ṣ* of the Apabhraṃṣa is simplified into dental *ṣ* in Old Western Rājasthānī. Ex. :

ṣṣayru (Daç.) < Ap. *ṣṣai* < Skt. *ṣṣataḥ*,

chāṣai (P. 352) < Ap. *chāṣai* < Skt. *channakāḥ*,

ṣṣa (fem.) (P. 146, 172) < Ap. *ṣṣai* < Skt. *saṃjñā*.

From this change one might be induced to assume that Apabhraṃṣa *ṣṣ* was first changed to *ṣṣ* and then simplified to *ṣ*, whereof an analogy might be afforded by the Jaina Prakrit, in which initial *ṣ* and medial *ṣṣ* are always dentalized. But there is evidence pointing out that, in some cases at least, the passing of *ṣṣ* to *ṣ* was effected through *ṣḷ* > *ṣḷh*. The differentiating of *ṣṣ* to *ṣḷh* had already begun in the Pīṅala-Apabhraṃṣa, where we come across such forms as : *dīṣḷai*, *liṣḷai* (i, 128) for regular *dīṣṣai*, **liṣṣai* (see § 126, (3)). The case here is very analogous to the differentiation of *ḷ* to *ḷh*, which is explained below. Old Western Rājasthānī further changed *ṣḷh* to *ṣḷ* and treated the latter as a single consonant. The same did Old Eastern Rājasthānī and Old Western Hindi and out of *dīṣḷai*, *liṣḷai* made *dīṣḷai*, and *liṣḷai*. To the Old Western Rājasthānī tendency to change *ṣḷ* to *ṣḷh* we have a testimony in the termination *-aṣḷāra* of the noun of agency, which is derived from *-aṣḷāra* through *-aṣḷāra* (see § 135). The nexus *ṣḷh* has further survived in the postposition *kaṣḷai*, for which see § 71, (1), and in :

baṣḷi (Qāl. 15) < Ap. *biṣṣi* < Skt. **dveṣi*.

§42. Through the same process as *ṛṇ* seems to have gone Apabhraṃṣa *ṭ*. Differentiation of *ṭ* to *ṭh* is already found in the Jaina *Māhārāṣṭri* in the examples: *mēṭhiyṭi* < *mēṭhiyṭi* and *mēṭhevi* < *mēṭhevi* occurring *Bhavadairāgyaśataka*, 47, 58¹⁸, both of which are referable to the verb *mēṭai* of the Prakrit (see Hc., iv, 91). Old Western Rājasthānī has likewise *mēṭhai* (P. 343), whence also *mēṭhai* (Bh. 47, P. 504) by metathesis of *h* (see § 51). Another Old Western Rājasthānī example is:

uṭhaṭai (P. 449) < Ap. *uṭṭhai* < Skt. *uṭṭasati*.

§43. Double consonants are simplified without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, when the latter is followed or preceded by a long or accented syllable or comes immediately after another vowel. Ex.:

āchāi (see § 114) < Ap. *acchāi* < Skt. *ṛcchāti* (Pischel, §§ 57, 480),
ānai (see § 106) < Ap. *anṇai* < Skt. *anyāni*,
ānerai (Ādi. 27) < Ap. *anṇaerai* < Skt. **anyakāryakāḥ*,
āpṇai (F 724) < Ap. *uppanṇai* < Skt. *utpannakāḥ*,
olāgu (P. 105) < Pkt. *oluggo* (see Deçf°, i, 164),
caṭṭhai (Dd.) < Ap. *caṭṭhai* < Skt. *caturthakāḥ*,
nīpājai (F 535) < Ap. *nīppajjai* < Skt. *nīpadyate*,
paṭṭhai (Ādi. 17) < Ap. *paṭṭhai* < Skt. *praviṣṭakāḥ*,
māṭhāṭai (see §§ 101, (1), 145) < Ap. **matṭhaṭṭhai* < Skt. **matṭakala smin*,
vāṭṭhai (Qrā.) < Ap. *vāṭṭhai* < Skt. *vyākhyānayati*,
hoiṭe (see § 120) < Ap. **hoṭṭhai*.

In some few cases, however, there seems to be no apparent reason for the vowel remaining short, as in:

māṭha, *mājha* (see § 83) < Ap. *mājhu* < Skt. *māhyam*.

§44. Double consonants are retained in the following cardinals:

3, *triṇi* (Yog. i, 15, 34, 50) < Ap. *triṇi* < Skt. *triṇi*,
27, *sattāvisa* (F 663, 22) < Ap. *sattāvisa* < Skt. *saptaviṃśa*-,
28, *aṭṭhāvisa* (Pr. 29) < Ap. *aṭṭhāvisa* < Skt. *aṣṭaviṃśa*-,
38, *aṭṭhātrisa* (ibid.) < Ap. *aṭṭhātrisa* < Skt. *aṣṭatrisa*-,
56, *chappan* (Rq. 63) < Ap. *chappan* < Skt. **ṣaṭpāṇat* (Pischel, § 445),
64, *caṭṭaṭṭhi* (F 758) < Ap. *caṭṭaṭṭhi* < Skt. *catuṣṣaṭi*,
72, *bāḥattari* (Ādi C.) < Ap. *bāḥattari* < Skt. *dvaṣṭati*,
98, *aṭṭhāṭṭhi* (ibid.) < Ap. **aṭṭhāṭṭhi* < Skt. *aṣṭāṣṭhi*,
in the ordinal:

chaṭṭhai (Rq. 17, 49, 56, F 602) < Ap. *chaṭṭhai* < Skt. *ṣaṭṭakāḥ*,

and in the noun:

Mod. Guj. *baccā* (Belsare's Guj. Dist., p. 825) < Ap. *avaccaṭṭhi* < Skt. *apatyakam*.¹⁹

P. 374, however, the regular form *bācaṭṭhi* is met with.

§45. Consonantic compounds of the Apabhraṃṣa, formed by a consonant preceded by the corresponding class-nasal, pass into Old Western Rājasthānī by changing the class-nasal to *anundai* and at the same time lengthening the preceding vowel. Ex.:

rāika (P. 151) < Ap., Skt. *raika*-,

śiga (P. 63) < Ap. *siiga* < Skt. *ṣiiga*-,

pāica (see § 80) < Ap., Skt. *pāica*-,

¹⁸ Edited in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, Vol. XXII, (1909), pp. 179-211, and Vol. XXIV, (1911), pp. 406-416.

¹⁹ Cf. also Mod. Guj. *vaccā*, for common O.W.R. *vācaṭṭhi* (§ 75).

ātara (Ādi. 73, F 535, ii, 4) < Ap. *antara* < Skt. *antarakam*,

kṛpā (P. 310) < Ap. *kampā* < Skt. *kampate*.

An exception is formed by the *-nta-* termination of the present participle, which drops the nasal altogether and does not lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 122).

§ 46. In *taisamas* the conjuncts of Sanskrit are generally kept unchanged. The only exceptions, which I have noted, refer to *kṛ*, which is occasionally represented by *khy* (see § 28), and to *jā*, *ny*, which are occasionally interchanged as in the two examples following :

jāśikṛta (Yog. ii, 66) < Skt. *nyāśikṛta*,

nyāna (F 729, 2) < Skt. *jāna*,

(f) Metathesis.

§ 47. Cases of metathesis, i.e., of transposition of one element or interchange of two elements in the same word, are very frequent in Old Western Rājasthānī, much as they are, indeed, in Modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī. I shall group the examples I have collected under four heads, to wit : a) metathesis of quantity, b) metathesis of *anunāsika*, c) metathesis of vowels, and d) metathesis of consonants.

§ 48. Metathesis of quantity occurs in the examples following :

aḥ (P. 553) (see § 89) < Ap. *daḥ* < Skt. **adakaśmin*,

kḥari, *kḥiri* (Vi., passim) < Ap. *kuḥāri* < Skt. *kumāri*,

nāhi (see § 115) < **nāhi* < Pkt. *naṭhi* < Skt. *nāṭi*,

naḥ (see § 103) < Ap. *nāhi* < Skt. *nāhi*,

māharai (see § 83) < Ap. *māḥarai* < Skt. **mahatāraḥ* (Pischel, § 434),

sāḥ (see § 96) < Ap. *sāhu* < Skt. *śaṣṭi* (Pischel, § 64),

soḥamāṣū < Ap. *sohamāṣū* < Skt. *śoḥamāṣam*.

From the above it will be seen that in bisyllabic words the long quantity is transferred to the ultimate vowel, and in words having three or four syllables it is transferred to the anti-penultimate. The accent seems not to have been of very much account here. It will be further noticed that out of the four examples of bisyllabic words quoted above, three are formed by words, the ultimate syllable whereof was originally *h* followed by a short vowel, a fact which certainly accounts in some part for the metathesis of quantity, *h* generally tending to fall out when followed by a short vowel at the end of a word. An exception, however, is in the form following :

kāḥ (Ādi. 13, 47) < *kāḥ* (see §§ 91, 98, (1) < Ap. *kāḥ* < Pkt. *kamḥ* < Skt. *kaśmā*.

§ 49. Metathesis of *anunāsika* occurs in :

kāi, *kāi* (see § 91) < Ap. *kāi* < Skt. *kāni*,

gayāha (Vi. 45) < Ap. *gaḥā* < Skt. **gāḥā* (= *gāḥā*),

māḥai (P. 212) < **māḥai* < Ap. *māḥai* < Skt. **madhyasmin*,

in all of which examples the *anunāsika* is transferred from a short to a long vowel.

§ 50. Metathesis of vowels occurs in :

tūhai (see § 110) < Ap. **tūhi* < Skt. *tatohi*,

thāḥai (see § 72, (4)) < **thāhi* < Ap. *thāhi* < Skt. **sthakṛitah* (cf. Pischel, § 488),

pāḥ. (Ādi C.) < *pāḥ* (see § 110) < Ap. *pūḥ* < Skt. *punar*,

viḥaja (P. 46) < Skt. *vaḥij*, *vaḥijya*,

haiḍaṣ (P 8) < *haiyaḷaṣ* (F 715) < Ap. *hīaḷaṣ* < Skt. **hṛdayaḷakam*,
haṣu (Up. 196) < Ap. *hīaṣ* < Skt. *bhūtakaḷ*,
hiva (Śaṣṭ., passim) < *havi* < *chavi* (see § 94, (3)).

§ 51. Metathesis of consonants is in the great generality of cases effected by *h*, which possesses a strong tendency to be thrown back before the foregoing syllable. The same tendency *h* already possessed in Prakrit, and several illustrations thereof have been collected by Professor Pischel, § 354 of his Prakrit grammar. In Old Western Rājasthānī, however, this peculiarity of *h* is much more marked, a fact, which is quite consistent with the way in which intervocalic *h* is pronounced in standard Modern Gujarātī up to this day.²⁰ Examples are :

ṣpharaṣ (Ādi. 55) < **ṣpaharaḷ* < **ṣparahaṣ* (see § 147),
dihāḷaṣ (P., Yog.) < **dihāḷaṣ* < Ap. *diāhaḷaṣ* < Skt. **divasaḷakakḷ*,
dohila (Dd.) < **dōlaha* < Ap. *dullaha* < Skt. *durīlabha*-,
pahirāvai (Dd. 6) < Ap. *parihāvai*, °*vei* < Skt. **paridhāpayati*,
mehalai (Bh. 47) < Jaina Māh. *melhai* (see § 42) < Ap. *mellai*,
vāhlu (Yog. i, 55) < Ap. *vallahu* < Skt. *vallabhaḷ*,
sāhamai (F 602) < *sāmahaṣ* (Grā.) < *sāmmhai* (Up. 108) < Ap. *sammuhai* < Skt. *sammukakḷ*,
hraṣ (Grā.) < *rahai* (see § 71, (6)).

The reverse tendency seems to have been possessing *h* when originally initial in a word. This was already the case in Prakrit, as is shown by the examples *draha* < Skt. *hrada*, *rahasa* < Skt. *hrasva* and *hulai* < *hulai*, quoted by Pischel, § 354. For the Old Western Rājasthānī I may quote :

draha (Dd. 8) < Skt. *hrada*-, and :

ihai (P. 70) < *hatai* (see § 113).

In Mārwardī we have : *vhai* < *huvai*.²¹

Quite exceptional are the forms *evahaṣ*, *kevahaṣ*, etc. occurring in Śaṣṭ. for *chavaṣ*, *kchavaṣ*, § 94, (3).

Transposition of consonants diherent from *h* occurs in :

gamḷ (for *gamḷ* ?) (Mu.) < **māga* (**m'gḷ* ?) < Ap. *magga*- (*maggah* ?) < Skt. *m'rga*-,
bhāyaga (P. 635) < **bhāgya* < Skt. *bhāgya*-.

For the metathesis of *r* in double causals see § 141, (4).

(g) Samprasāraṇa.

§ 52. *Samprasāraṇa* is very frequent in Old Western Rājasthānī, both in *tadbhavas* and in *latsamas*. A few examples are the following :

abhintara (P. 320) < Skt. *abhyantara*- (of. *Ardhamāgadhi abbhintara*-),
gaḷkha (P. 352, Ādi C.) < **gavākha* < Ap. *gavakkha* < Skt. *gavākṣa*-,
deṣūra (P. 142) < Ap. *deṣvara* < Skt. *deṣāpara*-,
dhaḷlaṣ (Up. 95) < Ap. *dhaḷalai* < Skt. *dhaḷalakaḷ*,
naḷmai (Rq. 32) < Ap. *navamaji* < Skt. *navamakaḷ*,
bhavi (F 535, ii, 21) < Skt. *bhavya*-,
vivahāri (P. 41, 44) < Skt. *vyavahārin*,
nupana (F 715, i, 19) < Skt. *svapna*-.

(To be continued).

²⁰ See LSI., Vol. ix., Part II, p. 330.

²¹ Cf. Old Balaṣwārī *rahasana* < *harasana* (R. O. M., II, 17).

"DHARANI," OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D

(Continued from p. 54.)

7. The Flaming Diadem.

Uṣṇiṣa-jwala.

Oṃ ! In the Indian speech [this is called] *Āryoṣṇiṣa jwala nāma Dhāraṇī* ; in the Tibetan speech 'P'ags-pa gtsang-tor 'bar.-wa tes bya-bai grüis.

Salutation to The Three Holy Ones ! *Namas samanta buddhanām, apratikataśaśanāmām.*
Oṃ ! *kha-kha, khāhi, khahi, hāh, hāh, jwala, prajwala prajwala, tiṣṭha tiṣṭhasti sarvadurāni*
mitidusa svavāna śānti kuru svāhā.

This indeed is the spell of the thousand Buddhas, it is the famous 'flaming diadem'. This famous luck-bringer makes all one's deed to be blessed, whether they be of different kinds [good or bad !], whether they be hundreds of thousands, 900, or five fold. Evil dreams and evil omens¹⁶ are made harmless. Whoever mutters¹⁷ it merely once has [harm] cleared away. The hosts of obstructing demons¹⁸ are rendered powerless and utterly destroyed. Life and future happiness become increased ! *Mangalaḥ !* (O happiness !)

8. The All-Victorious Turner-aside (of Evil.)

Vijayavati-pratyāṅgirā [Dhāraṇī].

[From *Kā-gyur rGyud*, Hodgson Colln. Calc. (also I. O. ?) Vol. P. (13) No. 51 fol. 389-392/
Osoma An. p. 524-51, St. Petersburg. Vol. Tsh. (18) No. 730 fol. 225-227 : Schmidt's *Index*
p. 101 ; I. O. (Waddell) Tibet Colln. No. K. 17. (34).]

Oṃ ! In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ārya vijayavavavatinā¹⁹ nāma pratyāṅgirā* ; in the Tibetan speech 'Pa'gs-pa p'yir-zlog-pa rnampar rgyal-ba-ghan : [that is, 'The Noble All-Victorious Turner-Aside or Repeller].

Salutation to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the guardians who strive after the welfare of all living beings ! Salutation to all the Sādhanas (rituals for compelling visions of spell-spirits) ! Salutation to all the holders of spells (*mantras*) ! Salutation to Buddha, The Law and The Order ! Salutation to the Bodhisattvas, Mahāsattva Mahākaruṇa²⁰ and the illustrious Ārya Avalokiteśvara. All these were saluted by Vijayāvatī Pratyāṅgirā, who throws off life-destroying agencies and curses, pacifies the ghosts of the dead and excessive misfortune, dissipates fear [at the hands] of kings, fear of robbers, fear of fire, fear of flood-water, fear of *dākinīp-retā, piśācha, kumbhāṇḍa āśāraka, apasmāra, putana*,²¹ fear of losing the track, fear of the cremation-path fear of those beings who walk in the darkness of the night and in the daylight. She makes them harmless and of a good disposition or entirely disperses them, repels all enemies, pacifies all upsetting and obstructing demons. She cleanses

¹⁶ m'ason 400.

¹⁷ bala.

¹⁸ bgeq-s = Skt. gopa.

¹⁹ This is obviously corrupt for *vijayavati*, the form in the St. Petersburg text, and Schmidt p. 101, which is also the form given in the Sanskrit Tibetan Dictionary.

²⁰ This is an epithet of Avalokite, although here differentiated from that divinity by 'and.'

²¹ Classes of evil spirits.

completely from all sin, from sluggishness in speech, the stiff in speech become charming in address and expression⁸². Salutation to the Bodhisattvas, Mahāsattva Mahākaraṇa and the illustrious Ārya Avalokiteśvara.

The essential spells⁸³ which will accomplish these [objects] are as follows :— *Oṃ dhara* (repeat 7 times), *dhiri* (seven times), *dhuru* (eight times). Protect us against fear, harm, destruction of life, curses, protect us ! *Sara* (seven times) ! *Siri* (seven times) ! *Suru* (seven times) ! *Mara* (seven times) ! *Muru* (seven times) ! Protect us from all disease, protect us ! *Hili* (eight times) !⁸⁴ *hulu* (eight times) ! *kili* (nine times) ! *mili* (eight times) ! *lei-li* (nine times) ! *loulu* (9 times) ! Repel all demons ! *Oṃ visara visara kaṃpa kaṃpa naiana naiyanaiaaya* !

Against wrathful and malignant enemies whom you desire may come no nearer, make burnt-offerings and employ the above spells and afterwards repeat them once more. *Svāhā* ! This will close the eyes of foes, close the ears, nose, tongue, bind the body, mind, and all the members, large and small it will bind. *Sphuṭa, sphuṭa, sphuṭa sphoṭaya* (three times) !

To clear away all destructive influences and curses, suppress every evil under every circumstance. *Sarvatra āma, turu* (four times), *Svāhā* ! Protect us against fear and all kinds of harm, destruction of life, curses, ghosts and *apasmāra*. Protect us ! *Svāhā*.

To cleanse from all one's sins—a prayer to cleanse : *Tsara Tsara svāhā* ! *mara mara svāhā*, *Siri siri svāhā*, *turu turu svāhā*, *dhuru dhuru svāhā* !

For men desirous that harm shall not increase or that they be not befogged or stranded in solitude, or enraged or deluded, that they may turn aside all demons (*bhāṭa*), and all 'seizing'-demons (*graha*) and all diseases so that they do not drive people insane, do not befog the mind, stiffen, frighten, at all frighten, dismember, overpower, *Svāhā* / *Nile* (three times) / *Keie svāhā piti* (three times) ! *Keie svāhā lohite* (three times) ! *Keie svāhā mavadāte avadāte avabhata* / *Keie svāhā tveto tveto vastudhāraṇiye svāhā* ! Turn aside the power of all demons ! Cleanse us from all sin, *Svāhā* ! Increase [good] deeds (two times), increase our good-luck and prosperity, increase our [good] deeds ! *Svāhā* ! Protect us against fear, harm, onset of sickness, all [evil ?] births and destruction of life, and all curses, and all disease-demons and all sin, and all evil planets and vast evils and all visible and invisible harm ! Protect us, *Svāhā* !

"This [spell] named The All-Victorious Turner-aside (*Vijaya Pratyāṅgirā*) produces victory.⁸⁵ Whosoever on their neck [hangs] this [spell] enfetters [evil] and thus becomes certainly the victor. The unblest path of troublous dreams, sin, enemies of all kinds, robbers, fire and kings all these cannot harm. Whoever on their neck [hangs] this [spell] enfetters [evil] ; then the water-floods cannot carry him off. Sins become cleansed, every virtue becomes swiftly increased, illness is banished by profitable gain. The [book on the] noble *Vijaya pratyāṅgirā*, so named, is finished. *Mangala ā* !"

The Tibetan text of the *Sitāpatra* or *Mahāpratyāṅgira Dhāraṇi* is easily accessible, as in addition to its occurrence in the *Kā-gyur* Canon, and in the *Dhāraṇi Pitaka* (*Mdo-mai grūṇa*), it is also frequently met with as a separate manual. The 'Red Copper Beak' however, being less common and as yet un-known in its Sanskrit version, I here append its text, translated in Roman characters from the printed copy in my collection, in the India Office Library, K. 17 Vol. Z. (18). Its translation I have given at pp. 39-41.

⁸² Implies the attributes of the Vedic Vāch, the goddess of speech, the prototype of Sarasvatī.

⁸³ *Māla-mantra*.

⁸⁴ This spell with '*Hili kili mili*' is evidently part of the great peafowl charm against snakes ascribed in simpler forms to Buddha. See my art. *Dhāraṇi Oult.*, loc. cit.

⁸⁵ Literally 'causes victory to arise.'

TEXT OF 'THE RED COPPER BRAK.'

Oṃ || rgya-gar-skad-du ārya ghadaha pratyah bhandhaghāta kadabrita teakhadhayā
bod-skad-du 'p'ags-pa zañs-kyi-moh'u dmar-poś gdug-paī pyogs t'am-chad gnōn-bar byed-pa
z'es-bya-baī gzuñs ||

Sañs-rgyas dañ byañ-chāb sams-dpā t'am-chad-la p'yag'-ts'al-lo || 'p'ags-pa t'ams-chad-la
p'yag'-ts'al-lo | 'pyogs-ba bōhu bzugs-paī sañs-rgyas t'am-chad-la p'yag'-ts'al-lo byañ-ch'ub
sams-dpāī ch'ogs-rnams dañ ñan-t'os sde dañ bhud-du | behas-ba-rnams-la p'yag 'ts'al-lo |
*behom-ldan'-das de-bzin gsegs-pa dgra-behom-pa yañ dag-par rdsogs-paī sañs-rgyas rig-pa
dañ z'abs-su ldan-pa bde-bar gsegs-pa | jig-rten-ma k'yen-pa | skyes-bu 'dub-baī ka' lo-
aggyur-ba | bla-na-med-pa | lha dañ mi-rnams gyi ston-par gyur-pa* | sañs-rgyas ston-gi ño
bo-chan-la p'yag'-ts'al-lo | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rje-la 'pyag'-ts'al-lo ||

'Di skad bdag-gis t'os-pa dus gohig-na | behom-ldan'-das 'dam-bui-ts'al padma-mdsē-
byed sa-k'eba-paī gnas | ch'u-bo yan-lag-brgyad-dañ ldan-paī 'gram-na bzugs so | la-bor
dmag-tu med-pa dañ t'abs gohig-go | dge-slon-gi, dge-'dun-ch'en-po dañ t'abs gchig-tu
bzugs-so ||

De-nas 'pags-pa zañs-moh'u-dmar-poī dhōs-grub drag-poī las-la dbaī-mdsad-pa mdsē-
nad t'ams-chad-las gsol-ba | 'tog-pa | alog-pa | sa k'yor-pa | k'rag-'jib-pa | drod-yul-ba |
gñam-pde brgyad-la gñad k'ro-wo me-mche'd-pa || rba-k'ol-ba | k'ro-oh'u k'ob-ma 'bab-tu
'jug-pa | lohags-kyi gzer-'debs-pa | yan-lag bakums-pa mtā-bzi sdud-pa dur-kr'od-da rgyug-
pa | klu-ch'en-po brgyad-la nad gtoñ-ba | nam-mkā-la t'ig 'debs-pa | sa-la srubs bzi-ru daga
pa | zañs-kyi lus-l'a bya-k'yun-gi ngo-bo yod-pa | klad-pa-la za-ba | zañs-kyi-moh'u 'dom
dgu brgya dgu bōhu yod-pa | zas-su klu-rigs b'zi za-ba | skom-du ch'u ser dañ k'raq gsol-ba |
spyān-rtea dmar-la sdañ mig-tu bgrag-pa | lha-ba mur-ba | rkañ-la bla | dag-pa ro-mags kyī
nad lhog-bur-du gtoñ-ba | k'ams gsum se-la gnōn-pa | rñan agras'jigs-paī dug 'tul-ba | mar-
la dmyal-baī gdar-la 'grugs-pa | yar-la arid-paī steñ-du p'ugs-pa | gñan-rigs druq-stōñ geog-
pa-la 'gyar-ba | klu-rigs stōñ p'rag k'ōñ-ñal-ba | de-lta-bui 'jigs-paī ch'a-lugs-chan dan yañ
tābs gohig-go |

De-nas bōhom-ldan'-das dkā-tu'b | mdsad-pa-la | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rjes gsol-pa | bde-bar
gsegs-pa'-gro-bu drug-la t'ug-rjes gzuñ-du gsol | ñon mdsōs-paī nad-las t'ar-bar mdsad-du gsol |
'dod-oh'ags-kyi nad-las t'ar-bar mdsad-du gsol | se-sdad-gi-me-bead-du gsol | ña-rgyal-gyi
brag sñil-du gsol | gti-mug-gi-mun-pa beal-du gsol | gdug-paī nad-las bagral-du gsol | gdon-stōñ
'prag brgyad ch'chu rtea b'zi-las bagral-du gsol | zēs-zus-pas t'ugs-rjes gzig-na gñad-ba
mdsad-do | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rje ñon mons-pa-chan-dañ | nad gdol-ba-chan-gyis mnar-ba
lus ñams-pa t'ams-chad dañ dam-las 'das-pa | dam-t'sig ñams-pa | nad-kyis gduñs-pa | ared-
paī srad-bus bōhins-pa | t'ams-chad-la fog-chig | dī gan-du myur-bar fog-chig | nas bsud-
do | gdams-so | z'es-bkā stal-to |

De-nas p'yag-na-rdo-rjes lha-ma srin-sde brgyad-gyi gam-du p'yin-te | rgyal-baī bkā-la
ñon | rgyal-baī sku-la btos | myur-ba mar bar 'den zēs-byas-pas klu va-su-ta bram-zet rigs-
la | p'yag-na-rdo-rjes ñasu-yin ch'a-med-dam byas-pas | ña-la ch'a-med-do | k'yod-la a-ñi
mi ñan-no | mi ltos-so | ña-ni stobs-chan yin-no | kyan-par-chan yin-no | suga-chan yin-no |
naī-la k'or-rnams kyañ stobs dañ ldan-pa yod-do | zēs ser-ro | p'yag-na-rdo-rjes kyod-la nus-
pa chi yod-byas-pas | nas k'yod-la ka-rlāns sig gtad-gis sdod-chig ser-te | p'yag-na-rdo-rje

rais ta'd-du 'dug-bas | glu-ba-su-tas ka-rlais bun-pa z'ig btad-bas | p'yag-na-rdo-rje-la su-
t'ug t'ug-du byuñ-ño.

De-naa p'yag-na-rdo-rje t'ugs-rtog akyes-te | k'yod-na jo-bos-ghan sig 'dug-pa ji skad
bye-ba bas | ña ni kluf-rgyal-po bram-ñe rin-po-che' Va-su-ta zes-bya-ba yin-no | ña-la dug-
rñem-pagla . . . [here five leaves from fol. 3b to 8b] ñes bkā steñl-pa |

Om hrām hrī hrāh āh tathāgatā | nāgahridaya | tathāgata namah dhamayā | tathāgate
rājāsrīlhanana | budya 'budya rāja tsala pari parilira | nāgahu yarbada povamdha svāhā |
gula rājala svāhā hrām hrī | . . . [3 pages to fol. 11a].

'p'ags-pa zañs-moh'u dmar-po rno-baī dpal-dañ-ohas-pa | va-su-ta rigs-drug dbeñ-du
sdud-paō | de-naa kyañ bram-zei-rigs rdul-du rlog-par byed-paō ||

Zañs-moh'u dmar-poīgzui's rdogs-rgya-gar kyī mk'an-po dñāna de-va dañ bod-kyi bandē
ch'os-grub dañ lo-tsa-ba aka-ba bha-pos bya tsal-du begyur chiū zus-te gtan-la 'pab-baō ||

The passages which I have enclosed between two asterisks, contain I find the Tibetan translation of a portion of a hymn in praise of Buddha in the first chapter of the *Lalita Vistara* almost word for word and in the same order of sentences; this hymn has unfortunately been omitted by M. Foucaux in his edition of the Tibetan version of that text. It was probably one of the early rhymes of the Buddhists and may possibly occur in the Pali Tripitika; for Dr. Kern has found (Man. Ind. Buddhism p. 15) that the *Lalita Vistara* contains whole passages identical with the Pali Scriptures. Some of the epithets indeed are those claimed by Buddha himself in his first sermon at Benares (Cf. Oldenberg 'Buddha' p. 129). The corresponding sentences in the *Lalita Vistara* I here extract from Lefmann's text p. 3:—
*Bhagavataḥ kōṭī śabdaloḥ loko abhyudhato arham samyaksambudho vidyācaranasiḥpamāḥ
sugato lokaviparaḥ puruṣadamyaśrathih śāstā devānaḥ ca manuṣyānaḥ ca budho bhagavān
paścakṛu samanbāgataḥ.*

Analysis of the details of these spells must be postponed for the present. The vivid picture of the Garuḍa as a paramount storm-deity of Nature speaks for itself, whilst the popular terror against disease and drought demons is reflected in the rampant Nāga worship dating to pre-Vedic times.

The dramatic birth of the Spell-goddess ("The invincible One of The White Umbrella The Turner aside of Evil") from the head of Buddha forms, I would point out, an exact parallel to the Greek myth of the birth of Athene (the helmeted Minerva, also a 'Turner aside of Evil' and sustodian of the thunderbolts) from the head of Zeus.

MISCELLANEA.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED COPPERPLATES GRANT OF BHASKARAVARMAN OF KAMARŪPA.

THE name of Bhaskaravarman, the friend and contemporary of Harshavardhana, is not unknown to the readers of *Hsi-yu-chi* of Yuan Chwang or the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Very recently

a copper plate grant has been discovered at a village called Nidhanpur in Parganah Paticha-khapla in the district of Sylhet, which was issued by Bhaskaravarman from camp at Karpasuvarpa. The grant consisted of four copper plates whereof the third is now missing; so that at present there are only three plates, the first, the second and the fourth containing inscriptions of four pages, both the

sides of the second plate being written. It is stated in the last verse that the original plates had been burnt and so new plates were issued with inscriptions written in characters differing from the former. The seal with which the plates were found tied bears witness to the destruction of the original plates by fire as it has been bent and shattered, the inscription in it all obliterated and the figure of the elephant—which was the seal-mark of the ancient kings of Kāmarūpa—has also been rendered very indistinct. Apparently, though the plates were renewed, the seal was not thought worth renewal.

The most important information that we get from this grant is the names of the ancestors of King Bhāskara-varman. The following is a tabular statement showing the names, but from this the names of the mythological kings Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta have been omitted :

Pushya Varman	
Samudra Varman	
(Queen Dattadevi)	
Balavarman	
(Q. Ratnavati)	
Kalyāṇa Varman	
(Q. Gandharvati)	
Gaṇapati Varman	
(Q. Yajñavati)	
Mahendra Varman	
(Q. Suvratī)	
Nārāyaṇa Varman	
(Q. Devavati)	
Mahabhūta Varman	
(Q. Vijñānavati)	
Chandramukha Varman	
(Q. Bhogavati)	
Śhṛta Varman	
(Q. Nayanadevi)	
Susthita Varman alias Śrī-Mrigāṅka	
(Q. Syāmādevi)	
Supratashhita Varman	Bhāskara Varman

It is interesting to note that the names of the four immediate ancestors of Bhāskara Varman

occur in the *Harshacharita* (*Uchchheda VII*) of Bālabhāṭṭa : there the genealogy is as follows :—

Bhūti Varman
|
Chandramukha Varman
|
Śhṛti Varman
|
Susthita Varman alias Mrigāṅka
(Q. Syāmādevi)
|
Bhāskara Varman

The discrepancies are small and negligible—and they were due apparently to Bāṭa's careless notes about what the ambassador of Bhāskara-varman had said to king Harshavardhana, or to the errors of the scribes who copied the *Harshacharita*. There can be no doubt that the names as found in the inscriptions are correct, as they were written under the immediate superintendence of the king himself.

Two very important points arise in connection with these inscriptions: (1) when and how Karpasuvarpa came under the sway of the king of Kāmarūpa; and (2) was Sylhet within the political jurisdiction of Kāmarūpa.

I have discussed these points in detail elsewhere¹ and the conclusions arrived at are: (1) Karpasuvarpa became a part of the territory of Bhāskara-varman when, after the death of Harshavardhana (in 648 A. D.) the former rendered material help to the Chinese invader Wang Hsien Tai in crushing Arjuna (or Arupāṭya) who had usurped the throne of Harsha; and (2) Sylhet which had a separate existence as *Shih-hi-cha-to-lo* mentioned by Yuan Chwang, did not form part of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa; the plate where the record of locality of the grant was expected having been lost and there being instances of discovery of copper plates far beyond the locality of the grants, it cannot be asserted from the mere accident of the find, that the land granted by these plates belonged to the district of Sylhet.

These copper plates bear the most ancient record hitherto discovered in Assam: and as they contain the names of kings who—assuming at the rate of four in a century—reigned from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the seventh century A. D., these plates are most important documents to a student of the ancient history of Assam.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYA.

¹ In Bengali, *Vijay* Vol. I, No. 10; *Bangpur Sahityaparishad Patrika* Vol. VII—In English an article is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FIRST ENGLISH
COMMERCIAL MISSION TO PATNA, 1620—1621.

EDITED BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from page 69).

X.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 28 December 1620. Good Freinds, Mr. Fettiplace etts. Yours of the 27th November is come to our hands, wherein wee perceave of the receipt of our formers and that our goods sent you hence came in convenient tyme with saftye to accompany yours for Surat, wherof we are glad . . . We will give your accompt credit . . . for the 33 pces. bone lace sent by Shek Cassums [Shekh Kâsim's] man . . . Wee perceave of your purpose to retourne Dyalla [Dyâlâ] our servant with some goods. [The remainder of the letter concerns the price of raw silk at Patna; the reduction in the cost of winding if the 2d and 3d, and 4th and 5th sorts are wound together; and the stoppage in procuring both silk and cloth owing to want of funds].

Wee have now but to rest in expect of monye, newes of the fleets arryvall and the retourne of our expresse which brought yu our letter for England to convey to Surat.⁴⁰

XI.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to Mr. Francis Fettiplace etc., in Agra.

Patna, 29 December 1620. Our good freinds, Two dayes since arryved here Dyalla who brought yours of the ultimo November and the goods therein specified . . . nor have wee more herewith to adde, as havinge done nothinge since our last (which was 6 dayes past by a Bazar Cassid [kâsid, messenger]), as nott havinge monyes left, and therefore must lie idle untill you furnishe us.⁴¹

XII.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 31 January 1621. Lovinge Friends: Maye it please you take notice that after longe expectation and desier to here from you, the 24th presant wee received yours of the prime December . . . In [our letter] of the 11th November wee answered yours of the 5th September, therin endeavouringe your better satisfaction for the hoped good of this place, and the reasons which induced us to conceave it a meete residence, which was strengthened by the plentye of Commodities it affords, bothe for England and Persia, referinge all to your determinationes . . . Wee have bine longe in expectation of suplye from Agra, which is not yet come, the defaulte wherof hath lost us four mounthes tyme wherin much good mought have bine done in this place; and if for what here shalbe provided you requier to bee dispeeded hence before the raynes, theye must bee gone hence by the prime Maye at farthest, unto which is but 3 mounthes, and yet wee have no meanes wherwith to proceede . . .

In our last wee wrought [wrote] you what quantitie of ailke and callicoes a yeares tyme and store of monyes would compasse by the course wee have taken; the former not here to bee provided in the condition the Company requier it from the dellers [dealers]

⁴⁰ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 19.*

⁴¹ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 20.*

therin, for that theye are soe poore and begerlye that theye cannot furnishe us without trustinge them with monyes beforehand, which course wee dare not attempt, theye not beinge able to give securitye for performance. The unacustomed wyndinge it of into so manye sortes in this place is a sutfient reason why not so well performed as in Agra and Lahore, where theire use therof for weavinge of tafites, etto., requiers it. And for the originall or serbandy, thousands of maunds is allwaise to bee bought in Agra, thoughte not at such easye rates as here or in Bengall, and if what alredye provided shall induce you to animate us futturiye for anye large provisiones therin, our selves know not how to prescribe a better course for its procuringe in quantitie at esier rates then formerly advized you, unlesse you would send into Bengalla, a hundred and fortye course from this place, to the cittye of Mucksoudabad [Maksûdâbâd, Murahidâbâd] where it is made, which would bee worth bothe labor and charge, for wee are asured that there it maye be provided in infinite quantities at least twenty per cent. cheaper then in anye other place of India, and of the choyssest stufe, wounde of into what condition you shall requier it, as it comes from the worrne; where are also innumerable of silkwynderes, experte workmen, and labor cheaper by a third then elce where. But untill your farther resolution therin wee shall endeavor accordinge to your order the provision of what quantitie therof meanes and tyme will permit, as also of sahannes and such sortes of amberty callicoos as you advize of. For other provisions, thoughte in th' intrime wee receive suplye from Agra, wee shall defer untill your farther injunotions.

Wee . . . thank you for sending our English letters. Your detayninge them so longe in Surratt before theire dispeed was not soe prejudittiall for our replye therunto as was your messingers delayes on the waye, who (it seemes) betwene Surrat and Agra spent almost 40 dayes, and from Agra hether^{15.43}

XIII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 3 March 1621. Our last unto you was answere unto yours of the prime December, dispeeded hence the ultimo January, and two dayes since was received your letter of the 15th January, replye to our formeres of the last October and 11th November, wherin wee perceave what you apprehende of the sortes Amberty Callicoos Lackhower producoeth, as well for theire lenghets, breadths as prizes, wherin wee also perceave you to bee mistaken in the lenghet of the Jehanger Coved, you mentioninge it to bee but 32½ Inches, whereas Elahye [Elâhi] of Agra is full that lenghet. And the Jehangery coved of this place no lesse then 40 Inches which wants not much of our English ell and makes greate diferance bothe in the length and breadthe of our Ambertyes. So that governinge your selves by the shorter coved it could not but give you just occasion to conceave the narrowest sortes unfitting either for England or transporte, as likewise the broader sortes to come shorte in theire lenghets and breadthes for the use of sheetinge. shirtinge, etts., whereas rightlye apprehendinge them in their trewe lenghets and breadthes, questionles would have animated you to a better opynion of them. And wee doubt not but the well makinge of the Clothe (wherin it exceeds either Samanes [samâna]⁴³ or your Baftaes [bâflâ] will make it of good esteeme in England And wee shall endeavor what possible the provision of onlye such as for breadthes and lenghets, price, etts., maye bee well approved of, purposinge our Investments onlye in the two broader sortes, to saye, Zefer Conyes and

⁴³ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 20-21.*

⁴³ A fine cloth made at Samâna, now in Patilâ State.

Jehangeres and those to bee, the Zefer Conyes all under 2 rupas. per peece and the Jehangeres of all prizes to 8 rupas. per peece, the quantitties of each you determine to enorder wee will, accordinge to your promise, expecte, and in the meanetyme proceede therin, and in silke so farr as our meanes will permitt, havinge now received some suplye from Agra, Viz., in 6 bills exchange 5003 rupas. . . . [We] have sent to Lackhoure to Mr. Parker 2500 rupas. to bee doinge there in the browne clothe, and have paid some debts for silke bought on Creditt, And now wee have monyes, purpose to laye in 50 or 60 mds. serbandy ware, so that untill your farther order, our provisions shalbe onlye silke, Ambertyes and Sahanes, if to bee gott . . .

Muckrob Con [Mukarrab Khân] is by the Kinge recalled from this Government, it beinge given Sultan Pervize [Parwiz], whoe is shortlye expected.

The yeare is allreadye so farr spent that it is impossible all our provisions should bee dispeeded to Agra before the raynes. What maye bee provided betwene this and the prime Maye shall then bee sent you, and the rest with the first oppertunitye after the raynes are spent And see not havinge eloe &c.⁴⁴

XIV.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 3 March 1621. Mr. Fettiplace &c. The last of the passed mounth came hether . . . yours of the 15th ditto, wherinclosed I received 6 bills exchange Importinge the mentioned some of 5003 rupas. the which are all Currantly [generally] accepted and doubte not but of as good satisfaction, theire owners being reported for Currant [accepted] dealers . . . havinge taken up parte therof, Viz., of Sunder Mydas [Sundar Mâyâdâs] 1000 rupas. and have cleared Maun Muckon [Mân mukand] their bill of 500 rupas. Basesar Mera [Bisheshar ? Mall] hath a good reporte which is the best of his sutfitanye I can yet advize you . . . Chaunseyshaw [Chândsahai Shâh] hathe a sonne in Agra with whome if you deale in this kinde you maye rest confident of good satisfaction to bee here made by his father whoe in our experience is the Currant delar of Puttana . . .

Wee . . . apprehend what you advize of the sortes of Course silke sent you for saile in Agra. Wee cannot mervell that those sortes are in so littell esteeme at presant, in regard, since theire dispeede hence, th' originall from whence theye are taken of is fallen in price almost 30 per cent. Wee are ofered for our Shekestye a rupyee net per sear to sell it here, and thinke to put that sorte of at about that rate rather then trouble you therewith. Onlye our Cuttaway and Gird wee will detayne untill your farther approbation.

Wee conceave Surrats order for th' investinge the presant monyes sent. Theye are stranglye mistaken in our Jehanger Coved . . . the misconceypte wheron theye ground theire opynions maye not bee our guide, and therfor . . . wee will proceede accordinge to our owne judgment in our Lackhour investments.

Th' exchange hence to Agra beinge to our presant advantage I have ventered takinge up 2000 rupas. more upon you at 1½ per Cent. losse havinge received here of Maun Muckon [Mân mukand], sherafoe [sarraf] 1,002½ rup. muryes [for nuryes, *nuri*, newly-coined], to bee by you repayed in Agra unto Cassy [Kâsi] and Basesar [Bisheshar] in 2,000 rup. honds [hundi, bill of exchange] . . . the bill . . . is written at 40 dayes Bandy mudet [band-i-mudat, term for settlement] . . . Th' occasion the exchange hence to Agra

⁴⁴ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 22.*

is of late so fallen is for that Muokrob Con [Makarrab Khān] hathe delivered out 3 lackes of rupees to bee repaid him in Agra. Now beinge both in Cash and Creditt, I promise farther not to trouble you untill your answere hereunto, feringe lest I mought bee more bould than Convenient. Yet if your suplyes from Surratt have encouraged you, you shall doe well to strengthen us with 5 or 6000 rupees more out of hand, for which wee shall have speedye Employment . . .

The Parda [parda, tapestry curtain], Looking glasse, 2 peeces moheres [mohair] and 280 pices weight amber beades I delivered into Muokrob Cons Circare and am promised [payment] . . . Hee departes hence (by reporte) within theise eight dayes, and already Perveze his servants have umull [*'amal*, authority]. Seaventeene peeces of the bone lace I have sould Shekassame [Shekh Hasan] for 216 rupees, which is received. The rest of the lace remaynes. Most of theire papers were lost before come to my hands, so that I was fayne to guse [guess] at theire partikuler prizes . . .⁴⁵

XV.

To the Agra Factory.

Patna, 31 March 1681. Lovinge Friends: My last unto you was answere to youres of the 15th February . . . since which have I received the second bills [of exchange] by Guarshaw [Gauhar Shāh] your expresse, whome I retourned with pertickuler answere the 13th present . . . And now let mee intreate you take notice of what hath passed with us since . . . I have at sundrey tymes Caried and sent to Mr. Parker at Lackhoure 4000 rupees which is almost all invested in the browne Ambertyes of those partes . . . which (as bought) are put out to whittinge, and now havinge more meanes will suplye that place with what parte therof maye bee spared. I have bought about 30 mds. serbandye silke [at betwene 70 and 80 rupees per md.]⁴⁶ and have workemen in paye to winde it of, and as you strengthene us with meanes, shall accordinglye persist in that investment, for in aught elce of this place wee medell not, untill receive order from Surratt, save in sahannees and hamommes. Of the latter I have bought about 6 corge, and as such sortes come to hand shall ingroce them.

In my last I advized you howe I had cleared with Muokrob Con for those thinges delivered into his circare, to saye, for the parda or peece of tapestrye,⁴⁷ 300 rupees; as much for the greate looking glasse; 50 rupees for 2 peeces moheres; and 280 rupees for 280 pices weight amber beades. Hee is at present removed from hance and gon for Helabaze [Allahābād], and doubtles will for Agra; whoe if come to you, I praye demandaund of his sonne, Shek Alaboxe [Shekh Allāh Bakhsh], 18 rupees for two Bulgare hydes delivered him. And thus have you brefflye th'efecte of what hath passed with us in our afayeres since my last. And now I entreate you take notice what likewise hathe hapned by disaster. The 24th present, beinge Saterdaye, about nune, at the west parte of the subarbes belonginge to this citye, at least a course without the walles, in th' Allum gange, [Alamganj], a tirable fier kindled, which havinge consumed al those partes, by the fource of a stronge andye [*āndhī*, a dust-storm], brake into the citte and within the space of two greeces⁴⁸ came into the very harte therof, where our abode is; whoe beinge enviorned

⁴⁵ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 23, 24.*

⁴⁶ Added from the letter to Surat which follows.

⁴⁷ *Parda* means a heavy curtain; the "peece of tapestry" must have been for use as a curtain and not as a wall-hanging.

⁴⁸ *Ghart*, a native hour, about half an English hour, so "two greeces" would mean one hour.

with neighboringe choperes [*chhappar*, thatched roof] (wherof indeede the whole cittye consistes), it was no more then tyme to looke to our owne, which were not many, yet more then in so littell a warninge could bee conveyed of, althoughe I wanted not th' assistance of almost a hundred of my workmen then at worke. But where the contrary element was wantinge, it was littele bote to contend with the furye of thother; and therfor gave waye to its voyolence of fourse, to save that which most requiered ayde in this necessitie which was the mayne of our maisteres goods then under charge, which by good helpe I conveyed by a back waye into a stone house neare adjoyninge. But before it was entirlye effected, a choper before my chamber toke fyre, and in an instant was consumed, as also the chamber itselfe and all that therein was, save my accompts and monyes, which with as much difficultye as dainger I stayned; of ought eloe not anye signe left of what it was; wherof belonginge to the Companye in a chest was theise pertiokuleres—the remaynder of the bone lace, 16 peeces; the amell [enamel], safron and one peece mohere, with some verouerds [*barâward*, proportion] of silke taken, and other trifells standinge in the tankes,⁴⁰ which with all that was once myne and the litell houshold stufe wee had, was entierlye lost. The rest, throughe Gods providence, had an unexpected deliverance. From hence it proceeded eastward unto the verye scirtes of the towne, where, wantinge more combustible matter to mayntayne it selfe, was constreyned to stinke and goe out, havinge left behinde litell save ruines of olde walles, etto. The infinite losses of all men by this disaster are almost incredible to bee reported, besides men, woemen, and children registerde *saptacs* [*sati*, burnt alive] upwards of three hundred. And so much lett suffice for relation herof.

The 28th present came hether your exprese . . . with yours of the 16th March and therinclosed 4 bills of exchange importinge 5000 rups. . . . Two of the bills sent on Sunder Mudas [Sunder Mâyâdâs] was instantly acksepted, but the third importinge 1500 rups. I had much adoe to put upon them, for althoughe it was written on them, yet (as theye saye) not by their shawe [*shâhâ*, banker] but by one Calyane [Kalyân] of Agra, in whose afaires it seemes formerlye theye have had some trust, but his gamoshtye [*gomâshita*, agent] latlye beinge gon hence for Agra with his goods caused them to make question of restitution, yet after much arbitrament this morninge theye acksepted it, which havinge doun, I instantlye, to avoyde sutter jogrees [*sattâ jhagrâ*, quarrels about bonds] caused them to paye in the monye, abatange for the tyme, which theye have done, but have not taken in the bill, for that upon advice from Agra in case that should their prove difficulte theye purpose to Nat Care [*nakâr*, dishonour] it and use our Cusmona [*khâs nâma*, letter of credit] for recoverye of the debte theire from the said Calyane . . .

. It is much to our disadvantage that you writte your bills at so longe a date of payment, wheras written at twise sevens dayes berbust [*barbast* (custom), sight] and send no worse Cassads [*kâsid*, messenger] then this (whoe came in a leavene [11] dayes, there would bee much save in the deheig [*dahyek*, discount]).

The exchange thence to Agra is at present but 1½ rups. per Cent. lose betwene the tasye siokaw [*tâsa-sikkâ*, newly coined] and the hondye [*hundi*] rupee,⁵⁰ and but that you have promised sepdlye [? speedily] more suplye by exchange from you, on occasion, wee would have taken it up here, which would have bine more profitable. . . .⁵¹

⁴⁰ This sentence means that the portion of the silk that had been wound off, and the cocoons still in the tanks were all destroyed.

⁵⁰ Rupees remitted by bill of exchange.

⁵¹ *Factory Record's, Patna, 3, 24-25.*

XVI.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna 11 April 1621. Lovinge Friends, Mr. Biddulpe and Mr. Fettiplace. My last unto [you] was of the ultimo last mounthe . . . since which on the 7th present came hether this berer with your last of the 25th March, wherunto in answere.

Inclosed I received second bills for the prementioned 8000 rupe, and fower bills more Importinge 3000 rupe, are all Currantly ackoepted. The bill of Mollas [Mallā] for a thousand rupees is written at twice seaven dayes berbust [sight] but all the rest at 41 dayes after theire date.

I aprehend what you entende wee should doe with our course sortes of silke taken of for the serbandy and will endeavor it, if not better hopes for its sayle at Agra, the charge of transporte, etts. considered, but the prizes as rated in our last Invoyce you maye not expekte to bee now obtayned, for that the tymes are otherwise, Th'originall from whence theye are parted beinge (as often advized) a savoye [savoy, 25 p. c.] fallen in price over what it then was, and so proportionablye theise Courser sortes. In your next I praye advize us of theire trewe value with you, for therby will wee governe our selves either for its detention or sayle here, for by Merchants that purposelye come from Agra to make theire provisions in theise sortes wee are informed that Agra vends greate quantityes therof, and at much better rates then here it can bee sould.

Since my last wee have done littell save prosecute our silke and Amberty Provisiones, wherin wee over slip no oportunitye which maye bee to advantage and are in dalye expekte for what elce Surrat shall enorder, that tymlye wee maye make entrance therin. Wee shall not expekte more monyes from you untill you have approbation from Surrat for our further suplye which cannot bee to soone.

Wee have ventured 500 rup. to Mucksoudabaude [Maksūdābād, Murshidābād] for samples [of] silke of the sortes wee provide, rather for experience of that place then the necesitye, therof, beinge encouradged therunto by good liklyehood of principall commoditye and at much easier rates then theise partes afordes. The voyadge is but two monthes, which when expired and retorne made wee will advize you more of the event.

Sultan Parvez is shortlye expected here, and if you intende a settled employment, it would not bee enconvenient that you sent us somthinge wherwith wee might make causmana [kāśa nāma] with him, and (if so stored) somthinge for saile, it would bee a furtherance to the rest of our busines to make friends wherof, since Muckrob Cones departure, wee are altogether destitute.⁵²

XVII.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 19 May 1621. Lovinge Friends, Mr. Biddulpe etts. Yours of the 20th Aprill came to our hand the 14th present wherin wee received bill of exchange importinge 8000 rupe. . . . All save the two bills of Maune Mookonde [Mānmukand] were written as you advized, twice 7 days berbust [barbast, sight] . . .

Wee have likewise received a Coppy of the list for what goods are required by Surrat this yeare, and shall endeavor our utmost for theire satisfaction in what theirof theise partes afordes. Upwards of 4000 pces. Ambertyes (of the sorte preadvized) are alredaye provided, which wee will endeavor to enlarge to what quantitye more tyme

⁵² *Factory Records, Patna, I, 27-28.*

and meanes will permitt, as also for silke in the Condition theye ayme at, though doubt we shall come much shorte in the quantity, the yeare beinge already so far spent, and but barre [barely] 3 months left us for th'effectinge this yere provisions to bee despatched hence with the first oportunitie after the raynes, which wilbe about the season our last yeres goods went hence; and therefore to avoyde farther trouble then, what goods wee have readye wee have despatched towards you, and are as you may perceave by a brieve invoyce therof here inclosed. They were this morninge laden on two Carts and have made their first Mansull [*manzil*, stage]. Wee have paid in parte of their freght 74½ rups. and have given the Carters a bill on you to receive 8 rups. more in full therof [if] they deliver them you in safe and good condition, and are in all 17 bales qt. [containing] 52 mds. net, hired at 1½ rups. I take [*takā*]⁵³ per md. net, the Current price of the Carravan theye goe in Companye with, and maye bee about a hundred Carts more. Notwithstandinge, for their better safeguard, wee have sent you Dyalla our servant and 6 Tierandazee [*tierandāz*, archer, guard] more, have paid them in full of their Journye, and have delivered Dyalla 10 rups. to defraye their charges on the waye. . . .

You will perceave that wee have sent you all our coarse silke, havinge not founde here buyers for such a quantitye, which if you put of as you advise them to bee worthe there, theye will not come to a bad market. Howsoever wee thought it more convenient to send it you now then to detain it untill after the raynes, in regard there is hopes you maye put it of tymlye enough to have it's proceede agayne recent to bee this yeare invested, which after the raynes wilbe to late, and by that tyme wee shall agayne bee furnished with a greate parcell to trouble the market.

It seemes you have received but littell fine goods from Surratt which although not enordered for presantly, yet a trifell would at instant have stooode our busines in some steede if wee mought or maye yet expecte it from you, for from Surrat it will come to late to further our this yeres necessitye, and for the next wee expecte not.⁵⁴

XVIII.

To the Agra Factory.

Patna, 2 June 1621. Good Friends, Mr. Biddulph etts. . . . Maye it please you take notice that the prime present came hether this bearer with yours of the 18th Maye, and therinclosed second bills for the 8000 rups. last sent and eight other bills of Exchange for 8000 rups. more . . . with a transcript of our late beloved frande Mr. Fetiplaces Testament, for whose Lose wee are hartilye Contrite. God graunt us all whom hee hathe left behinde to bee assiduallye myndfull of the waye he hathe led us, that wee maye with the more Comforte be prepared to followe him when the Lord shall caule us. . . .

Wee apprehend Surrats resolution for the desolving this factory (our this yeres provisions beinge accomplished), and wee will as neare as possible endeavor to follow direction, as well for effectinge their disieres in the Commodities of these partes as for our speedy dispatche therin, for the sendinge hence our Investments with the first and convenient transport, which will not bee (as often advertized) untill the raynes are spent, to saye about the prime October. And whereas you desier Robert Hughes his present repaire for Agra,

⁵³ The hiring price was therefore 1 rupee 12 annas and a *takā*. The copper *takā* (not the silver, which was a rupee) was 2 or 4 pice (*paisā*) and the pice was a quarter anna; so one *takā* would be worth from a half to one anna. The context presumes that it was half an anna, which makes the hiring price to be R. 1 12½ as.

⁵⁴ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 28.*

necessity answers that the heate of our present busines and Mr. Parkers indisposition of helthe [whoe almost theise 3 monthes hath layne daingerouslye sicke of the bloody fluxe]⁵⁵ will not permit it untill the last of the raynes, unless it please God speedilye to strengthen Mr. Parker whoe hath not theise two monthes, nor is not at instant in case to mannadge theise afaires which lie disperst. Yet you maye not doubte of our utmost diligence to the hastninge our beinge with you.

You shall not neede to send anye further suplye of monye untill farther advice; th' exchange from hence at present is somuch to our losse that wee shall withhold drawinge bills on you untill necessitye urge it.

Our Lackhowre Investments are exceeded to upwards of 5000 pces. fine and course Ambertyes, which quantitie wee hope at least to trebell by that tyme wee shall with convenyency bee readye to dispatche hence.

The Princes (Prince Parwiz) arrivall here with so greate a retienewe hath made this place to narowe for his entertaynment, which hath caused the removinge diverse, as well merchants as others, from their aboades, whose houses hee hath liberallye bestowed on his servants; amongst which couppelment wee are displaced, and have bine theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, though but with grasse [grass], to debar the heate and raynes, now in excesse; which havinge now attayned throughe the helpe of Mr. Monye [by paying a high price], wee endeavor agayne the plasinge our silkwynders, in which employment you maye not expecte us this yeaere to exceed above as much more as alredye have, And wee hould it suftient, beinge but a triall, so you cannot but conceave the necessitye of friends, and us destitute wherewithall to make them.⁵⁶ . . .

XIX.

To the Surratt Factory.

Patna, 2 June 1621. Good Friends, Mr. Rastell etts. . . In all wee have received from them [at Agra] for our this yeaeres investments 20,000 rupees, besides the proceeeds of some sailes here. Theye advize not of anye more monyes theye purpose to sende us, as thinkinge what alredye sent suftient to keepe us imployed the littell tyme now left us, but wee hope to drawe from them seasonablye to bee invested at least 10000 rupees, more, for that theye advize Mr. Younge hath littell hopes for th' accomplishinge th' one halfe of the narowe clothe you expecte from thence, which defaulte wee will endeavor to salve by enlarginge them here.

We formerly also advized you of the dispeeche hence for Agra what goods wee had then readye, which were 13 bales silke and 4 bales Callicoes which were sent hence the 18th last monthe.⁵⁷ . . .

XX

To the Surat Factory.

Lackhowre, 3 August 1621. Loving Friends, Mr. Rastell etts. . . 3 dayes past came to my hands yours of the 8th June . . . whereby I perceave you . . . requyer ample and sudden replye to the points of your present received, which . . . I shall endeavour.

And first i wonder at your hopes for soe sudden a dispatche in our Investments, Consideringe you are not ignorant of the late supplye of monyes for its effectinge sent

⁵⁵ Added from the letter to Surat which follows

⁵⁶ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 20-30.*

⁵⁷ *Factory Records, Patna, I, 30-31.*

us which beeinge allmost spent before the first mo [nyes] came, and haveinge formerly both amply and frequently advized of the seasons for transporte of goods hence, which if before the raynes must be the latest in Maye, and if after, it is not to bee expected that caryage can possibly be gotten untill October, here beeinge noe other conveyance to Agra but by carts, which by reason of the rottenes of the wayes in the season of the raynes passeth nott. And what of our provisions in the first season was ready, wee gave Conveyance to . . . and with the first opportunity will proceed with the complete transporte of our full investments which will be (at the soonest) about the fine of th' ensewinge month.

In our lynnen Investments we have endeavoured to follow the honble. Companys and your orders, whereunto we have unyted our owne experyence and Judgments, haveinge with noe little labour and toyle at present attained to the provizion of 475 Corges or 9500 pces. upwards of the $\frac{3}{4}$ ds. wherof are all at or under two rup. nett the pce., as bought browne from the loome, and are the desired breadthes, to say, the second sorte generally knowne by the name of Jafferchane: [*zafar-khāni*], which both for length and breadth will parallel, if nott exceed, your narrowe Barroch baftaes. The remaynder are fynar, broader, and hyer, pryzed, to say, from all pryzes from two to six rup. the peece, samples wherof, as well browne, white and starched, we intended to have sent you undemanded, whereby you may guesse at our penyworths [profit], and accordingly resolve or desist from further provizions thereof.

In regard you have called us away from hence with what convenient speede may possible, of force hath caused the lettinge fall of our silke provizions, especyallye for the cleeringe and gatheringe up of our rests with the silkewynders, soe that we shall not much exceed what we have allready dispeeded to Agra, neither have we met with any more *sāhāns* since we advized you of the 12 corges last bought.

Some Lignum Aloes we have provyded for tryall in England, of severall sorts and pryzes, from 2 to 10 rups. the seare of 33 pices wt. in all to the valew of aboute 400 rups., and now are lookinge out for musters of what other commodities which in our judgments these parts may afford fittinge either England or Persia, for provizion whereof John Parker is now in Puttana, unto whose postscript I partly referr you, my selfe haveinge bene here in Lackhoare allmost these 6 weekes to fynish these provizions and gather up our cloth at the washers, which this month I hope will be all come in, and packt ready to transporte.

Mr. Biddulphe lately advized us to mak provizion of the gumlacke mentioned in your list, which we conceave (considderinge the great freight from hence) will cost itts worth in Agra; notwithstanding, some wee will provyde, though butt for a future tryall. The best is worth at present $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupa. nett per md., and the Caryage from hence to Agra will be half soe much more, whereof we have advized to Agra to th' end they may provyde the greatest part there. The Amber beads sould Mockrobchan [*Mukarrab Khān*] at soe good rates was more by Accydent then through any great esteeme they are in these parts, which those we received there, as many more from Agra, which for want of vent yett lyeth by, beeinge in the Bazar worth nott above 8 or 9 rups. the sere of 14 pices, which by reportes they are better worth in Agra, which hitherto hath caused theire detention in hopes of a better market, but now we shall endeavour to put them off at pryce Current, rather then Cary them back.

Att my first cominge into these parts, Among the sondry other Commodities, I enquired after the vent and esteeme of ourrall [*ooral*], but could not learne it to bee a commodity worth the transporte from Suratt, it not vendinge in any great quantity nor the valew

truely knowne without sight of the sortes, which occasioned but a spareinge advice thereof, yett incerted it in my list of the valew of sondry other Commodities then sent Mr. Kerridge and Company. Yett for your better sattisfaction I have intreated John Parker to make further inquiry thereof, from whome you may be pleased to expect enlargement in this point. . . .

. Haveinge advized you of the scope and effect of my present abroad here, have nott whereof to enlarge. . . . ⁵⁸

XXI.

John Parker's "Postscriptum."

Paina, 7 August 1621. . . . Of the price and esteeme of currall in these parts .

. I have enquiryed of the merchants which deales most in that commodity, who, as they say, never saw unpollished currall brought into these parts, which if I mistake nott, is the sort you seeke vent for. In other places it is much spent to burne with the dead; which here they use nott. And for pollishinge or cuttinge it into beads, hear are nott workmen that hath skill therein; and therefore noe commodity for this place. Polished currall will sell here, but in small quantity; and at what pryce I cannot informe you, the quallity thereof beeing soe different. Currall beads is very well requested for transports into Bengala, and great quantities thereof will yearly vend, to say for 50 or 60,000 rup., at or about the pryces followinge, viz., those of 12 beads to a tanke [*tanke*—4 *māshā*] at 6 tanks for a rup., of 6 to a tanke at 2 tanks for a rup., of 4 to a tanke at 1½ tanks per rup., of 3 to a tanke at 1½ per rup., and soe accordinge to their hignes.⁵⁹ For the sale of our remaynder of amber beads, we must now governe our selves by those sould Mookrobhan, those beeing all choise beads which you cannot but judge will somewhat disadvantage the sale of the rest. Besides, those sent hither were for the most parte of the 2 worst sorts, which, as wee were informed in Agra, were the sorts most vendable here, and questionlesse are, accordinge to their valew, butt the best sort will sell for more mony though nott for more proffitt; therefore it is nott much [wonder] that those sould in Agra were sould at for good rates, they beeing one with another as received from Suratt, besydes was helped with the best sort which was chosen out of the parcell sent hither. I have shewed them to dyvers merchants since Mr. Hughes his beeing at Lackhoare, butt cannott attayne to above 9 rup. the sere, at which rate rather then retourne them for Agra would putt them off, butt it is nott a commodity which yeilds ready mony, and by reason of our sudden departure I dare nott trust them out, though should be promysed payment within ten daies. For the future sendinge of which commodity I cannott anymate you, it beeing a commodity that will nott sell in any great quantity, but in small parcells, as for 100 and 150 rup., which will nott goe far therein; soe a small quantity will furnish a great many of these merchants.

I have not yett provyded the gum-lacke, nor eloe for musters, the merchants, brokers, shopkeepers etto, of the citty beeing all in trouble for mony which the Prince requyers them to furnish him with; Soe that none dares be seene to sell a pyce worth of goods. But

⁵⁸ *Factory Records, Paina, I, 31-32.*

⁵⁹ Taking the Jeweller's *māshā* at 15 grs. Troy, then the meaning of this statement is that small beads of 5 grs. sold at 72 for the rupee; beads of 10 grs. at 12 to the rupee; beads of 15 grs. at 7 to the rupee; beads of 20 grs. at 4½ to the rupee; and so on. This statement shows that the small 5 gr. beads were much commoner than any other sort.

now he beeinge gone I shall soone imploy the small matter intended therein. We have at present about 4000 rups, in cash, 2000 whereof will run out in expences, charges, and transporte of our goods. The rest I shall endeavour to disburse accordinge to Mr. Hughes his direction and myne owne discretion. . . . 60

XXII.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Honnorable Company.

Patna, 14 August 1621. Honnourable and right Worshipfull . . . Our last yeares letter dated the ultimo November . . . The Cargazone of our goods therein mentioned and sent hence came both safely and seasonably to Agra, and from thence goods was dispatched for Suratt, which and the whole Caffalo [*kāfila*] was most unfortunatly robed and spoyled by the Deoans Armye,⁶¹ for which we have just cause to be sory, soe shall rest till time shall procure your Worships a full restitution, which we hartly pray for, and hope it will prove as successfull as the losse was disastrous.

Wee haveinge the last yeare made some small tryall into the Commodities of this place, and accordingly advized thereof to Suratt, we had their approbation for a this yeares Continuanee and promise of speedy suplye of monyes for the effectinge some good Investments, as well in silke as Callicoes. Butt the late arryvall of the last yeares fleet, with dyvers other hindrances and Impediments in Suratt, occasioned us unexpectedly to remayne here untill March last before they had meanes to remitt us monyes as pretended, in which interim we endeavoured the saile of dyvers brayed [damaged] goods formerly received from Agra, which haveinge effected, to the valew of 4000 rups., the proceed whereof beeinge received, we incontinently imployed it, parte in Bengala silke and parte in Amberty Callicoes. In fine of March⁶² we received from Agra our first supplye in bills exchange for 5000 rups., and since at severall times sondry other supplies, in all bills for 32,000 rups., and therewith the transcript of a list from Suratt, which enordered the provizion of 100 mds. Bengala silke, and 20,000 pces. Amberty Callicoes of Lackhoare, with further promise of meanes for itts accomplishinge. Butt it seemes them selves beeinge streightened at Suratt, they could not supply us as determynd, nor effect what once enordered for want thereof. The monyes sent us we persisted to itts investment, which we have now brought allmost to a Conclusion, and haveinge hopes of a Conveyance from Suratt by retourne of the last yeares ships from the Red Sea could not omitt to advize your worships thus breifly thereof. Forasmuch whereof as we had attayned unto by the begininge of May last, we then sent for Agra, and was 13 bales Bengala silke, whereof 6 containing 18 mds. 12 seares of the sorts requyred by your Worships and Suratt, throwne of here into skeynes of a yard longe; the rest was of the courser sortes taken with that from th' originall or serbandy sent for saile in Agra, wherewith likewise went 3 bales containing 13 corges Amberty Callicoes and a bale containing 5½ corges Hamoms [*hammam*], the which goods . . . is arryved there in safety. Since when wee have proceeded to the investinge our monyes last sent us, and have at present attayned unto 470 corges or 9400 pces. Amberty Callicoes . . . Wee have likewyse endeavoured thaire whitinge, which is

⁶⁰ *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 32-33.

⁶¹ In 1620 hostilities were in progress between Jahāngir's forces under Prince Khurram and the rulers of the Dakhan under Malik 'Ambar.

⁶² Should be February, see *ante*, letter of 8 March 1621.

nowe almost fynished, haveinge caused 400 corges thereof to be starched, as the ordynary custome of theire cureinge is, and the remaynder beinge 70 corges, we have whited unstarched, and yett shall endeavour the makinge them up 10,000 pces., which will be the uttmost our remainder of Cash will permitt in this investment. In other sortes of Callicoes we have nor can doe little, Sahan cloth beinge scarce and nott such quantytyes thereof made, or brought hither, as your worships happily have bene enformed there is, of which sort 12 Corges is all we could, by much seekinge after, yett procure, and cost 78 rupe. nett the corge of 20 pces.

In regard of theire absolute order from Suratt to repayre with our this yeares provisions for Agra, it hath caused us the letting fall of the further provision of Bengala silke, which without a Contynuanee here is nott to be provyded in the condition expected by your worships, soe that our this yeares provisions thereof will not exceed above 25 mds. of the sorte fittinge England. And although a far greater quantity was listed us by the Council at Suratt, yett since (as it should seeme) whatt already is provyded is thought to be impugh untill further tryall thereof. This intended to be sent you we hope, both for price and goodnes, will come your worships well to passe, and yeild in England expected proffitt, beinge as good and better cheape then the sample last yeare sent.

Wee have soe deeply waded into our Callicoe Investments that at Instant we have [not] remayning in Cash (besides to beare the charges of the goods transport to Agra) above 2000 rupe., wherewith we are to endeavour the provision of some gumlacke, stuffs etts. of Bengala for musters both for England, Persia, or the Red Sea, which beinge accomplished, we will hasten our dispatch towards Agra with as much Convenyency as the season of the yeare will permitt, and lay out for Caryage to convoy our goods, which until the fine of the next month is nott here to be procured, the raynes beeinge soe vyolent, that in time thereof noe Carts passeth betweene this and Agra, and other Conveyance or meanes of transporte here is nott. Notwithstanding, we question nott but our goods shall arryve in Agra as last yeare seasonably to accompany theire this yeares Caffalow [*kāfla*] from thence to Suratt. . . in the meane tyme we shall nott onytt our uttmost diligence in the prosecutinge our present and what future affaires may bee comitted to our charge.⁶³ . . .

XXIII.

William Biddulph and John Young at Agra to the President and Council at
Surat.

Agra, 22 August 1621. They will observe the orders as to the placing of factors, and have recalled Hughes from Patna, leaving Parker in charge there until Young arrives.⁶⁴

XXIV.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the factors at Agra.

Patna, 13 September 1621. Good Freinds, Mr. Biddulphe etts. The last night came hither your expresse with yours of the 19th August and the perticular pointe in your letter from Suratt, which we have well considered, and apprehend theire order in all things, which

⁶³ *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 33-35.

⁶⁴ *Foster, English Factories in India, 1618-1621*, pp. 260-261.

[if] it had come sooner might have bin followed; butt now we having cleered (in effect) al our busines here, and att Instant are upon departure towards you, Robert Hughes affore and John Parker followeth with the Carta, which we hope accordinge to Agreement will sett out within 4 or 5 dayes more at farthest. Theire procureinge hath bin as well diffoulte as Costly, we payinge 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ rup. per md. Jehangere weight from hence to Agra Carravan Burbust [*barbast*, i.e., customary caravan rate] and hope they will be with you Accordinge to our former Advyce by the last of the ensewinge month which will be the soonest, and therefore reffer itt to your Considerations whether to detayne your goods soe longe or send a latter Caffalo. The raynes hath bin so extraordynary this yeare that extraordinary Charges cannot any way further our goods Arryvall, and therefore of necessity must attend untill the wayes are passable. Wee expect Thomas Haukeridge [Hawkridge] to meet John Parker, and soe for present Robert Hughes beinge on departure, he refers you to John Parker for larger advyce, and hastyly comends you to the Lord, restinge &c. ⁵⁵

XXV.

John Parker to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 17 September 1681. Loving Freinds, Mr. Rastell etts., You may please be advertized that 4 dayes past came hither an expresse from Mr. Biddulphe etts. in Agra who brought us Coppy of certaine points in your letter of the 14th July to them, soe well concerninge this factory as others, which arryveinge with us but the night before Mr. Hughes his departure, he had not tyme to answeare, and therefore I pray accept of this breife replye till conveniency permitt us to give you more ample sattisfaction and larger relation of our this yeares Employment which Mr. Hughes at his cominge to Agra will (questionlesse) endeavour, to whome I partly reffer you.

We apprehend your order for the future furnisheinge of this place with factors, and my stay here untill Mr. Youngs arryvall to discharge me, which before Mr. Hughes his goeinge was considdered of, and should have bin observed if had come sooner, butt having cleered (in effect) all our busines, the Carts hyred and are promised they will lade within 3 or 4 dayes, haveing noe rest in Cash, nor any employment to occasion my stay, thought better to hazard your sensure in derogatinge from your order then to putt the Company to the charge of (as we conceave) my needlesse stay, which when you Consider off and rightly apprehend, I hope will be soe charitable that wee doubt nott to appeare blamelesse. And though the way betweene this and Agra is nott very daingerous for robbers, yett nott free of taxes, as you may perceave by the transporte of our last goods from hence, which cost 14 rup. per carte, and since other merchants have paid 200 [(sic) 20] rup. per carte, soe that it is nott unrequizite that some Englishman accompanie the goods, by whose presence the greatest parte or all may peradventure be saved, which I shall endeavour.

Mr. Hughes departed hence the 13th current and went by the way of Lackhoare, to hasten away the cloth bought there to Mobulepoore ⁵⁶ which is theire place of ladinge; and appointed me to make what hast I could and send away the goods here to meet them, which

⁵⁵ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 35.*

⁵⁶ Mahab Alipur, near Masauri [Mussowrah], the Mohubalpoor of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 103, ed. 1857.

haveinge effected, to goe for Lackhoare to imbaile four or five fardells yett unpacked and clere some small matters there, and thence to proceed in company of the goods with what speed possible for Agra. . . .

In our letter of the 3d passed month you were advized the some of our Investments, since when we have done little butt gett in the cloth from whittsters, and bought 50 mds. Gum-lacke of the 3 sorts requyred, a few Makda wares for musters of commodities fitting Persia, some Ambertres of all sorts and prizes for your perusiall, etts. stuff of small vallew for musters. Wee had provyded the whole 200 mds. of lacke requyred, butt feare we should nott gett caryage for itt, which by reason of the princes remoove, and the Abowndance of raynes fallen this yeare is nott easily procured, yett have obtayned promise of see many Carts as we shall need (which will be about 18 or 20) and hope of the Carters dew performance. The freight costs deare, to say 2½ rupe. per md., which could nott be avoyded to have the goods come in season to Agra, and now the beginninge of November will be the soonest, make what hast may bee⁶⁷. . . .

XXVI

John Parker to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 17 September 1621. Loving Freinds, Mr. Biddulph etts. By our joynt letter dated the 13th ditto you will perceave that Mr. Hughes was then upon departure towards you, who proceeded accordingly by the way of Lackhoare, and expect dayly to heare of his dispeed thence, whome I purpose with the goods to follow accordinge to his order, with what Convenyent speed I may, or rather the wether permitt, for nor yett is ended the raynes butt dayly powreth downe in such quantity that I cannott gett an hower of faire wether whereby to send forth the goods, which nowe is all ready for the Carte, and attendeth nothings but the wether, which alteringe, I will take the first opportunity .

Your letter received by this bearer requyres little answer butt promise to make what hast may bee with the goods, whereof you may be ascertayned. For any thing eloe needful your knowledge (except your Comid [*kāsid*] make more speed homewards then outwards, who was 25 dayes on the way) Mr. Hughes I doubt not will be with you sooner to relate.⁶⁸ . . .

XXVII

John Parker to the Agra Factory.

[*Lackhoare*], *October 1621.* Loving Freinds, Mr. Biddulph etts., In my last of the 17th and postscript of the 21th passed month I advized you in what forwardnesse I then was and the hopes I had speedily to proceed towards you with the fruits of our employment, two dayes after date whereof I laded the Puttana goods from Mendroo Seray⁶⁹ toward Mobulepoore, and my self came hi. her to dispatch the little Mr. Hughes left here to be effected, which beeinge longe since finished, I have bin idler then willingly I would have bin; for partly by reason of the longe winter⁷⁰ (which yett is not ended) and the foulness of the wayes, I have nott yett found opportunity to send away the goods from hence. And now at last cominge to dispeed them, I fynd the packs soe heavy that they are nott port-

⁶⁷ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 36-37.*

⁶⁸ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 37.*

⁶⁹ I cannot identify this card.

⁷⁰ In fact, however, "summer," This is a very curious expression for "the rains" as being the coolest season.

able either on oxen nor by caharr [*kahār*, porter], though offer treble the freight accustomed betweene this and Mobulepoore, where the carts and rest of the goods have attended these 15 dayes, and the wayes soe untoward that in the best season of the yeare they are unpassable for carts, and camells are nott here to be procured at any rate, for whose burden these f[ardles] were intended. Yett Mr. Hughes before hee packt them agreed and gave earnest both for oxen and Cahars who then promised to accomplish and have laded hence the better halfe, but few of them able to goe thorowe, have discharged theire ladinge, some in one place, some in another, themselves run away and left me to gather the goods together, which I feare will nott bee till parte of them be repackt, which will cawse great delay. Therefore, fearinge the worst, I thought good not to detain your messenger longer, butt to advize you of the liklyhood of my tardy Arryvall with you to th'end you should Consider of detaininge any parte of your provizons in expect of ours, which (to my greife) I begin to doubte will come too late for retourne on the this yeares fleet. The Censure I shall incur there (by beeinge left here for there dispeed and Conduct) I must with patience undergoe, in soe much as cannott be avoyded. All I can doe is promise to slacke noe tyme nor oppertunity in theire dispeed hence, nor theire passage on the way, which will nott be without extraordinary charges, which I seeinge the necessity I shall the lesse respect, though will be noe more lavish then the occasion requyers. The expences I lye at is nott small, haveinge before Mr. Hughes departure entertayned almost 40 servants for the more safe Conduct of the goods, whome I could not discharge, haveinge paid them afforehand and beinge in dayly hopes of settinge forward.

Your letter of the 27th August I have received and should (to prevent the worst) have bin glad to have received the desired firmaen [*farmān*], but beeinge it was not to be had, I must hope the best, and that now the countrey is soe quyett that I shall have noe necessity thereof.⁷¹

John Parker.

XXVIII

William Biddulph, Robert Hughes, Robert Young and John Parker to the President and Council at Surat.

Agra, 23 November 1621. Mr Hughes came to this place the 10th of last month; Mr. Yonge and Mr. Willowby arrived here with there goods from Semana the 12th same month; and Mr. Parker with theire Pattana goods arrived here the 14th present.⁷²

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M. A., L. T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 48.)

CHAPTER I.

SECTION VII.

The Effects of Vijayanagar Conquest.

Political Effects.

THE Vijayanagar conquest introduced a new epoch in the history of South India. It gave rise to a singular complexity in government, by causing an influx of Telugu generals and viceroys into the Tamil land. These Telugu generals came, it should be understood, as the supporters of Pādryan authority against Muhammadan usurpation. They therefore did not interfere with the royal dignities and privileges of the restored Pādryans. Nevertheless they

⁷¹ *Factory Records, Patna, I., 38.*

⁷² *Poster, English Factories in India, 1618-1621, pp. 335-336.*

were, from this time onward, the real rulers of the land, and reduced the indigenous monarchs to the position of mere figureheads. The pride and perhaps the prejudice—for the new viceroys belonged to other castes, spoke different tongues and came from another part of the country—of the Pāṇdyans might have disliked the presence of these, their allies or rather masters; but they could not but submit, for their own sake, with tame and willing resignation, to their dominance. The history of Madura, thus, in the Vijayanagar period is the history of a dual power, of two dynasties, one locally royal and the other extraneously viceregal. The people of the kingdom of Madura (which included Tinnevely and, in later days, Trichinopoly also), in other words, had two masters, the immediate one being their own king, and the more remote one the Vijayanagar agent. As has been already mentioned, the relations between the two authorities were, probably, cordial rather than strained. Self-interest and weakness necessitated a spirit of ready compliance on the part of the Pāṇdyan rulers, while self-confidence and the possession of superior strength unconsciously led to the easy assertion of mastery on the part of the viceroys. At the same time, the viceroys do not seem to have availed themselves of their position to interfere too much in the internal affairs of the kingdom. Prosperity did not kill their prudence, nor did the allurements of power banish from them the virtue of moderation. They evidently confined themselves to the collection of tribute, the upkeep of the imperial army, and the remittance of the surplus tribute to the emperor. They, as was natural in their position, controlled the foreign policy of the king, and kept a watchful eye on his political acts and movements, his alliances and his enmities. They also helped him in the subjugation of local risings, in the encouragement of learning by means of endowments to Brahmins, and in the furtherance of all the arts of peace. But they hardly, it may be believed with Dr. Caldwell,⁴⁶ interfered much in the internal affairs of the kingdom.

Social Effects. Immigration of the Badugas.

The influence of Vijayanagar was stronger on South Indian society than on South Indian government. It in fact created a revolution in the social history of the land. For it led to a considerable immigration of men and women from the Telugu and Canarese lands to the land of the Tamils. Centuries back, the political skill and imperial statesmanship of the Chōḷa emperors had caused and promoted a large influx of Tamil soldiers,⁴⁷ servants, officers and men into the Telugu land; and now, by an act of Providence, the reverse process happened. Already, the territory covered by the Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely districts, i. e., the two kingdoms of the Chōḷas and the Pāṇdyas, had received an influx of a few Canarese people during the short life of the Hoysala supremacy; but this immigration of the 13th century was⁴⁸ on a comparatively small scale, owing the ephemeral nature of the Canarese dominion, as well as to the vehement opposition to it of the local kings and peoples. The Vijayanagar conquest was followed by such a large immigration from the north that the historian can hardly be deemed inaccurate if he describes that conquest as the conquest of the Tamilians by the

⁴⁶ See his *History of Tinnevely*.

⁴⁷ In the days of the Chōḷa Empire. See the *Madr. Ep. Reports* for numerous examples.

⁴⁸ Bishop Caldwell ascribes the construction of the Canadian Anicut and the town of Palamkottah to the Canarese immigrants of this period. See his *Hist. of Tinnevely*; also Stuart's *Tinnevely Manual*.

Badugas⁴⁹ or northerners as the Telugu and the Canarese peoples were called. The Rāyas of Vijayanagar were probably Telugus, though their capital was in the Canarese country. The imperial civil and military services consisted largely, though not entirely, of the Telugus and the Canarese. The Viceroys were Telugu, their subordinates mainly Telugu, and above all, the thousands of followers who came with them were all Telugu. Nor could it be otherwise. A Telugu dynasty supported by a Telugu army and service, could not but send forth, for its own safety, into every quarter of the empire, Telugu soldiers and rulers. Refractory chiefs had to be subdued by Telugu generals, and tributary vassals had to be watched by Telugu political Officers. The result was, there came into existence a large number of Telugu colonies⁵⁰ everywhere in the south. Throughout the Tamil country, hundreds of Telugu villages came into existence, and Telugu customs and habits, creeds and cults began to mingle in complex companionship with the Tamil ones. Many a strange festival and observance, many a household name and superstition, was brought by the conquering colonists, and the civilisation of the Tamils became mixed up with the civilisation of "the Badugas."

The causes of Baduga colonization.

The causes and circumstances of the colonization were not the same in all cases. Some colonies had a military origin. They arose from the camps of the northern army. Camps which while on march resembled, in their size and their component factors, moving cities. The presence of a large number of men, and of horses and cattle, necessitated, wherever the camp was pitched, the opening of shops and the formation of villages; so to say, of the camp-followers. The frequency of military operations compelled the presence of engineers, masons, carpenters and other artisans. The Brahmins again, were indispensable as priests, as astrologers and as accountants. In this way wherever there was a military encampment, there was necessarily a Telugu-Canarese settlement, consisting of all castes and classes of the community. The camp in time became, after the conquest, a permanent colony; and even when the army was ordered to another locality, the activities which it stimulated there were adequate enough to perpetuate the village that was brought into existence by it. In this way many Telugu villages and even towns arose. Some colonies had perhaps a different peaceful origin. They possibly arose from the men of peace following in the wake of a northern viceroy who, however, was invariably a military commander also. But the vast majority of the Telugu colonies owe their origin, not so much to the State or the army, as to the valour and enterprise of numerous private adventurers; and this is borne out by hundreds of historical MSS. They consisted, as a rule, of people, who followed the pastoral and other peaceful occupations of life. The majority of them were cowherds or peasants, some were soldiers and Sirdars in the Rāya's service, some minor chiefs, and some probably merchants and manufacturers. These men had naturally among them many who had been rewarded by the Rāyas with feudal estates, or

⁴⁹ For an interesting article on the Badugas, see *Chris. Coll. Magaz.* Vol. IX, 753-64 and 830-43. The Badugas who colonized the regions of Coimbatore and Nilgiris came to be called "Badugas". The Badugas were a race of strong and muscular physique, and "they were always very ready to enlist in the armies of the Rajas of S. India." The Vijayanagar sovereigns employed them largely, as soldiers, generals, governors and viceroys. Vijayanātha Naik was only one of these. For a description of the Baduga customs, etc., of the Nilgiris, see Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*; *Chris. Col. Magaz.* Vol. IX, &c.

⁵⁰ Wilks compares them to the Roman colonies. See his *Wysore*, I, 10. Also Caldwell's *Tinnevely*, p. 48.

pālayams as they were called in the Tamil country, for notable exploits and services rendered by them to the State. The distinction for which they received their reward may have belonged to any department of life. Some were rewarded on account of their hardy physical strength and triumph over professional wrestlers, some on account of their skill in magic, others on account of their having distinguished themselves as local chieftains or efficient soldiers. Howsoever it was, whether the newcoming Pōlygar⁵¹ was a wrestler or a soldier, a chieftain or a statesman, he naturally never came alone. When he migrated to his new home, he took with him, as the MS. chronicles mention, hundreds of families of his own kinship and following, of his own caste and creed. The fertile valleys of the Kāvēri, the Vaigai, and the Tāmraparni, the borders of the Western Ghats, the wild regions of Tinnevely,—the whole of the South India from the Kāvēri to the Cape became in this way spotted with a number of Telugu *pālayams*. These *pālayams* were based on military tenure. The Pōlygar was to clear the forests, to build villages, to extend cultivation, to execute irrigational works, to, in short, rule over his estate, which of course was inhabited by his own countrymen and to a larger extent by the Tamilians of the locality. The Pōlygar was thus in the position of a petty ruler. He had the hereditary right of succession vested in him, although the succession of a new Pōlygar to his paternal estate had to be ratified by the central authority. He could tax his people, and had at the same time to maintain the police, and arrange for and preside over the distribution of justice. He could, with special permission (which was granted only in extraordinary cases), even fortify the capital of his colony. The ordinarily permitted fortification was of mud; but special exploits achieved on behalf of the suzerain power procured from the Rāya or his viceroy in Madura the sanction to build stone-forts as well. The Pōlygar lived in his palace; had hundreds of retainers, and held, during the Navarātri and other similarly important occasions, a Darbar or *koṭa* as it is called in Tamil. To the central authority, he had of course to pay his tribute. He had further to maintain a stated number of troops, and wait on the Rāya or the provincial viceroy whenever called on to do so. All official communication between the Nāik Viceroy at Madura and the Pōlygar seems to have been carried on through *sthānāpatis* or agents, whom each Pōlygar had the right to maintain in the capital.

The date of the early Pālayams of Trichinopoly and Manappāral.

It is difficult to say, owing to the perplexing chronology and wild statements found in the chronicles of these adventurers, who, among these, came to South India in the 14th and 15th centuries, and who came later on with Viṣṇuātha, the founder of the Nāik dynasty at Madura. But there is no doubt that many of them were immigrants of the earlier period, though they did not arrive so early as some of the MSS. would make us believe. Taking the Trichinopoly district, for instance, which, as we shall see later on, formed part of the Nāik dominion, we find that, out of the five *pālayams*⁵² (Turaiyūr, Ruppūr, Kulattūr, Peramūr and Ariyalūr) which belonged to it, three at least trace their founders to periods not

⁵¹ According to Wilks, the term *Pōlygar* is a comparatively modern term introduced by the Telugu government of Vijayanagar in the place of *Udayar*. See Wilks' *Mysore*, I, 21, footnote.

⁵² Turaiyūr is even now the seat of a Zamindār, 12 miles N. of Mūliri in the Trichinopoly District. Ruppūr also is a Zamindār, 26 miles S. of Trichinopoly. Kulattūr has become part of Pudukkōṭṭai. Peramūr and Ariyalūr are estates in Mūliri and Udayārpālayam taluks. For the description of all these places see *Tricki. Gacr.* and for a translation of their MS chronicles see appendix II on Trichinopoly *pālayams*. A full reference to the bibliography of the history of these has also been given there.

later than the beginning of the 15th century. The most important and extensive of these *pālayams*, namely, Turaiyūr, situated strategically well and picturesquely beautifully between the two hills of Kollaimalai and Pachchaimalai,⁵³ was founded, according to one version, by two Reddi brothers, Aṇṇa and Sāra, the alleged owners of a "Pallavola estate" in the neighbourhood of Nellore during the time of Krishna Dēva Rāya, and according to another MS it came into existence between the years 1450 and 1456. The neighbouring *pālayam* of Aiyālūr, the chief of which was a Nāyanār of the Palli or Vannian caste, was founded about 1405 A.D. by two brothers, Rāmi and Bhāmi, the sons of one Udaya Nāyanār of Ānagundi. It is true that the chronological value of this statement is very much injured by the later statement in the MS that the exodus from Ānagundi took place in the time of Narasinga Rāya and Viśvanātha Nāik; for, of these the former is known to have died about 1490, and the latter came to the south, as we shall presently see, between 1530 and 1560; and in ascribing both these events to 1405, the MS certainly commits a blunder. But we may fairly assume that the first immigration leading to the foundation of this *pālayam* took place about 1405, and that it was later on confirmed first by Narasinga, and then by Viśvanātha, when he established himself at Madura and organised the various *pālayams* so as to put them on a definite basis. We have no reliable information about the foundation of Kulattūr and Peramūr by the Tondamān and Tirtakutti, Dēva; but we have authority enough to believe that the Kāmākshi Nāiks of Iluppūr (a place 26 miles south of Trichi) belonged to a very ancient line, though as the Pālygārs of Iluppūr proper, their antiquity cannot be traced to a period older than 1660. The story is that Iluppūr, together with the neighbouring estates of Marungāpuri and Kadavūr, which belonged to the division of Maṇappārai,⁵⁴ was originally "one estate under a chieftain of the Tōttiyan caste, and that the Iluppūr estate descended to one Vallavādu Kāmākshi Nāiken" about 1650 A. D. Coming to the Maṇappārai Taluk, we find that, according to one MS., there were eight *pālayams*,—namely, Marungāpuri under Pūchi Nāiken, Nattam under Lingama, Thōhaimalai under Vasuvappa, Piḷḷaimuḷungi under Mārti, Rāmagiri under Sāmi, Viramalai under Kāmaiya, and two others the names of which are not given, but the chiefs of which went by the names of Lakkaya Nāiken and Viranār Kāmi Nāiken. It is not improbable that the last is simply a repetition of Viramalai under Kāmaiya, in which case there would be seven *pālayams* according to this MS. Two other MSS on the other hand mention only six *pālayams*, and leave out the last two. One of these, however, leaves out Kāmaiya Nāik of Viramalai and substitutes, in his place, one Ranga Nāik of Kumārappālayam. All the three MSS agree in regard to the five estates of Marungāpuri, Nattam, Thōhaimalai, Piḷḷaimuḷungi and Rāmagiri. Now, of these, as I have already said, Marungāpuri, like

⁵³ The Kollaimalais lie chiefly in the Nāmakkal and Atūr taluks of Salem, and the Pachchaimalais partly in the Perambalur and Mufiri taluks of Trichi and partly in the Atūr taluk of Salem. For a short but fine description, see *Trichy. Gaz.* p. 3-4, and for a longer one *Salem Manual*.

⁵⁴ The Maṇappārai taluk till 1866 was part of the Madura District. It was then transferred to Trichi District. Maṇappārai is no longer taluk head quarters. It is in the Kulitalai taluk. Marungāpuri is even now a Zamindari 12 miles S. of Maṇappārai. Kadavūr also is a living estate, 28 miles S. W. of Kulitalai. Thōhaimalai is an extinct *pālayam* the ruins of which can be seen 14 miles S. of Kulitalai. Piḷḷaimuḷungi is the same as Kadavūr. Viramalai is also in the Kulitalai taluk and Kumārappālayam in Salem District 13 miles N. W. of Tiruchengōdu. MS. histories of four of these *pālayams* only are available, and they have been abstracted and translated in appendix III entitled *Maṇappārai Pālayams*.

Iluppār, was an extensive estate till late in the 17th century. Muttiah Nāik, common ancestor of Marungāpuri, Kadavūr and Iluppār, was a Tōttiyan of Gooty. He emigrated to the south, says a MS, in 1284 A. D., but at the very next line it says, quite inconsistently, that he was a servant of Tirumala of Vijayanagar and a contemporary of Viśvanātha Nāik, who belonged to the 16th century! We have no historical materials concerning Thōhaimalai, and Viramalai; but we are somewhat better informed in regard to Nattam and Rāmagiri. The founder of Nattam, Lingama Nāik, came originally from the neighbourhood of Chandragiri in consequence, it is said, of "Mughal" ravages—some time evidently previous to the establishment of the Nāik Rāj. Sāmi Nāik of Rāmagiri came from Gooty about 1420 A. D. in the time, it is said, of Nāgama Nāik, Chandra Sākhara Pāṇḍya and Viśvanātha,—a chronological mistake which almost all the Pōlygar memoirs commit.

The Pālayams of Dindigal and Madura.

Proceeding to the pālayams of Dindigal, we find the same disagreement among the MSS in regard to the actual number of feudal estates in the Nāik period. One gives 24, another 23, a third 21, while the English records⁵⁵ mention 26 *pālayams* when the province came into the hands of the Hon. E. I. Company. The Chinnōbas of Pāṇi and the Koṇḍama Nāiks of Ayakūḍi came to their respective estates in the train of Kottiyam Nāgama Nāik, about whom we shall study presently (though the MS memoirs of these err, like many others of the series, in placing Nāgama in early 15th century), from Ahōbilam, their native place. Tirumalai Chinnappa Nāik of Virūpākshi founded his *pālayam* about 1381 A. D., and his brothers, Appaiya and Errama, founded the respective estates of Kannivāḍi⁵⁶ and Idayakōṭṭai⁵⁷. The MS history of the Kannivāḍi chiefs, however, while recognising the close relationship between their ancestor and the ancestors of the Virūpākshi and Idayakōṭṭai chiefs, gives a different date for the settlement,—namely 1403 A. D. It further says that Appaiya was the contemporary of Chandrasākhara Pāṇḍya and Kottiyam Nāgama Nāik, and can thus hardly be considered correct in its chronology. It is curious that, while both the Virūpākshi and Kannivāḍi chronicles say that Errama of Idayakōṭṭai was a brother of their founders, the chronicle of the latter does not mention this, but simply asserts that the ancestor of the family Vallāla Makka was a servant of Nāgama Nāik and came with him to Madura in 1432, and settled at Idayakōṭṭai. The Nāik chiefs of Madūr, Emakalāpuram,⁵⁸ Tavasimadai, Ammaiya Nāikenār,⁵⁹ Kālappa Nāikenār⁶⁰

⁵⁵ For a comparative statement of the 3 MSS in a tabular form see Appendix IV entitled *Dindigal pālayams*. The MS chronicles of almost all these are available and have been abstracted, translated and edited in Appendix IV. "Pāṇi is the headquarters of a *tāluk* in Madura District. (See *Madura Gaz.* 304-8) It is an extinct *pālayam*. Ayakūḍi is 4 miles E. of Pāṇi, and unlike the latter a Zamindār even now. It has now been purchased by the Zamindar of Rottiyambādi. (*Madura Gaz.* p. 301). Virūpākshi is also an extinct *pālayam* 13 miles E. of Pāṇi on the bank of the Nanganji. It is not a Zamindār. For the full references to the MS chronicles and translations of them see Appendix IV.

⁵⁶ This lies 10 miles west of Dindigal, close under the Pāṇi hills, and is the largest Zamindār in the district. *Madura Gaz.* 233-240 and Appendix IV., Section 4.

⁵⁷ The seat of a Zamindār, 31 miles from Dindigal, on the northern frontier of Pāṇi *tāluk*. *Madura Gaz.* 302-3; Appendix IV, Section 5.

⁵⁸ 8 miles S. E. of Dindigal (*Madura Gaz.* p. 237); Tavasimalai is near it (*Ibid.* v. 243). See Appendix, IV, Sections 10 and 11.

⁵⁹ Four miles east of Nilakōṭṭai, in Nilakōṭṭai *Tāluk* (*Ibid.* 292-4). Appendix IV, Section 12.

⁶⁰ Nilakōṭṭai itself. *Ibid.* 295-6. Appendix IV, Section 12.

Koppaiya Nāikenūr,⁶¹ Tōttiyan Kōttai,⁶² Gandama Nāikenūr,⁶³ Bōdhi Nāikenūr,⁶⁴ Periyakulam,⁶⁵ Kombai,⁶⁶ Kambam,⁶⁷ Kūdalūr and Eraiakka Nāikenūr⁶⁸ were all Kambala Tōttiyanas who migrated to the south with their families, followers and castemen, either along with, or some time before, Nāgama Nāik, the father of the great Viśvanātha. The period of their settlement can be roughly assigned to the latter part of the 15th and the former part of the 16th century. The same is more or less the case with the chiefs of the Pālayams of the Madura division known as Ūttappa Nāikenūr,⁶⁹ Dodḍappa Nāikenūr,⁷⁰ Veļļayakunḍam,⁷¹ Puļiyankunḍam,⁷² etc.

The Pālayams of Tinnevely.

In and about the district of Tinnevely, a large number of the *pālayams* were in Tamilian hands, and were therefore more ancient than those of the Tōttiyanas. The majority of the Tōttiyanas owed their settlements to either Nāgama or Viśvanātha Naik, while the Tamilian Pōlygars held their position from ancient times, primarily owing to their martial valour. They belonged to the Marava and Palji castes, and were once evidently so serviceable to the country as to be rewarded with the semi-sovereign powers and privileges of feudality. The most important of them⁷³ were the Marudappa Tēvas of Ūttumalai, the Tirtapatis of Singampatti, the Sājuva Tēvas of Ūrkādu, the Vāṇiyans of Sivagiri and Eļayirampāṇṇai, the Tiruvōṇātha Pāṇḍiyans of Sēttur, the Indra-Talaivas of Talaivan-Kōttai, the Valangaipuli Tēvas of Chokkampatti and the Puli Tēvas of Neikattanśēvval. The MS histories of these estates begin from legendary and pre-historic times and narrate in detail the feats and adventures of the early chiefs. The Pōlygars of Sivagiri, for instance, are said to be the descendants of Siva. They, it is said, were originally pigs, but transformed by Pārvaṭi into great warriors! They then entered the Pāṇḍyan service, and helped Babruvāhana in the defeat of his father Arjuna in the

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 293. Appendix IV., Section 14.

⁶² This is six miles W. S. W. of Nilakōttai. *Madura Gaz.* 298. No MS history of this estate is available.

⁶³ A Zamindār in the S. E. corner of Periyakulam Taluk. *Ibid.* p. 317. Appendix IV, Section 15.

⁶⁴ This is 15 miles S. W. of Periyakulam. *Ibid.* 313-8 Appendix IV Section 16.

⁶⁵ The Taluk centre. The Zamindār referred to is that of Rāmabhadra Nāiken of Vadagarai, Appendix IV, Section 17.

⁶⁶ Four miles N. W. of Uttamāpālayam, close under the great wall of the Travancore hills. The *pālayam* was resumed by the English. *Ibid.* 319-20. Appendix IV, Section 18.

⁶⁷ Six miles S. W. of Uttamāpālayam. Its history is similar to that of Kombai. *Ibid.* p. 318-19. Appendix IV gives a legend about it. No MS history is available.

⁶⁸ Four miles E. of Uttamāpālayam in Periyakulam Taluk. A living Zamindār. *Ibid.* 316-17. Appendix IV, Section 20. gives what is known about this.

⁶⁹ In the Tirumangalam Taluk. A living Zamindār. See *Madura Gaz.* p. 330. See Appendix V.

⁷⁰ Chief village of the Zamindār of the same name in Tirumangalam Taluk. *Ibid.* p. 326, and Appendix V Sec. 2.

⁷¹ A Zamindār, 8 miles N. N. E. of Madura, in Madura Taluk. *Ibid.* p. 281. See Appendix V, Sec. 3.

⁷² Thirteen miles S. S. W. of Tirumangalam. *Ibid.* p. 328 and Appendix V. Section 4. I have been able to get no MS history of Kacchālkatti.

⁷³ The MS histories of all these have been translated and given in the appendix. Singampatti and Ūrkādu are within 3 miles of Ambāsamudram. Ūttumalai or Sri-keralam-bōdhu is about 15 miles from Tenkāl, and Surandai 10 miles. Talaivankōttai, Neikattan Sevval, Sivagiri, and Sēttur can be visited by taking the road from Tenkāl to Srivilliputtūr. Their picturesque situations and vicissitudes I have described in detail in Appendix VI. See also Chap. II.

course of his *Aśvamēdha* campaign! They then received a *pālayam* at Tribhuvana⁷⁴ where they lived for centuries, till one of the chiefs killed two dacoit brothers on the hills of modern Sivagiri, and was therefore honoured by the then Pāṇḍya king by being made a Pōlygar of the very scene of his glory. His descendants ruled there continuously; and the chief, who was the contemporary of Viśvanātha Nāik, was confirmed in his ancestral estate and dignity, like many other indigenous chiefs in their ancestral estates. The stories of the other Pōlygars are equally wild and legendary though some are not quite so miraculous and incredible. Chokkampatti,⁷⁵ for instance, traces its history to an alleged Pāṇḍyan king of the 12th century at Tenkāsi called Sivili Māraṇ⁷⁶. It is said that the first Valangaipuli Tēva was a servant of that king, and rendered great service to the country in subduing a formidable rebel, who occupied the region covered by modern Chokkampatti and had successfully defied for long the king's generals. The first Pōlygar of Talaivankōttai owed his position, it is said, to a similar achievement. His heroism and skill enabled him to capture a terrible boar, which had committed immense havoc in the country and had eluded the attack of all the royal hunters. Examples of this kind may be multiplied; but it is unnecessary, as the detailed history of every *pālayam* is given in the appendices, and as a reference to them will enable the reader to gain the needed information about the subject. It is sufficient here to note that most of these Tamil chiefs of Tinnevely claim to have ruled their estates from the time of the Mahābhārata or a Sivili Rāja; and there can be no question that, even though the antiquity which they claim is, as a rule, absurd, they were much more ancient than the Tōṭṭiyans who immigrated into the country in the 15th and 16th centuries, and were formally recognised as Pōlygars by the generous statesmanship of Viśvanātha Nāik. Having been long in possession of the different parts of the country and highly valiant in arms, the Tamil Pōlygars were, out of considerations both of expediency and necessity, placed by the founder of the Nāik dynasty in a position of equality with Tōṭṭiya⁷⁷ chiefs, like Ettappa Nāik of Ettiāpuram, Katta Bomma Nāik of Pāṇchālankuruchchi, and Iravappa Nāik of Nāgalāpuram.

(To be continued)

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA.

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH. D.; UPSALA.

IN writing for the 'Cambridge History of India,' Vol. I., the chapter concerning the history of the Jains it has, of course, been necessary to me to try to ascertain the real date of Mahāvira; and, as it is impossible in the limited space assigned to that chapter to discuss fully the various facts concerning this most important question, I have found it convenient to set forth here my considerations, upon which I have founded my opinion concerning the date of the founder of the present Jain Church. Moreover, no full discussion of this theme has ever been entered upon since the time, when Professor Jacobi, in his introductions to the

⁷⁴ The famous centre of Śaivism, 12 miles south-east of Madura.

⁷⁵ About 15 miles N. of Tenkāsi. It is not a living Zamindārī. I have collected a number of MSS about it and I shall abstract them in the appendix. The palace is now in ruins.

⁷⁶ Sivili Rāja is a celebrated figure in the Tinnevely traditions. To him are attributed a number of temples (e.g. the temple of Pālayam-kōttai near Tinnevely) and other holy works. He was evidently a king of Tenkāsi, but nothing definite is known about him. In later days Ativra Rāma Pāṇḍya was known by this title.

⁷⁷ See Appendix VI on Tinnevely pālayams.

edition of the *Kalpasūtra* and to the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII—works that mark a new epoch in the study of Jainism—established with undeniable evidence, at least very narrow limits for the age of Mahāvira;¹ and so it might not be without some utility to take up the matter once again. As my materials are in much the same as those of Professor Jacobi, most of my article will consist in summing up and further developing what has been previously said by him. And it will be seen that the result of my inquiry is in full agreement with the opinion on the date of Mahāvira which he formed many years ago; but which seems not to have been taken up by scholars dealing with the matter since.

In important treatises dealing with Jainism, e.g., Hoernle, —*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 39 ff. or Guérinot *Bibliographie Jaina*, p. VII., we find the date of Mahāvira's death fixed at 527 B.C.; and the later author calls it 'la date la plus accréditée,' it being in fact in agreement with almost the entire tradition of the Jains themselves. For it is well known, that the Svetāmbaras believe the death of their spiritual master to have occurred 470 and the Digambaras 606 years before Vikrama; and as the difference between these two dates is 135 years, or just the same as the interval between the Vikrama era (57 B. C.) and the Saka era, (A. D. 78), it is quite clear, as Professor Jacobi points out²,—that the Digambaras have here confounded Vikrama and Śālivāhana, a confusion by no means of rare occurrence. Now at first sight this seems to be fairly correct, but when we examine the matter a little more closely it will be seen—as has many times been remarked by Jacobi and other scholars—that this statement is based on very slight facts, if really on facts at all. There are two main points which should be considered in connexion with the date 527 B. C., viz. :—

- (1) The relations of the Jains concerning the 470 years between the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira and the accession of Vikrama in 57 B. C., and
- (2) The possibility or non-possibility of accepting 527 B. C., as the right year for Mahāvira's death viewed from the certainly established fact of his being contemporary with Buddha, who died, according to my opinion (as I shall explain below) in 477 B. C.

Finally in the last part (III) of my paper I shall discuss the tradition represented by Hemachandra and the conclusions to be drawn from it.

I

The Jain Chronology and its Foundation.

Merutuṅga, a famous Jain author, composed in V. Sam 1361—1304 A. D. his work the *Prabandhaśālinī-maṇi* and about two years later his *Vidvat-treṇi*, being according to Bhāu Dāji³ a commentary on his *Therāvalī*. In this work he gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vira and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Bühler⁴ and after him discussed by Jacobi :—

jain roṇaṇim kālagaṇ.
ariḥā tithaṇkaro Mahāvira
taṇ roṇaṇim Avastī-vai

¹ Older opinions concerning the date of Mahāvira are found in Hise *Ante. III*, 157; E. Thomas *ibid.*, VIII, 30 f.; Pāṭhak *ibid.* XII, 21 f. etc. As all these discussions have been rendered obsolete by the works of Professor Jacobi, I need not dwell here upon them.

² *Kalpasūtra*, p. 7.

³ *Vide J. B. Br. E.A.S. IX*, 147; other works by Merutuṅga and references to modern literature concerning him are found in Weber's *Cat. II*, 1024 sq.

⁴ *Ind. Ant. II*, 362.

ahisitto Pāḷago rāgā || 1 ||
saṭṭhi Pāḷago-raṇṇo
paṇṇavaṇṇasayaṃ tu hoi Nandāna
aṭṭhasayaṃ Muriyēṇaṃ
tiṇaṃ ciya Pāsamiṭṭassa || 2 ||
Balamitta-Bhānumittā
saṭṭhi varisāṇi catṭa Nahavahane
taka Gaddabhilla-rajjāṃ
terasa varisā Sagassa cau || 3 ||

Pālaka, the lord of Avantī, was anointed in that night in which the Ārhat and Tirthankara Mahāvira entered Nirvāṇa (1)

Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pāsamitta [Pushyamitra] (2).

Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovāhana. Thirteen years likewise lasted the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are the years of Saka (3).⁵

These three verses are repeated in many commentaries and chronological works, (Bühler), for instance in a *paṭṭavali* of the Tapāgaccha (extending from Mahāvira to the accession of Vijayarātana, V. Sam. 1732—A. D. 1685-86)⁶ where are added two verses filling up the space between Vikrama and Saka, which do not interest us here. The only point of difference is the reading *Nahavāṇa* for *Nahavahana* in v. 3, but this can be of no use to us here, as confused and incredible as the verses are, it seems still utterly improbable, that the author should have placed the Great Satrap Nahapāna before Vikrama.

These verses contain—as already remarked—a short account of dynasties reigning between the death of Mahāvira and the accession of the famous king Vikramāditya but their provenance is totally unknown. That they were not composed by Marutunga himself or any of his contemporaries is certain, because at that time the Jain authors had long ago ceased to write in Prakrit.⁷ They do not, of course, belong to the Jain canonical writings, and this makes it highly probable that they originated after the final redaction of the canon by Devarddhigaṇin (in 980 or 993 after Mahāvira, i. e., A. D. 453 or 466 counting from 527 B. C.), and belonged to the older set of commentaries, the composition of which did undoubtedly begin immediately after—if not already before—the final redaction of the Siddhānta. If the nominative *Nahavahane* is authorised by the manuscripts—on which point I cannot, of course, have an opinion—this might be a sign of a certain age; for it is absolutely certain that in later commentaries, e. g., that of Devendra on the Uttarādhyāyana (from A. D. 1073) where the Prakrit is much older than the time of the *śīla* itself, no nominatives in *-e* exist.⁸ But there is another fact, upon which a certain stress ought to be laid in connexion with these and similar chronological statements of the Jains, and that is that they all take the Vikrama

⁵ The translation is taken from Bühler, l. c.

⁶ Published by Klatt, *Anta. XI*, 251 sq.

⁷ According to *Pulle Stadi Italiani*, I, 10 the Jain authors began to compose their work in Sanskrit about A. D. 850 (time of Śūlāka); but this is by no means an ascertained date.

⁸ I have chosen this text as an example because its Prakrit parts are well known from the *Ausgewählte Bruchstücke* of Professor Jacobi. To make the point here discussed quite clear, I wish to state that the few passages of the text, where really nominatives in *-e* occur (p. 28, ll. 17-24, p. 32 l. 35—33, l. 28 and p. 34, ll. 11-20) show a totally different style and probably belong to a canonical work, which it is not possible for me to identify at present.

era as having been in reality founded by a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini. For Kielhorn⁹ has long ago proved that the connexion of the era, commencing 57 B. C. with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of '*Vikrama Saivat*' being made in an inscription at Dhālpur from Śaiv. 898—A.D. 842; and the oldest literary mentions of Vikrama in connexion with the era seem to be those afforded by Dhanapāla's *Pāyālacchi* (V. Śaiv. 1029—A.D. 972) and Amitagati's *Subhārita-saṃdoha* (V. Śaiv. 1060—A.D. 994).¹⁰ If we take these facts into account, it seems probable that the verses cannot at least in their present shape be so very old, dating perhaps from the 8th or 9th century A. D. But this is rather a suggestion, and their main content—the enumeration of kings between the death of Mahāvira and the commencement of the era beginning in 57 B. C.—may very well have existed long before this era was in any way connected with the rather mythical king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini.

As for the statements made in them, they are of a somewhat mysterious nature. Pālaka, King of Avantī, is here mixed up with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties and Puṣyamitra of Magadha, and with several rulers of Western India, among whom Gardabhilla is elsewhere stated to have been the father of Vikramāditya, and Saka a prince belonging to the non-Indian dynasties of North Western India. Jacobi¹¹ has already shown that the introduction of King Pālaka of Avantī into this list, which must from the beginning have been intended to give the names of the kings of Magadha, as Mahāvira belonged to that country, seems highly suspicious. Who was this Pālaka? No doubt, he is meant to be identical with Pālaka, son and successor of Pradyota, King of Avantī, and brother of Vāsavadattā, queen of the famous King Udayana of Vatsa.¹² As this Udayana was a contemporary of Mahāvira and Buddha, it is quite possible that his brother-in-law, Pālaka, may have succeeded to the throne in a time nearly coinciding with the death of Mahāvira. But there is absolutely no connexion between him and the dynasty of the Śiśunāgas, ruling in Magadha at and after the time of Mahāvira. However, I think it possible that his appearance in this list may give us a rather valuable clue to the question concerning the provenance of these verses. For in their present shape they are, as mentioned above, late and composed at a time when the kingdom of Magadha had absolutely ceased to have any connexion with or interest for Jain writers; but from the fact that out of 470 years recorded not less than 293 are filled up by the names of actual rulers of Magadha, we might undoubtedly infer that they were derived from older sources actually giving the right names of the Magadha kings. Now the list finishes with kings of Ujjayini, Gardabhilla being one such, and his son Vikramāditya being the most famous of them all; and, as the Jains already in the centuries immediately preceding our era played an important rôle in the west of India, and had many connexions with Ujjayini, they probably did not find it at all unsuitable to begin this list with a king of that famous town as well to end it with one. Moreover, we may perhaps rightly conclude, that the connexion of the Jains with Magadha and Eastern India really ended with the downfall of the Māuryas. From the confused tales of the Buddhists as well as from other and more certain sources,¹³

⁹ *Ante*, XX. 397 ff.

¹⁰ On the slight differences in fixing the date (A. D. 993 or 994) cf. Schmidt and Hertel Z. D.M.G. 50, 297 sq.

¹¹ *Kalpaṣṭra*, p. 8 sq.

¹² This is expressively stated by Maruṭaṅga, who tells us that Pradyota died the same night as Mahāvira according to Bhau Dajī, J. B. B. E.A.S. IX., 147 sq. Whether he is the one mentioned in the *Mrocha-kāṭika* is not likely to be discovered. But, as there is nothing in that play connecting him with Udayana, I do not deem it very probable. However, some light may perhaps be thrown upon this question, when the text of the *Cāradatta* becomes available in the Trivandrum series.

¹³ Cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 188 sq.

we might think that Puṣyamitra was zealously orthodox—or that at least they suffered considerably from the successors of these, and that they did not in reality know anything concerning the kingdom of Magadha after that time.¹⁴

Professor Jacobi¹⁵ has tried a somewhat complicated hypothesis in order to account for the introduction of King Pālaka of Avantī into the list of the rulers of Magadha, considering Udayana, the brother-in-law of Pālaka, to have been confused with Udāyin, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru, and Pālaka to have entered into the list in this way. As I have explained above, I do not think that Pālaka belonged to the original list at all; but, if his presence there is to be accounted for in any way, I think another suggestion may be more easily adopted. It is stated in *Kalpas*. § 147 (p. 67 ed. Jacobi) that Mahāvīra reached *nirvāṇa* while staying at Pāvā (or Pāpā) in king Hastipālaka's office of the writers' (*rajā-sabha*). This monarch is mentioned also in § 123, where he is called Hatthipāla, and Jacobi, S. B. E. XXII, pp. 264, 269, has in both passages used the form Hastipāla. But the manuscripts give in both paragraphs alternatively the form *Hatthipāla* and °*pālaka*, and the latter is taken into the text by Jacobi in § 147. From this it is clear, that he was styled *Hastipāla* as well as °*pālaka*, a circumstance upon which no special stress need be laid, because we have no reason whatsoever for expecting anything else. Now it is both possible and credible that a *Hastipāla* (*ka*) might in more unofficial language be styled *Pālaka*, and as this king stands in the closest connexion with the death of Mahāvīra, we might well suggest that he may have been said later to have been anointed in the same night in which the Prophet entered *Nirvāṇa*. This might in my opinion supply a reasonable cause for the introduction into this list of a certain Pālaka, who was later mistaken for the king of Avantī well-known to the Jains in Western India.¹⁶ However, this king Pālaka is for reasons already partly mentioned, and to be further developed subsequently, of no chronological importance whatsoever for fixing the date of Mahāvīra and for filling up the space between him and the commencement of the Vikrama era.

Passing over, for the present, the regnal periods assigned to the Nandas (155 years), the Mauryas (108 years) and Puṣyamitra (30 years), as I shall enter upon a more close examination of these dates later on, I shall now say some words concerning the kings, whose names fill up the last 117 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, i. e., about 174—57 B. C. These are the following:

Balamitra and *Bhānumitra*, reigning for 60 years.

Nahavaḥana (*Nabhavaḥana*) reigning for 40 years.

Gardabhilla reigning for 13 years,

and *Saka* reigning for 4 years.

There is in reality not much to be said concerning this strange list of rulers, and nothing certain. *Nahavaḥana*, a name which Bühler and Jacobi render by *Nabhavaḥana*, is a totally unknown personality;¹⁷ and the only suggestion to be made is that he may have been

¹⁴ Of course, the Jains had a patron in Eastern India in Khāravēla, king of Kāliṅga; but this protection may have been of rather short duration. The Jains do not seem to recognise their obligation to their great patron even by mentioning his name, and his date is uncertain (cp. farther on).

¹⁵ *Kalpas*, p. 8 sq.

¹⁶ King Hastipāla (*ka*) of Pāvā undoubtedly a petty clan-ruler of the type of Buddhodana of Kapilavastu or Siddhartha of Kuṇḍaggama, is, as far as I know, mentioned nowhere else in Jain or Brahmanical scriptures. This shows clearly that he could only have been remembered because Mahāvīra passed away in his dominions. And such an unknown ruler could, of course, very easily be confused with a far better known name sake.

¹⁷ If the *varia lectio* *Nahavaṇa* is in fact worth anything and renders the name *Nahapāna*, the Satrap who seems to have flourished about A. D. 80-125 and in fact reigned between 40 and 50 years, this list would of course in its later part be absolutely useless. But there are reasons which make me believe, that this is not the case: (1) it seems really impossible that even a very confused chronology would put *Nahapāna* before Vikrama, and (2) if *Nahapāna* had really been intended, he ought most certainly to have been mentioned in the story of Kālakāśṭhya, dealing with the rise of Scythian power in India before Vikrama; but this is not the case.

some petty ruler in Western India during the period between the downfall of the Maurya empire and the beginning of the Vikrama era. Just the same may be said concerning Balamitra and Bhānumitra, although they are mentioned elsewhere. For in the somewhat confused legend of Kālākācārya, edited by Professor Jacobi in Z.D.M.G. 34, 247 sq., we read on p. 268 sq. that these princes, who were the nephews of Kālaka, ruled in Bharukaccha (Bharooh) and were friendly disposed towards the Jain Church. As this Kālaka played according to the legend the somewhat despicable trick of calling the Sakas into India to destroy his enemy king Gardabhilla of Ujjayini, this would place the two princes a short time before the time of Vikrama. Without trying to entangle the very confusing facts told about Kālaka or rather the different Kālakas—of which there seem to have been at least three¹⁸—I point only to the statement that there existed one Kālaka, who was the 23rd *chavira* after Mahāvira and is said in the supplement to the *Kalpadruma*¹⁹ to have lived 376 years after the *Nirvāṇa*, i.e., 151 B. C. counting from 527 B. C. The *paṭiśvali* of the *Tapāgaccha*²⁰ says that this Kālaka died 376 or 386 years after Mahāvira, i.e. 151 or 141 B. C.; and this would fit fairly well with the time assigned in the *versus memoriales* to Balamitra and Bhānumitra, as they are supposed to have reigned together during 60 years or between 174-173—114-113 B. C. However, I attach just as little importance to this coincidence as to the whole chronological statement of these verses.

In the same legend concerning Kālaka the history of Gardabhilla and the Sakas is told at full length. There may be really some historical foundation for the stories told concerning this invasion of India by Scythian rulers before Vikrama, rulers stated to have been brought in by a second Kālaka living 453 years after Mahāvira, i. e., 74 B. C. or just in the year of Gardabhilla's accession to the throne 17 years before Vikrama. This Gardabhi(l)a is elsewhere said to have been the father of Vikramāditya²¹ and king in Ujjayini; and concerning him it has been suggested, that he was identical with Bahrām Gor, king of Persia A. D. 420-438, and again that he is in reality the same person as the satrap Gudaphara or Gondophares, who must have lived in the first century B. C.²² But neither of these hypotheses is satisfactory, Gardabhi(l)a being always closely connected with the time of Vikrama. Now it must be conceded that Gardabhi(l)a is a rather strange Indian name²³ scarcely to be accounted for, and seems very likely to be of foreign origin. And I might suggest that it is at least as probable as the above-mentioned theories, that Gardabhi(l)a represents in fact a Greek name ending in *χλος*, and that the person in question was perhaps a petty Greek prince or Governor overthrown by the Scythian invaders, and had in reality nothing to do with the famous king of Ujjain. There is nothing against this suggestion in the fact, that the Gardabhillas are mentioned in *Viṣṇu P. IV, 24, 14* as a tribe or dynasty for they rank there together with the Yavanas, Sakas, Bāhlikas and other invaders, named as successors of the Andhra Dynasty. For of course these may have been named after the old *Gardabhilla*, existing many centuries before, on account of some real or fictitious relationship to him.

(To be continued.)

¹⁸ Jacobi l. c. p. 260 sq.

¹⁹ A commentary to the *Kalpavṛkṣa* by Lakṣmivallabha, who wrote a commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇīya* in *Samsa*.

²⁰ *Kāṭh. Anta. XI, 251*.

²¹ *Viṣṇu P.* (Wilson) 5, 392. Cf. *Weber, Ind. Stud. XV, 252 sq.*

²² The first suggestion was made by Willford As. Res. IX, 147 sq. the second one was propounded by *Prinsep, Anta. II, 143* and supported by *Lassen Ind. Act. II, 408*.

²³ To be compared as far as I can see, only with the old Gobbila and the obscure name Rebbila in the *Xi. cchakāṭika. Cf. Indog. Forsch. 28, 178; 29, 380 sq.*

MISCELLANEA.

PAINTING AND ENGRAVING AT AGRA
AND DELHI IN 1666.

ONE of the best and most instructive of the old travellers was Monsieur Jean de Thevenot, who visited India in 1666 and 1667, dying near Tauris or Tabris in Persia in November, 1667. His travels were translated into English and published in that language in 1687. Writers on Indian art have not yet noticed, so far as I am aware, his criticism of the Agra and Delhi paintings, which I transcribe as being of considerable interest:—

"One may see a great many pictures in the Indies upon paper and pasteboard, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of Agra and Delhi: however, since those of Agra are for the most part indecent, and represent lascivious postures, worse than those of Aretin, there are but few civil Europeans that will buy them" (Part III, p. 39).

"The painters of Delhi are modester than those of Agra, and spend not their pains about lascivious pictures, as they do. They apply themselves to the rendering of Histories, and in many places, one may meet with the Battels and Victories of their princes, indifferently well painted. Order is observed in them, the personages have the suitableness that is necessary to them, and the colours are very lovely, but they make faces ill. They do things in miniature pretty well, and there are some at Delhi who engrave indifferently well also; but seeing they are not much encouraged, they do not apply themselves to their work, with all the exactness they might: and all their care is to do as much work as they can, for present money to subsist on." (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

The traveller, it will be observed, had a poor opinion of the work of the contemporary artists seven or eight years after the accession of Aurangzeb, whose puritanical opinions no doubt much discouraged art. When I examined hundreds of specimens of Mughal and Indo-Mughal art three years ago, I found only four, namely, three by Uddt Singh and one by Ghulam Razi, which could be reproached for indecency. The wholesale accusation of indecency brought against the artists of Agra, no doubt quite justified, has been a surprise to me. The explanation of the absence of such objectionable works from the London collections must be that suggested by de Thevenot, namely, that 'civil,' or decent Europeans seldom bought the indecent paintings. Information about the lives

of Indian artists is so rarely obtainable that I am unable to say whether Uddt Singh and Ghulam Razi belonged to the Agra School or not. The lasciviousness of that school may be ascribed reasonably to the evil example set by Shāhjahān.

When Indian painting becomes better understood than it is at present, critics probably will be able to distinguish at sight the productions of Delhi from those of Agra. The traveller's high praise of the colouring is fully justified, but his censure that the Indian painters "make faces ill", does not apply to the better portraits.

His statement that there were tolerably good engravers at Delhi is new to me, and I shall be much obliged if any body can produce a specimen of seventeenth century engraving done by an Indian artist.

¹ *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*
p. 336

VINCENT A. SMITH,
Oxford.

KAUTILYA AND THE ARATTAS.

In the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* the passage (37, 324) about the succession of Chandragupta stands as follows:—

उत्तरिष्यति ताम्र संवत्स्रं कौटिल्यो व विरहमि* : ।

संवत्स्रं नृप राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति* ॥

"Kautilya will uproot all of them (Sahasra or Sahasva and others,* the 8 sons and successors of the Mahāpadma, 323), through *deirashas*."

What were these *deirashas*? Apparently some people. I propose to read the word as *Virashird-bhik*.⁴ *Virashirds* would be the same as *Arattas*.

On this datum of the *Vāyu*, it appears that Chandragupta was mainly helped by the Arattas in his war, which has been related, though no doubt in exaggerated terms, in the *Mūlinda-parāṇa*, as fought between Bhadrastila, the Nanda's general, and Chandragupta.⁵ They were "the band of robbers" of Justin,⁶ as Cunningham guessed years ago. But Cunningham thought that Chandragupta used them against the Greeks. That might or might not have been the case; here we have evidence to hold only this much that they were used against the Nandas.⁷

K. P. JAYASWAL.

¹ Between these lines the second half of the preceding *śloka* intervenes:

मुक्तां महीं वर्षे शानं नन्देभ्यः समधिष्यति :

² Sumāliya and others, in the *Vāyu*.

³ Changed in the *Brahmaṇḍa* into विजयपते :

⁴ A confusion between *dei* and *vi*.

Probably it was originally *हिरहमि : implying that with Arasthans or Arasthans, Kautilya exterminated the Nandas, not all at one and the same time, but in two different attempts.—D. B. B.

⁵ 'And further there was Bhadrastila, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandragupta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpses Dances' *ib.*, p. 147.

⁶ "It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing Government." (V, 4). The Ceylon tradition also says that he was helped by "robbers." Cf. *Malakshatrata, Karsa-Parva*, xlv., (31-32) the Arattas are shown of virtue, (37) they are to be avoided; (44, 21) they are robbers by habit.

⁷ Buddhist tradition implies that he started his operations by first conquering or winning over the frontier.

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(Continued from page 123)

SO much concerning Gardabhilla. As to Saka, to whom is attributed a reign of four years ere he was overthrown by Vikramāditya, there are without doubt some hints of very great interest and perhaps of real historical value included in the confused legend of Kālaka. For the text states that Kālaka, after having sworn to Gardabhilla to be revenged, roamed about till he came to the country Sakakūla (*Z.D. M. G.* 34, 262), and in v. 63 of the *Kālaka-cārya-kathānaka* it is said of the royal dynasty of Saka:—

Sagakālāo jeyan samāgayā teṣa le Sagā jāyā.

'Because of coming from Sakakūla they were called Sakas.

Moreover, we learn from the same source that the governors of provinces in Sakakūla were called *sāhi* and the king of the country, 'this crown-jewel in the crowd of princes' was styled *Sāhānusāhi*. Now, I think Professor Jacoby¹ was right in making *Sakakūla*—*Sakas-thāka*, Σακιστανή, and moreover reminding us of the name Σακάραυλοι, mentioned by Strabo XI 8, 2² which really presents a remarkable likeness to the Sanskrit word *Sakakūla*. And there cannot be the slightest doubt, that the title *Sāhānusāhi* is only a modified transcription of the well-known legend on the coins of the Kushān kings, *Shāonano shao*. So there must be some foundation for the legend told concerning Kālaka and the invasion of Scythians which he provoked; and as I deem it rather improbable from the whole shape of the legend³ that it relates to the great conquest of North-western India by Ooēma Kadphises, it may in fact contain a faint remembrance of some battle between Saka satraps and a Greek (!) prince (Gardabhilla), which has later been localized in Ujjayini. A full account of the Saka princes who seem to have flourished in the first century B. C. may be seen in Duff *Chronology of India*, p. 17 sq., and it does not at all invalidate the possibility of this suggestion. The theory that the invaders were Persians and that *Sāhānusāhi* represents 'the king of kings' ruling that country cannot be upheld, as it is expressly stated that the invaders were Sakas, and not Persians or Bactrians. As for the title *Shāonano shao*, which I find in the *Sāhānusāhi* of the text, it is true that it does not occur on coins before Kanishka; but this is not material, as the legend arose apparently at a far later date, and in that time the earlier Sakas and the Kushans might very easily be confused. However, it is interesting and certainly a proof of the text not being wholly valueless, that it has preserved these rather minute reminiscences of the Saka dynasties.

I have tried to show, that the chronological list, on which the Jains found their assumption of a period of 470 years between the death of Mahāvira and the commencement of the Vikrama era is almost entirely valueless. The line of rulers composed in order to fill up this time is wholly unhistorical and can by no means be trusted; for it assigns the first 60 years after the *Nirvāṇa* to a certain king of Ujjain, who had absolutely nothing to do with Mahāvira, and for whose introduction into the list I have tried to find out reasons as above.

¹ L. c. p. 255.

² Μάλιστα δὲ γινώσκω γεγονέναι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἀσίοι, καὶ Πισσιροί, καὶ τόχαροι, καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὁμιλούντες ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἱατρικῆς τοῦ Ἰαζάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.

³ In the Kālaka legend it is not the 'king of kings' (*sāhānusāhi*) but only his satraps (*sāhi*) who invade India, and not with his consent, but to escape his rage against them.

The following 293 years are filled up by dynasties of Magadha of undisputed historical character, and this shows clearly, that it was originally the kings of Magadha who were to be recorded here. And that is just what we should expect, as Mahāvira passed nearly his whole life in that country and in close connexion with the two kings Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru. As for the last 117 years before Vikrama, they are filled up by various kings or princes of partly different nationality, of whom we know with absolute certainty nothing more than that they never had anything at all to do with Magadha.

Thus, we find that the statement of the Jains, according to which their last Prophet died 470 years before Vikrama, or 527 B.C., rests upon a wholly hypothetical basis, and can nowise be trusted. I shall now enter upon the second part of my enquiry and show that it is wholly inconsistent with the adjusted Buddhistic Chronology too, and ought, consequently to be absolutely abandoned.

II.

Buddhist relations concerning Mahāvira and the Jains—The date of Buddha's death.

The investigations of Jacobi and Bühler have made it quite clear, that the Buddhist and Jain canonical writings speak of persons who are to a large extent identical, although sometimes different names are used to designate them. From this it was rightly concluded by these two eminent scholars, that Buddha and Mahāvira must have been contemporaries, must have visited mainly the same localities, and have come into contact with the same kings and other prominent persons of their age. Moreover, Jacobi has shown with absolute conclusiveness that Nigantha Nāt(h)a-putta, often mentioned²⁷ in the Buddhist canon amongst the six heretical teachers, who flourished about the same time as Gotama Buddha, must be identical with Mahāvira. And no one will nowadays doubt that these two teachers were absolutely different from and independent of each other, although living at the same time and, perhaps, often enough having to face each other at their wanderings through Magadha.²⁸

Passages in Buddhist canonical writings dealing with Nāt(h)a-putta and his followers have been admirably discussed by Professor Jacobi in *S. B. E.* Vol. XLV., p. XV sq. But as his main purpose was there to collect and explain the Buddhist notices of the early Jain creed and doctrine, and less attention was paid to the historical facts possibly to be extracted from these narratives, I shall here dwell upon some of these passages again. As the Pāli Canon was, of course, brought into its present shape at a time far posterior to the events related in it, it cannot always be absolutely trusted. But there seems to be rather strong evidence for thinking the main facts related in it to have really occurred, as they are represented there.

The well-known introduction to the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (*D. N. I.* p. 47, sq.), telling us, how king Ajātasatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigantha Nātaputta to hear their doctrines, and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajātasatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night²⁹. But the

²⁷ Passages where Nāt(h)a-putta is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance C. V. V., 8, 1; D. N. II., p. 160; M. N. I., pp. 198, 250; II., p. 2ff.; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit Nirgrantha Jñātiputra, e. g. *Divyavad* p. 143; *Mahāvastu* I. pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383.

²⁸ The late L. Feer *J. A. Str.* VIII, t. XII, 209 sq. held the opinion, taken from the *Papañcasūdanī* (v. J. A. 1887, p. 324 n.) that Mahāvira never met Buddha, but this is apparently a mistake not to be upheld.

²⁹ The *Majjh. Nik.* II., p. 2 sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rājagṛha at the same time as Buddha. Mahāvira spent fourteen of his *varṣas* there according to *Kalpasa.* § 132. But the visit of Ajātasatru is said in *D. N.* to have taken place in the full moon of Kārttika (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season. However, it seems quite possible that it may refer to the same event.

main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosāla and Nātaputta, by comparison with Jain writings.³⁰ Moreover, the Jain writings, e. g., the *Aupapādikasūtra* § 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by king Kāpiya or Kosiya (Ajātasatru) to Mahāvira; and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Dīgha Nikāya*,³¹ there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajātasatru paying visits to Mahāvira was quite familiar with Jain writers.

In *Majjhima Nikāya* I, p. 92 sq., Buddha tells his relative, the Sākya prince Mahānāmen, of a conversation which he had once had with some Nirgrantha ascetics in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha. These disciples of Mahāvira praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc.; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahāvira as well as Gosāla, Buddha as well as Devadatta. Moreover, there are other instances in the Pāli Canon where Mahāvira is praised in the same way by his followers; so in *Majjh. Nik.* II, 31, where Sakuludāyī in Rājagṛha, *ibid.* II, 214 sq., where some Nirgrantha monks, and in *Aṅguttara* I, 220, where the Licchavi prince, Abhaya, in a conversation with Ānanda in Vesālī, eulogizes Nātaputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nātaputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove, that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between Buddhists and Jains in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahāvira.

The passage in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 1 sq., speaking of the meeting in Vesālī³² of the general Sīha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nātaputta has been discussed by Professor Jacobi in *S. B. E.* XLV, p. XVI sq., and also the well-known Upāli-sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 371 sq.). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upāli, who was a lay-follower of Nātaputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers dwelt at Nālandā³³ in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upāli, and made him his disciple. So Upāli went back to his house in Rājagṛha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the Nirgranthas. When Mahāvira afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upāli declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogized Buddha, his new master. The text finishes with the following words: *atha kho Niggaṇṭhasa Nātaputtassa Bhagavato sakkāraṃ asahamānassa tatth' eva uḥhaṃ lohitaṃ mukhato uggaḥchāsi*, 'but then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Niggaṇṭha Nātaputta, since he was not able to stand the praise of the venerable one.'

Much stress has been laid on this passage, as several scholars have combined it with the story told in *D. N.* III, 117 sq. 209 sq. and *Majjh. N.* II, 243 sq.³⁴ that Nātaputta died in

³⁰ Cf. concerning the doctrines attributed to Nātaputta (*DN.* I. 57 sq.) Jacobi *S. B. E.* XLV, p. XX sq. and concerning Gosāla (*D. N.* I. 58 sq.) *ibid.* XXIX and Dr. Hoernle's admirable treatise in Hasting's *Encyclopædia* Vol. I., p. 259 sq. (also *Udāgādaśāda* App. II.)

³¹ The *Aupapādikasūtra* speaks of Kāpiya as residing in Campā, the *Dīgha Nikāya* places the meeting in Rājagṛha. The visit of Ajātasatru alluded to in *Uds.* I. § 7 (quoted by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History* p. 41 n.) refers also to Campā. Of this I shall speak later on.

³² The passage is repeated in *Ang. Nik.* IV, p. 180 sq.

³³ In the § 132 of the *Kalpasūtra* quoted above Mahāvira is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛha and the suburb (bhārikā) of Nālandā. This was a famous place even with the Jains, cf. e. g. *Sātrahitāgā* II, 7. (*SBH.* XLV, 419 sq.)

³⁴ Cf. Chalmers, *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 665 sq.

Pāvā, while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma in the land of the Sākya. It has been concluded from this, that Mahāvira died a very short time after the interview with Upāli.³⁵ I cannot here dwell upon the Buddhist record of Mahāvira's death, which I shall discuss later on; but I wish here to lay stress on two facts in connexion with the tale of Upāli, and the death of his former teacher. The first is that, although the place where Mahāvira is nowadays said to have died is a small village called Pāpaurī, about 3 miles from Giriyaḥ in the Bihār part of the Patna district,³⁶ it is quite clear from *D. N. III*, 117 sq. &c., that the Buddhists thought it to be identical with the town Pāvā, in which Buddha stayed in the house of Cunda on his way to Kusinārā; for it is said to have been in the land of the Sākya, and this is at a considerable distance from Rājagṛha, where Mahāvira had his interview with Upāli. It will have been rather far to walk, if Mahāvira had really been so ill as to die soon afterwards. And as, according to the *Kalpavṛkṣa* §§ 122-123, Mahāvira spent the whole of his last rainy season, nearly four months, in "King Hastipālas office of the writers" at Pāvā, he must have lived at least nearly half a year after the interview with Upāli, if we could trust the story that he died as a consequence of it. And for the second, we are told absolutely the same story of hot blood gushing forth from the mouth concerning Devadatta in *O. V. VII*, 4, 3, and that at an occasion when he like Mahāvira had real reason to be very excited. And in the old texts it is nowhere stated, that he died as a consequence of it, although later reports used by Spence Hardy and Bigandet seem to think so.³⁷ From this I venture to draw the conclusion, that Mahāvira's death stood originally in no connexion with, and was by no means a consequence of his interview with, his apostate follower Upāli.

In the *Abhayakumāravuttā* (*M. N. I.*, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rājagṛha by Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him; for if he answered 'no' he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered 'yes,' Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostasy. I admit, that too much weight should not be attached to this passage, as another closely similar instance occurs elsewhere in the Pāli Canon³⁸; but, as it can, by no means, be proved to be worthless, it seems to involve the conclusion, that Mahāvira was still alive after the apostasy of Devadatta. This event is probably with justice thought by Professor Rhys Davids³⁹ to have taken place about ten years before the death of Buddha himself.

Professor Jacobi⁴⁰ has called attention to the fact, that Buddha and his followers are not mentioned in old Jain scriptures, which is rather strange, the heads of both churches being

³⁵ That Nātaputta died shortly after the dispute with Upāli is expressly stated by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 280 but from late sources. Cf. Jacobi *Kalpas*, p. 6.

³⁶ Comp. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. XX, p. 381.

³⁷ Cf. *SBE*. XX, 259 n. Another instance proving the same fact is afforded by the history of Saṅjaya, the teacher of Śāriputta and Moggallāna; in the *Mahāvagga* I, 24, 3, he is said to have vomited hot blood, when his disciples abandoned him, but nothing is told about his death, which cannot have occurred then, if I am right in my suggestion that he was the same person as the teacher S. Belaṭṭhiputta. But Beal and Bigandet tell us, that he died immediately afterwards, which is, however, directly contradicted by Spence Hardy, *Manual* p. 202. Cf. *S. B. E.* XIII, 149 n. 1.

³⁸ *Viz.*, in *Samy Nik.* IV., 322 sq. where we are told that Buddha and Nātaputta were staying in Nālandā at the same time during a severe famine; when the latter asked his lay-follower the squire (gāmaṇi) Aśibandhakaputta (cf. *ibid.* p. 317. sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people.

³⁹ *Vide Hastings' Encyclopedia* Vol. IV, p. 676.

⁴⁰ *Kalpas*, p. 4.

contemporaries, and has drawn from this the conclusion that the Buddhists were of no great importance at the time of Mahāvira. However, I cannot fully subscribe to this conclusion, the premise not being quite correct; for the Buddhists are undoubtedly mentioned amongst other sects in some places of the *Siddhānta*.⁴¹ Moreover, this may be partly due to the composition of the Jain Canon itself. Undoubtedly Buddha was a rival of Mahāvira, and a dangerous one, too, but he never played in regard to him the same part of a treacherous and hated enemy as did Gośāla Maṃkhaliputta, who went straight away from Mahāvira and founded a new sect of his own, and, moreover, proclaimed himself to have reached the stage of a prophet (*tīrthakara*) two years before his former teacher. To a religious congregation still in its infancy this may have proved a most fearful blow, and so we must not wonder at all the imprecations which the Jain Canon lavishes upon this philosopher,⁴² whom even Buddha is said to have stigmatised as the worst of all evil-minded heretics⁴³. So Gośāla may have been to the Jains of early time a far more important person than even Buddha. Moreover, the Jain canonical scriptures themselves, brought undoubtedly into their present shape at a much later time than the Pāli Canon,⁴⁴ are wholly out of comparison with the sacred lore of the Buddhists. Far it be from me to suggest that any earlier stories about Buddha and his doctrine have been cancelled by the redactors—an hypothesis by no means to be upheld. But I desire to call attention to two facts, offering perhaps to some degree an explanation of what is remarked by Professor Jacobi:

(1) The *Dṛṣṭivāda* is lost, and it may have contained—I cannot absolutely say that it did—something concerning the Buddhists, as it is clear already from its name that it dealt with other doctrines.⁴⁵

(2) The schematised style of the present *Siddhānta* itself excludes to a great extent the possibility of finding in it such statements as the one required, it being in my opinion only fragments—in some parts, to be sure, to a large extent worked out in a most abominable style—and register-like versus memorials detached or perhaps better preserved from what was the original canon.

I cannot dwell further here upon this topic, which I hope to treat more fully elsewhere.⁴⁶ I have merely wished to draw attention to some facts, which may perhaps account to a certain degree for what is remarked by Professor Jacobi. I shall presently refer to some instances from the Buddhist scriptures showing the rather intimate knowledge which they seem to possess concerning the Jains. Most such passages—mainly dealing with matters of doctrine—have already been collected by Professor Jacobi; some few dealing with rather trifling things may be added as giving further proof, if needed, of the well-established fact, that Buddhists and Jains must have lived in close contact with each other during the first growth of both churches, i. e., in the lifetime of their founders.

⁴¹ Cf. e. g. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 333, 381 and *Sātrahādika* II, 6, 26 sq. (*S.B.E.* XLV, p. 414 sq.).

⁴² Cf. *Bhagavat* book XV summarised by Dr. Hoernle in his *Uttarajadādo*, App. I.

⁴³ *Vide Aṅg. Nīk.* I, 33, 286.

⁴⁴ The previous existence of the fourteen *pāras*, the circumstance that the *āgās* are incomplete, the *Dṛṣṭivāda* being lost, and the blank denial amongst the Digambaras of the authority of the present Svetāmbara Canon are all facts pointing to the rather late origin of the *Siddhānta*, as it is handed down to us.

⁴⁵ To Professor Jacobi (*S.B.E.* XXII, p. XLV ff.) the main reason for the loss of the 14 *pāras*—which constituted the main part of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*—is that they dealt with the doctrines of Mahāvira's opponents, but I do not think this suggestion quite acceptable. Another less credible explanation is offered by Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 248; Cf. also Leumann *Actes du VII^e Congrès des Orient.* III, 559.

⁴⁶ In the introduction to an edition of the *Uttarādhyayanastotra*, which is in preparation.

That the Jains designate their spiritual masters by the title *arhat* is well known, and this title occurs already in the Edict of Khâravêla, as far as I can see it in the expression : *To samaṇo vā brâhmaṇo vā arahâ* (cv. V. 8, 1),⁴⁷ must mean a Jain. Moreover, it should be noticed that the Pâli Canon gives to Nâtaputta and the other five heretical teachers the titles *gaṇin*, *gaṇâcariya*, *gaṇassa satthâ* (*Samy Nik.* I., 66) and *tirthakara*, which are never, as far as I know, attributed to Buddha,⁴⁸ but are quite suitable for the Jain prophet ; for *gaṇa* seems to have denoted in old times the sections of the Jain community, and to have been identical with the more modern *gaccha*, and *tirthakara* is the most common title of Mahāvira, which was claimed by Gosâla too. One might perhaps doubt a little, whether this really proves anything, since the same titles are used for all these teachers. But we must remember that Gosâla, the most important of all after Mahāvira, was himself a former disciple of the latter, and had claimed himself to have already before his teacher attained to sainthood. Moreover, these two are mentioned together with Pakudha Kaccâyana and Pârâga Kassapa in a verse, which seems to be really old, in *Samy Nik.*, II., 3, 10, 6, a circumstance perhaps of some weight. And Buddhaghosa asserts expressly in the *Sum. Vilâs.* I, 144, that Pakudha was *sitâdakapatikhitto*, i. e., forbade the use of cold water (like Mahāvira), and deemed it a sin to cross a river or even a pool on the road (*nadiṃ vâ maggadakam vâ ahikkamma silaṃ me bhinnam-ti*) ; another point of his doctrine has been discussed by Professor Jacobi in *SBE.* XLV, p. XXIV sq.⁴⁹ As for Pârâga Kassapa, his doctrines, as expounded in *DN.* I., 52 sq., do not show any resemblance at all with Jainism ; but it is perhaps nevertheless worth notice, that two circumstances seem to hint at a somewhat closer connexion between Pârâga and Gosâla : in *Sum. Vilâs.* I., 142 is told a story explaining the reason, why Pârâga was a naked ascetic, and this story is undoubtedly similar to the legend concerning Gosâla, *ibid.* p. 144⁵⁰ ; and the well-known division of mankind into six classes (*Jâtî*), the black, the blue, etc.,⁵¹ by Gosâla is ascribed in *Aṅg. Nik.* III, 383 to Pârâga, which is perhaps no mistake, but indicates that he really shared the opinion of Gosâla. Moreover, Gosâla denied the very existence of *karma* (*n'atthi kammaṃ* etc., *DN.*), and Pârâga seems to do much the same, as he asserts, that a man could commit murder and slaughter without running into any sin, and likewise do meritorious works without storing up good *karma*. His leading maxim seems to be included in the words : *nâsti pâpam nâsti puṇyam*. So it seems at least probable, that there was some degree of connexion between these four teachers, Mahāvira, Gosâla, Pakudha and Pârâga, however they may have differed on some points of doctrine, and their adherents may well have been divided into *gaṇas* as were those of the Jains.⁵²

⁴⁷ The title *arhat* is extremely rare as a designation of heretics in the Buddhist scriptures; Cf. Rhys Davids in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* I, 774.

⁴⁸ Observe the difference in the *Sāmaññaphalaruttā* (*D. N.* I, 47 sq.) between the attributes of the heretical teachers and of Buddha, which are here seen in close connexion with each other.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hoernle in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* I, 261 concerning the relations between Pakudha and Gosâla.

⁵⁰ This legend is given by Dr. Hoernle *Uds.* App. II, p. 29 ; Cf. Spence Hardy *Manual* p. 301.

⁵¹ Cf. *Sum. Vilâs.* I, 162 ; Hoernle in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* I, 262. I have treated of this theory and the *Leśyâ* doctrine of the Jains in a paper, called 'The *Leśyâ* theory of the Jains and Ajivikas' printed in 'Sertum philologicum O. F. Johansson oblatum,' Upsala 1910, p. 19 ff.

⁵² I cannot account for the two others viz., Ajita Kesakambala and Saṅjaya Belatthiputta. Ajita seems to have been a mere materialist, denying not only the existence of a soul but also every thought on another life. The assertion in the *Dulca* (Rockhill *Life of Buddha* p. 103), that he shared the doctrine of Gosâla is not worth much compared with the passage of the *Digha Nikāya*. As for Saṅjaya, I think he is the same person as S. the *parivâjjaka*, mentioned in *Māhāv.* I, 23-24 as the teacher of Sâriputta and Moggallâna. If this is right, he was undoubtedly a Brahman; to judge from the *D.N.* I., 58 sq., he seems to have been a sophist, mostly trying to display his rhetorical skill.

That Mahāvira was a naked ascetic is stated already by the *Ācārāṅga* I, 8, 1 sq. In this respect he differed from his predecessor Pārśva, who had allowed the wearing of two garments.⁵³ Gośāla too was a naked mendicant, and seems to have laid down nakedness as a rule for his followers, the *ājivikas*, whilst Mahāvira probably let open to his disciple the choice between nakedness and wearing of garments. The Buddhist scriptures frequently speak of naked mendicants, and especially denote the *ājivikas* as such, e. g., *Mahāvagga* VIII, 15, 3,⁵⁴ I, 38, 11; 70, 2; *CV.* VIII, 28, 3; *Niss.* VI, 2; *Samy. Nik.* II, 3, 10, 7 etc. But in some of these instances the naked friars are only called *tīthiya* (*tīrthika*), and might well be followers of Mahāvira. Moreover, in the report of the 'six classes' of Gośāla and Pārśva a difference is made between the '*nirgranthas* of one garment', the 'householders in white clothes, followers of the naked ascetics' (*gīhi odātavasanā acelakasāvakā*), and the naked ascetics or *ājivikas*, which shows, that the Buddhists knew well the different schools of their rivals. It is very often spoken of the *acelas* or *acelakas*, without further definition, and *acela* is a favourite word with the Jains. In (*Ag. Nik.* I, 206) the *nirgranthas* are said to command their lay followers to strip themselves naked on the *uposāha* days. In *CV.* V., 10, 1, it is said, that a monk had a water-bowl made of a gourd, and the people seeing him said 'just like the *tīrthikas*'. Now in *Ācārāṅga* II, 6, 1, 1 it is permitted to the Jains to have bowls made of gourds⁵⁵, and so this may really point to them⁵⁶ and in *M. V.* IV, 1, 12, there are monks keeping the *māgavratā* or 'vow of silence,' which reminds us of 'the Gotra, where the vow of silence is practised (*monapadaṇ gollan*), an expression denoting the Jain church in *Sātrakīrāṅga* I, 13, 9 (SBE. XLV, p. 321).

There are certainly other instances, too, proving the same fact, viz., that the Buddhists in very early times had an intimate knowledge of the life and institutions of their opponents, the Nirgranthas or Jains, but I shall not linger over the discussion of these passages. From what has been said above, taken together with the previous instances, supplied by Professor Jacobi and other scholars, may be concluded, that not the slightest doubt is any longer possible as to the fact, that Mahāvira and Buddha were different persons, contemporaries and founders of rival communities of monks. But, if we believed the Jain tradition to be right, when it asserts the death of Mahāvira to have taken place 470 years before Vikrama, or 527 B. C., we might well doubt whether this is possible. For the death of Buddha, the date of which was first, and in my opinion rightly fixed by General Cunningham and Professor Max Müller, occurred in 477 B. C.; and as all sources are unanimous in telling us, that he was then 80 years old, he must have been born in 557 B. C. From this is clear, that if Mahāvira died 527 B. C. Buddha was at that date only 30 years of age, and as he did not attain Buddhahood, and gain no followers before his 30th year, i. e., about 521 B. C., it is quite impossible that he should ever have met Mahāvira. Moreover, both are stated to have lived during the reign of Ajātasatru,

⁵³ Cf. for instance *Uttarādhy.* XXIII, 13.

⁵⁴ In this chapter is a curious instance of coincidence between Buddha and Gośāla, which may undoubtedly have been taken by them both from some Brahmanical source. For in § 2 it is told that in a certain night there rose up a *oduddipiko mahamegho* and rain fell, on which occasion Buddha said to his disciples: *Yathā bhikkhave Jetavane vasesati evaṃ catūsu dīpesu vasesati, evamevatha bhikkhave kāyaṃ, ayaṃ paścīmako oduddipiko mahamegho*, O monks, as well as in Jetavana it rains now in the four continents. Strip yourself naked, O monks, for this is the last great cloud over all the four continents. This 'last' great rain reminds us instantly of the 'last tornado,' one of the 'eight finalities' (*aṭṭha coramāṭip*) of Gośāla, cf. *Bhagavat* p. 1264 sq. and Hoernle in *Hastings' Encyclopedia* I, 263.

⁵⁵ Cf. also *Asvapad.* § 79, VII.

⁵⁶ In the same chapter monks are told to have had waterbowls made of skulls, which seems consequently to have been the use of some sects already in very early times.

who became king eight years before the death of Buddha, and reigned 32 years ; this makes it even more impossible to believe in the dates mentioned above. So either the date of Mahāvira must be moved nearer the commencement of our era, or that of Buddha must be moved backwards. However, the date 527 B. C. is a traditional one, and the date 477 B. C. only a calculated one, so perhaps some one might find it easier to doubt the correctness of the latter. Moreover, the year of Buddha's death has been in some researches of the most recent years moved some years backwards : to 486 or 487 B. C. by Mr. Vincent A. Smith and others, or to 482-83 B. C. by Dr. Fleet. If this were really correct, there might be a possibility—but not more—of the correctness of the date 527 B. C. for Mahāvira ; but I do not believe in these alterations. I shall here once more examine the main facts for the calculation of Buddha's death, in order to give proof of my opinion, that the fixing of 477 B. C. as the year of the Great Nirvāṇa by General Cunningham and Professor Max Müller was probably as near to correctness as we can possibly attain.

The real chronology of India begins with Chandragupta after the invasion of Alexander. But the date of Chandragupta's accession or *abhisheka* is by no means absolutely fixed, varying between 325 and 312 B. C. according to different authorities. Moreover, the calculations of the time between Buddha and Chandragupta in old texts are not of great weight ; and so I am convinced—sharing this opinion with M. Senart *Ind. Ant.* XX, 229 sq. and Mr. V. Gopala Aiyer, *ibid.* XXXVII, 341 ff. amongst others—that it is only the inscriptions of Aśoka that can afford us the possibility of obtaining a fixed starting point for the chronology. The suggestion of Buhler *Ind. Ant.* VI. 149 sq. ; XXII, 299 sq. ; *Ep. Ind.* III, 134 sq. and Dr. Fleet *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 1 sq., that the number 256 at the end of the Siddhāpur, Sahasrām and Rāpnāth edicts denotes 256 years elapsed since Buddha's death, has been completely refuted by Dr. F. W. Thomas, *J. A.* 1910, p. 507 sq., who has proved with undeniable evidence that this passage means that Aśoka himself had been away from home 256 nights, when he had the edict published.⁵⁷ Incredible as the suggestion was before the appearance of this article—for it is not very probable that Aśoka should have denoted his spiritual master by the epithet *vyūtha*, never used elsewhere, while on the Lumbinī pillar he employs the well-known epithets Buddha, Śākyamuni and Bhagavant—it has now totally lost all chronological importance. But M. Senart had long before found the starting point in the 13th Rock-Edict, where Aśoka speaks of the Yona king Amtiyoka⁵⁸, and the four kings beyond his realm, Turamaya, Amtikina, Maka and Alikasudara, and I follow him in this. Lassen *Ind. Alt.* II., 254 sq. had previously remarked, that the kings in question are Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria (261-246 B. C.), Ptolemaios II of Egypt (d. 247 B. C.), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (d. 239 B. C.), Magas of Cyrene (d. 258 B. C.) and Alexander of Epirus (d. probably 258 B. C.). Now the Rock Edicts were published when Aśoka had been anointed 12 years, i.e., in the 13th year after his coronation ; and no one can doubt or has doubted, as far as I know, that in the Ed. XIII he speaks of these five kings as alive. As he sent missionaries to them all, and stood, to judge from this, in a rather intimate connexion with them, it is impossible to suppose, that he should not have known one or two years after 258 B. C., that two of them were dead, one amongst these (Magas) being, moreover, a close relative of Ptolemaios ; and the latter was one of the mightiest kings of his time, who had himself despatched the ambassador Dionysios to

⁵⁷ The conclusion of Dr. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.* 1910, p. 1301 sq. based on the acceptance of the reading of Dr. Thomas is totally untenable. The 256 days are explained in the only possible way by M. Levi, *J. A.* 1911, p. 119 sq.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rock-Edict II, where probably the same kings are intended.

Bindusāra or even to Aśoka.⁵⁰ So the 13th year of Aśoka must fall after 261 B. C., the accession of Antiochos Theos, and before 258 B. C., the death of Magas and, probably, of Alexander (if the last did not die even earlier). If, thus, the 13th year fell between 260-258 B. C., the year of the coronation must have been 272-270 B. C., and as Aśoka had been, according to a unanimous tradition amongst the Buddhists, king four years before his coronation, his father Bindusāra must have died between 276 and 274 B. C.

This calculation is founded on the irrefutable basis of contemporaneous monuments. But now the Chronicles of the Buddhists tell us, that Aśoka was anointed king in the 218th year after Buddha, after having put to death his 99 brothers.⁵¹ If this statement were to be trusted, it would with certainty fix the death of Buddha in 489-487 B. C. But it cannot be taken as evidence, because it is contradicted by another notice in these same chronicles.⁵² I shall explain here what I think to be wrong in their calculations.

Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain tradition alike speak of king Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha, and his son and successor Ajātasatru, whom the Jains call Kāṇḍiya or Koṇiya. And the oldest documents of the Buddhists tell us, that this Bimbisāra was the contemporary of Buddha, and was put to death by his son Ajātasatru eight years before the Nirvāṇa. This Bimbisāra was according to the Purāṇas the fifth sovereign belonging to the Śālisunāga dynasty and reigned 28 years; but the *Dipavaṃsa* III, 56-61 and the *Mahāvamsa* II, 25 sq. tell us that he was born five years after Buddha, was made king at the age of fifteen, and reigned 52 years. This is however of no great importance, as Bimbisāra died before both Buddha and Mahāvira. After Bimbisāra came Ajātasatru (or Kāṇḍika), reigning for 25 years according to the *Purāṇa*, and 32 according to the Ceylonese chronicles. Buddha died when he had been king for eight years. But here the coincidence, even in names between Brahmanical and Buddhist records ceases, for the *Purāṇa* tells us that Ajātasatru was succeeded by a king, called Harṣaka or Darśaka, who reigned 25 years, and whose successor was called Udaya, and reigned 33 years, while the Buddhists call the successor of Ajātasatru Udayibhadda (*DN.*) or Udayabhaddaka (*Dhāv.*, *Mahāv.*), and give him a period of 16 years, and the Jains call him Udayin and attribute to him a rather long reign.⁵³

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from page 118)

The Palayams of Kongu.

The Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore) remains now to be noticed. The Madura MSS mention only three Palayams here, namely, Taji of the Ettula Nāiks, Talaimalai of the Rāmachandra Nāiks, and Dhārāmangalam of the Ghetti Mudaliārs; but the Mackenzie MSS contain the history of more than a score of Kongu Pōlygars,⁷⁸ who

⁵⁰ Cf. V. A. Smith *Early History*, p. 139.

⁵¹ That this is refuted by the Rock-Ed. V., where Aśoka speaks of his brothers, was noticed by M. Senart *Ind. Ant.* XX, 256 sq.

⁵² I attach no importance whatsoever to the assertion of the northern Buddhists, that Aśoka lived 100 years of the Nirvāṇa. This is as valueless as the statement that Kanṣka lived 400 years after Buddha, a suggestion certainly to be viewed only in connexion with the former one.

⁵³ This may have been his real name, as avouched by the oldest Buddhist and the Jain tradition.

⁵⁴ Upon this I shall deal further on.

⁷⁸ All these are in Mack MSS, local tracts, BKS. IV, XVII, XVIII and XIX. They have been translated in Appendix VII and a reference to it will give an idea of the topography, the history, etc. of the Palayams. It is unnecessary to dwell upon them here.

acknowledged the supremacy of the Nāiks of Madura. The majority of these Kongu Pālygars were not Tottiyān Nāiks, but Canarese Kavunḍans. Comparative nearness to the Canarese country naturally exposed this province from very early times to Canarese invasions and immigrations. It was on account of this that the establishment of the Hoysāla as well as Vijayanagar supremacy was earlier here than further⁷⁹ south. It is not surprising therefore that when Viśvanātha established the Nāik kingdom of Madura and extended it over Kongu, he had to either suppress or conciliate these Kavunḍa chiefs, as he had to do with the Maravas and Pallis of Tinnevely. The Kavunḍans were Canarese, but it is curious that their chronicles say that they were Vellālas of Tondamandalam. They assert that about⁸⁰ "Kali 1100," a certain Chēramān Perumāl married a Chōla princess and she took with her 8,000 families of these Vellālas as her followers; and that these divided the Kongu country into 24 Nāḍus, over each of which they placed a Kavunḍan. The chiefs served the Chōla, Pāṇḍya or Chēra kings as the political exigencies of the day demanded. Indeed they were not infrequently subject to Mysore. They had in this manner occupied the Kongu country for centuries; and they, as we shall presently see, were conciliated by the Nāik rulers of Madura. It is not possible to go into the details of the histories of these Kavunḍans, but a very brief reference to them may not be out of place. There was, in the first place, the able Vēnu Uḍaya Kavunḍan of Kākavādi;⁸¹ the Maṇṇādiar of Kādayūr, again, the chief whose ancestor Kāngyan, we are informed, distinguished himself in the Kāngyam Nāḍu as early as Kali 557! The Vallal Kavunḍan of Manjarāpuram, again, whose ancestor gave his country the name of Talai Nāḍu—"country of heads"—from his habit of using the skulls of his numerous opponents for ovens! There was the valiant Vānava Rāya Kavunḍan of Sāmattūr, whose namesake and ancestor, Piramaya Kavunḍan, had dared, in order to get an interview with the Rāya in Vijayanagar, to cut off of the ears, horns and tail of the Rāya's fighting bull, and who, on account of his proud refusal to bow to the Rāya, acquired the title of Vaṇṅāmudi Kavunḍa Rāyal! The MS history of this chief says that Vaiyapuri Chinnōba Nāik of Virūpākshi was only a Vēḍa relation and nominee of his! Another prominent chief was the Kalingarāya Kavunḍan of the village of Ottukuli on the Ānaimalais, the 9th of whose line was soon to wait on Viśvanātha Nāik in Madura, and accompany him, like a faithful vassal, in the war with the five Pāṇḍyas. The Niliappa Kavunḍas of Nimindapaṭṭi had a fairly extravagant history. The first of them, it is said, served Kāna Pāṇḍya as a Sirdār and vanquished an "Oḍḍiya" invader,—a feat which is attributed also to some other Kavunḍa chiefs. His descendant also was, like others, destined to acknowledge the Nāik supremacy, and pay tribute. The most important of the Cōimbatore chiefs, however, was the celebrated Ghetti Mudaliār of Dhārāmangalam. The MS history of his line says that, about S. 1400, two Mudaliār brothers, Kumāra and Ghetti, were in the service of "the Karta"⁸² at Madura; that the latter, a vain man, once admired himself by the use of the royal ornaments on his own person; and so fearing chastisement, left for the

⁷⁹ See the *Konguḍas rājakkal* which attributes the Vijayanagar conquest to 1348-9.

⁸⁰ The date is of course absurd. The dates given by the Kongu Polygar memoirs are generally so. The chief of Kāngyam, for example, is said to have lived in K. 557 and yet in the time of the Vijayanagar rulers!

⁸¹ For a full account of the topography and history of all these Pālygars see Appendix VII.

⁸² This is the term generally used to denote the king or governor in the Nāik period.

west, where the local chief of Amarāvati, Kumāra Vēḍa by name, adopted him and, on his retirement, bequeathed to him the chiefdom of Dhārāmangalam! Another chief, Immadi Goppana Maṇṇādiar of Poravipālayam, had a very respectable family history which goes back to still ancient times. It says that, immediately after the return of Kampaṇa Udayār, the restored Pāṇḍya recognized the then Goppana as a chief. "In course of time, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom became extinct, and the Rāya's power was extended throughout the south. The Rāya then crowned Kottiyam Nāgama Nāik's son, Viśvanātha Nāik, as the king of the country east of the pass. Viśvanātha when he came to Madura summoned all the Polygars and Mansabdars of the country. Goppana Maṇṇādiar went, and saw him and obtained his favour." The same was more or less the case with the Pallava Rāya Kavunḍans of Thōppampatti, the Periya Kavunḍans of Maṭakūr, the Chōliyānda Kavunḍans of Sevvur, the Sakkarai Kavunḍans of Palayakōttai, etc. These Kavunḍans, it should be mentioned, were recognized as feudal vassals by the later Nāiks; but as in Tinnevely, they were controlled by a number of Tōttiya chieftains whom Viśvanātha either established or raised from obscurity to grandeur. Thus came into existence the Dēva Nāiks of Avalampatti, the Samba Nāiks of Samaahuvāḍi, the Bomma Nāiks of Āndipatti, the Muttu Rangappa Nāiks of Mētratti, the Chinnama Nāiks of Mailāḍi, the Dimma Nāiks of Vēdapatti, the Soththa Nāiks of Sothampatti, the Sila Nāiks of Tungāvi, etc. Some of these were, as a reference to their histories in Appendix VII will shew, Polygars in the times which preceded the advent of Viśvanātha Nāiken in Madura, but they were definitely organized by him in the middle of the 16th century.

The Castes and Creeds of the Immigrants. The Tōtṭiyans.

It may be asked to what caste and creed the immigrants belonged. The majority of the Telugu colonists were Tōtṭiyans, or Kambaḷattāra. Both the chiefs who migrated to the south and became³³ Polygars, and their main followers were Tōtṭiyans. Of a proud and warlike community, they connected themselves in their legends with God Kriahna. They declared that they were the descendants of the 8000 cowherdesses of Krishna, a tradition which indicates, as Mr. Stewart³⁴ surmises, that their original occupation was perhaps the rearing and keeping of cattle. Other circumstances also go to prove this. The names of their two most important subdivisions, Kollar and Erkollar, are simply the Tamil forms of the Telugu Golla and Eragolla, which denote the shepherd castes of the Telugu country. The subdivision of Killavara, again, is probably a corruption of the Telugu *kilāri*, a herdman. The fact that the Tōtṭiya bride and bridegroom are seated in their marriage ceremony, even now, on bullock saddles goes to prove the pastoral and agricultural life of their early ancestors. The extraordinary skill they display in the reclamation of waste lands is noticed in scores of Mackenzie MSS, which graphically describe the processes of their emigration with their herds of cattle. Besides agriculture, cattle breeding and

³³ Nelson uses the term *Vadugas* to denote the immigrants. He subdivides them into Kavarars, Gollas, Foddas, Kammavāra, and Tōtṭiyans or Kambaḷas. Of these the last three were agricultural. See his *Madra. Manual*, p. 80.

³⁴ *Madra. Census Rep.* 1891; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*.

fighting, the Tōttiyanas had other occupations⁸⁰ also. Almost all of them, men and women, were magicians. Indeed many of the Polygar memoirs assert that many chiefs owed their dignity and estate to their skill in magic. They were, in the popular opinion, experts in the cure of snake-bites by magical incantations, and "the original inventor of this mode of treatment has been deified under the name of Pāmbālamman." (Stuart).

It is impossible to go into all the divisions and subdivisions, endogamous and exogamous,⁸¹ into which the Tōttiyan caste became divided. In Madura they were in three divisions,—the Vēkkili or Rāja Kambajattār, the Thokala and Erakolla. In Tinnevely they were in six divisions. Each of these divisions again was further subdivided into septs. The Erakollas of the Pālayam of Nilakkōttai, for instance, formed a group of seven septs. There were similar groups in the Trichinopoly district. On the whole, there seem to have been, according to one MS, nine sub-castes or important septs—or Kambajams as they were called—included in the comprehensive term Tōttiyan; and in the tribal council meetings, representatives of each of the nine Kambajams had to be present. Each of the Kambajams had a number of headmen. The Vēkkilians, forming one of the Kambajams, had, for instance, three headmen called Mēttu Nāiken, Kodia Nāiken and Kambli Nāiken. The first of these acted as priest on ceremonial occasions such as the attainment of puberty, the performance of marriage rites and the conduct of the tribal worship of Jakkamma and Bommakka. The Kambli Nāiken attended to the ceremonial and other duties relating to the purification of erring members of the community. The Kambajam was so called, it is said, "because, at caste council meetings, a *kambli* (blanket) is spread, on which is placed a *kalaḷam* (brass vessel) filled with water, and containing margosa leaves, and decorated with flowers. Its mouth is closed by mango leaves and a cocoanut."

The Tōttiyanas* were, as a rule, very conservative and did not yield to Brahmanical influence with ease. In the system of marriage after puberty, in the curious system of family polyandry which existed among them, in their preference of the Kōdangi Nāiken to a Brahman for their Guru, in the custom of allowing the *tālī* to be tied on a bride's neck by any male member of the family into which she is married, in the eating of flesh, etc., we see the signs of primitive forms of social organisation still offering resistance to the assaults of Brahmanism and its patriarchal influence and monandrous marriage-bond. In their marriage customs they resembled the other Dravidian classes. They had the custom of marrying their boys to the daughter of their paternal aunt or maternal uncle.

⁸⁰ A few, like the Kāttu Tōttiyanas of the present day, were perhaps even then the dregs of Tōttiyan society, and led the indolent and easy-going lives of vagrants, beggars, and snake-charmers. Some were pigbreeders, and the lowest class were Urmikarans or drummers; some peons and retainers, etc. They of course were held in contempt by the higher classes, and there was no intermarriage or intermarriage between them. As a whole, the Tōttiyanas south of the Kāvēri believe themselves to be socially superior to those north of it. This is explained on the ground that the latter gave a girl to a Muhammadan in marriage. That is why they are said to address the Muhammadans with unusual intimacy. The legend shows that the southern Tōttiyanas were proud seceders from their northern brothers in protest of their intermarriage with a Muhammadan. See *Trich. Gaz.*; *Castes and Tribes* p. 187; *Madr. Gaz.*

⁸¹ It is curious that the Tōttiyanas did not celebrate marriages in their own homes, but in *pondals* of green *pongu* leaves erected for the purpose on the village common. It is equally curious that on such occasions even the wealthiest ate only *cambu* and horse-gram. The sacredness of the *pongu* is due to the fact that it was by means of the *pongu* tree that they were able to cross the floods of a river during their retreat from the pursuit of Muhammadans.

But in the arrangement of such a marriage they ignored even the most ridiculous disparity of age. Not unoften a tender youth found himself the husband of a grown up woman,—a circumstance which necessarily gave currency to primitive ideas of female morality, and to the belief, characteristic of the caste, that a woman might, and indeed should, have, in case she did not desire disaster or unhappiness, marital relations with the father and other male relations of the husband.⁸⁷ The same reason must be at the basis of the notion prevalent in the caste that a woman loses purity only when she chooses a lover of a different caste. The woman found guilty in this manner, however, was instantly put to death through the hands of the despised Chakkiliyan. Divorce among the Tōttiyans was easy and the remarriage of widows freely allowed; but the widow who did not avail herself of the permission and committed *sati* with her husband, was highly respected and even deified. The ladies of the Tōttiyān Polygars⁸⁸ frequently committed *sati* on the death of their lords.

In religion the Tōttiyans were chiefly Vaishnavites.⁸⁹ A reference to the Appendices will show that when the Tōttiyān Polygars emigrated from the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar to the south, they carried with them the images of Ahōbila Naraśinga Perumāḷ, Tirupati Venkātāchalapati, and other Vaishnava deities. Many curious legends are given in the MSS about these deities. The ancestor of the Kannivādi Appaiya Nāiks, for example, we are told, neglected his tutelary god at first; but the deity managed to get into his notice, brought about an interview between him and the Pāṇḍyan king through the instrumentality of a vision, and finally secured for him a Pālayam; and this of course led the gratified adventurer to build a temple to his divine benefactor. Wherever the Tōttiyans went, they built temples, sometimes of stone, but generally of brick or mud, and dedicated them either to Narasimha or Venkātāchalapati. They had also their own minor household deities, which were chiefly the *manes* of departed relations, *satis*, or vestal virgins. The patron deities of the caste, Jakkamma and Bommakka, were women who committed *sati*. "Small tombs called Tipanjam-kōvils were erected in their honour on the high roads, and at these oblations were offered once a year to the *manes* of the deceased heroines." Another deity, Virakāran, was derived from a bridegroom who was killed in a fight with a tiger. Pattāmma was the goddess who helped the tribe during their flight from the north. Malai Tamburan was the God of the Ancestors.

Closely connected with the Tōttiyans were their domestic servants or Parivārams, who formed a separate caste. Some of them were called Chinna Ūliyams or lesser servants, as they discharged the comparatively low kind of duties, such as palanquin-bearing. The Periya Ūliyams or Maniyakārāns had more honorable duties to perform. In their marriage customs, in the easy allowance of divorce, in the toleration of the loose marriage life within the caste, in the recognised right of the Polygar to enjoy their women at will, and in the severity of the punishment inflicted on those who went astray with men of other castes, they in every way resembled the Tōttiyans.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Not unoften a family of several brothers had one wife,—a custom sanctioned by the tradition of the Pāṇḍavas. See Wilks I, p. 35; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*; *Madura Gaz.*, etc. *Mad. Manu.* I, 282.

⁸⁸ Cf. the various chronicles of the Appendix.

⁸⁹ Nelson, p. 81; the *Polygar Memoirs*, etc.

⁹⁰ See *Madu. Gaz.* and Thurston's *Castes*. Excommunication was the punishment for immorality outside the caste. A mud image of the offender was made and thrown away outside the village as a sign of social death.

The Reddis.

Next to the Tōttiyans, the Reddis²¹ were the most prominent Telugu colonists. But the Reddis came without their women; and on account of their marrying Tamil women, they became very much denationalised. They are in consequence an almost different community from the Reddis of the North. They occupied chiefly the region covered by the modern Trichinopoly district, and also parts of Coimbatore and Salem. It seems probable that they immigrated in two different waves. One of them married the women of the lower classes called Pongalas, and so came to be known as Pongala Reddis, while the other married dancing girls and came to be known as Panta Reddis. Next to the Velālas in social rank, they considered themselves superior to all the other Tamil castes. They are a physically fine class, inauspicious and well behaved. Their chief occupation has been agriculture. Owing to some special social reason they were very friendly to the Chakkiliyans, who were allowed to take part in their marriage negotiations, accompanied their women on journeys, and had the right of receiving alms from them. The Reddis were only partially open to Brahmanical influence. They wore the sacred thread, for example; but this they did only at funerals. They did not allow their widows to marry again; but their ideas of chastity were very loose, except in the case of maids and widows. They had, again, for their deities, Yellamma, Rengaiyamma, Polayamma, and other such non-Brahmanical creations, for propitiating whom they indulged in certain very gruesome rites.

The Teluguised Saurāshtras.

In a survey of the tribal migrations in South India during the Vijayanagar rule the important industrial community of the Teluguised Saurāshtras, the clothiers and master-crafts-men of the Peninsula, cannot be ignored. Centuries back the original habitation of this people had been, as their spoken language Patnūli or Khatri shews, in Gujarāt, or Saurāshtra. About the 5th Cent.²² A.D. they, in response to the invitation of Emperor Kumāra Gupta, the son of the famous Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, immigrated to Malwa to practise there their art of silk-weaving. For centuries they stayed there. The Musalmān invasion then deprived them of their royal patrons and induced them to cross the Vindhya. In the kingdom of Dēvagiri they found welcome, but the Musalmān *Nemesis* came there also, and the emigrants had to seek protection further South. The Empire of Vijayanagar had just then been formed and begun to attract to its magnificent capital everything that was grand and good in Indian religion, art, industry, and skill. The Saurāshtras evidently found themselves a highly patronised community there. Nor is it surprising that they experienced such hospitality. The splendour of the imperial court, the gigantic establishment of the imperial harem, the royal practice of making presents to favourites and officers in gorgeous robes, and the love of luxury common in those days, contributed to the enormous increase in the demand for silk clothes; and the Saurāshtras, assured of easy livelihood and substantial recompense, perfected their skill, and satisfied the emperors and the nobles. The period of the Saurāshtras' stay in Vijayanagar, in consequence, was a period of unusual prosperity to them. It was evidently during this period that they enlarged their Khatri vocabulary by the addition of a large number of

²¹ The Reddis or Kāpus were the landlords and agriculturists of the Telugu country. For their customs see *Goddard's Gaz.* p. 55. For a fairly detailed description of them in the south see *Trich. Gaz.*, 117-18 and Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*.

²² Mandasor insc. of 473-4. See *Mas. Gaz.* p. 110, which beautifully summarises the history of the community.

Telugu and Canarese words, and at the same time imbibed the customs and habits of the Telugus. With the advance of time, the Saurāshtras, thanks to the close political relationship which, as we have seen, existed between Vijayanagar and the South Indian kingdoms, migrated, in large numbers, to the basins of the Kāvēri and the Vaigai. Wherever there was a chiefdom or a viceroyalty, wherever there was likely to be a demand for fine robes⁹³ and garments, wherever there was the surety of royal patronage, they settled. The Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, the Kongu and Mysore regions, became in this way centres of industrial activity, and the silk and laced cloths of Madura especially became famous throughout the world.

Other Telugu Communities.

It is not possible to go into the history of the other Telugu communities who occupied the various parts of the South. It is plain that a number of Telugu Brahmans both of the Vaidika and the Niyōgi classes, must have come to the South in the wake of the immigrating Pōlygars. Then again there were professional castes like the Uraḷis or Uppiliyana,⁹⁴ the traditional manufacturers of salt and salt-petre; the Kavarais, many of whom were sellers and manufacturers of bangles; Telugu spinners, dyers and painters; the Sēniyans or Telugu weavers; Telugu barbers, leather workers, washermen; the fickle but industrious Oḷāns, whose services in tank-digging and earth-working has made them highly useful in an age of utilitarian public works; the Dombans or jugglers; and lastly beggars attached to the superior castes. All these had generally their caste heads; and there were caste assemblies, which met at need and enquired into social complaints and grievances. These caste-assemblies⁹⁵ freed the State largely from the necessity of administering justice as between persons of the same caste. Cases involving different castes or communities, however, came before the king for decision. As a matter of fact, each caste had its own self-government; and as each caste generally colonized in a separate village, caste government came to be more or less identical with village self-government.

Canarese Immigrants.

It has been already pointed out that the Telugus were not the only northerners who migrated to the South in this age. Side by side with them there came large numbers of Canarese, of all grades and professions of life. They were of course not so numerous as the Telugus, nor so influential, but they were none the less conspicuous in the northernising of the South. The districts of Coimbatore and Salem, in particular, the hilly regions which divided the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyans from Travancore, became the scenes of their colonisation. The vast majority of them were known by the caste title of Kāppiliyana, while others were known as Aṇuppana. A number of traditions exist in connection with their migrations. The Kāppiliyan tradition regarding their migration to this district is similar to that current among Tōṭṭiyans (whom they resemble in several of their customs), the story being that the caste was oppressed by the Musalmāns of the north, fled across the Tungabhadra and was saved by two *pongu* trees bridging an unfordable stream which blocked their escape. They travelled, say the legends, through Mysore to Conjeeveram,

⁹³ The Saurāshtras were so indispensable in silk-weaving that even Haider Ali established a colony of them in Mysore and gave them special facilities.

⁹⁴ The habits and customs of all these can be fully understood from Thurston's *Castes*, which is based on all the information it is possible to get.

⁹⁵ Nelson points out, for example, that *panchdyats* or juries of leading men decided civil disputes among Tōṭṭiyana. Examples may be multiplied, but are unnecessary.

thence to Coimbatore and thence to this district. The stay at Conjeeveram is always emphasised, and is supported by the fact that the caste has shrines dedicated to Kānchi Varadarāja Perumāḷ.⁹⁵ The same, with slight modifications, is told of the Aṇuppana. Both the communities had a close resemblance to the Tōṭṭiyans in their customs and practices. Like the latter they carried the custom of marriage between a man and his paternal aunt's daughter to an absurd extreme, thereby reducing marriage to polyandry within the family, while prescribing severe chastisement to the exercise of it beyond it. Both were non-Brahmanical in their marriage rites,⁹⁷ though in detail they differed from one another. Both had very curious ceremonies to be done at the attainment of age by a girl. Both sanctioned the remarriage of widows, though the Kāppiliyans seem to have been more restrictive in their regulations in regard to this. Early in their history they seem to have split up into those two endogamous divisions known as *Dharmakaḷḷu* and *Māṇṇakaḷḷu*, into which they are divided even in the present day. Both the Canarese and the Tōṭṭiyans, again, worshipped *śaṭis*, and observed festivals in their honour. The Kāppiliyans however were not inclined to ancestor-worship to the same extent to which the Tōṭṭiyans were. Both were indifferent to the burial or burning of the dead. Both, again, had "an organisation mind," that is, had *pañcāyats* which settled all matters concerning them, the Jāti Kavunḍan or Peria Danakkaran of the Canarese corresponding to the Mēttu Nāiken of the Telugus. Like the Tōṭṭiyan Polygars, the Kavunḍan chiefs of Kombal, Dēvaram and the adjoining Pālayams had a number of *paricārams* or followers, who formed a distinct caste and closely imitated them in their customs and rites.⁹⁸

The rise of Caste jealousies.

The advent of the Vadugas into the Tamil lands was necessarily productive of occasional caste quarrels and popular disunions. There had been enough bickerings among the indigenous communities of the land, as between the Maravas and Kaḷḷas for example, the Veḷḷālas and Pāḷḷis, the Pariahs and Pāḷḷas, and so on. There had been enough social unrest caused by the right and left hand disputes;⁹⁹ and the range of those disputes was increased by the northerners. Proud and unscrupulous, the new colonists looked on the Tamils as a conquered race, while the Tamils, sullen and repentant, attributed their fall to want of organization and not of valour, and hated their late adversaries and present rulers. The hatred between the Marava and Tōṭṭiya especially was inexhaustible, and conflicts between their chiefs in regard to their relative status seem to have been frequent. The Polygar memoirs tell us of such squabbles, and they also glaringly illustrate the national solidarity of each community in opposing the other. The advent of the Saurāshtras, again, was followed by certain social disputes between them and the Brahmins, which have not died even now. The great ambition of the Saurāshtras was to get themselves recognised as Brahmins.¹⁰⁰ Claiming to be the descendants of a sage named Tantravardhana,—literally one who improves threads, they adopted the titles of Aiyar, Aiyangār, Āchārya, Śāstri, etc.,

⁹⁵ *Madras Gaz.* p. 108.

⁹⁷ For a comparison of the rites and ceremonies, see *loc. cit.* and Thurston.

⁹⁸ Among other Canarese tribes who immigrated to the Kongu country may be mentioned the Torayya. See *Thurston and Salem Manual*.

⁹⁹ The literature on this subject is fairly voluminous, but it would be out of place to enter into the various theories which have been suggested in regard to them. See *Madras Manual*, I, p. 69; *Taylor's Races of India*, III.

¹⁰⁰ That is why they now object to being called Patnālākṣaras, which name, they say, belongs only to the Śēṇiyas, Kaikōḷas and other 'low caste' weavers.

to the indignation of the Tamil Brahmins. Taunted with the fact that their non-Brahmanical occupation was an incontrovertible proof of their non-Brahmanical birth, they skilfully gave currency to plausible legends which shewed that their occupation was a pure accident, was the result of a misfortune and not a symbol of their social status. They had a curse to that effect, they said, during their stay at Dēvagiri. Here, they say, they had occupied a number of streets on condition that they were to supply a number of silk cloths every year for the Dipāvali festival to the goddess Lakshmi of the place; but the failure to do so on one occasion induced divine anger and the consequent decree that they ought not to be regarded as Brahmins. Another version, as given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, attributes their social degradation to the indignation of sage Durvāsas, whose request to them to bear the cost of a temple they unwisely ignored. A third version says that once Indra performed a sacrifice in Saurāshtra; that in the course of his religious observances he distributed monetary gifts to all Brahmins, but that the Saurāshtras refused to take them in their unwise pride. The insulted god of the Dēvas thereupon cursed them to become poor, to be gluttons, and to swerve from Brahmanical ways of life. A fourth account attributes their social fall to Parāśu Rāma. It is said that he performed a ceremony to his father in Saurāshtra, and invited the Brahmins of that region to it, but they refused. The sage therefore pronounced the decree that they should not only become poor, but leave their homes and wander without a settled home for centuries. More remarkable than these legends is the story of the *Skanda Purāṇa*,—that the Delhi Emperor despatched one of his generals to bring certain Saurāshtra women to his harem; that the Saurāshtras resisted, but could hardly stand before their adversaries; that many of the ladies then committed *sati*, or were killed by their defeated husbands or brothers; that the Musalmāns thereupon vowed to kill every Saurāshtra Brahmin in the country; that a horrible massacre ensued, and Saurāshtra blood ran like water; that most of them preferred death to dishonour, but that about 7,500 of them, more fond of life than of honour, bartered their safety for social dignity, cast away the sacred thread, pretended to be Vaiyas and traders, assumed Vainya names and titles, and ultimately left their homes in search of new and happier homes. The account of Musalmān oppression and consequent emigration may be true, but it is inconsistent with the theory of ancient emigration.

Whatever the fact was, the Saurāshtras never relaxed their efforts to demonstrate their alleged Brahmanical origin. The obstinacy of the southern Brahmins in denying it and the indifference of other classes who called them Chettis, only went to increase their efforts to declare their social rank. And they were not quite without success. Their light complexion, their handsome and regular features, their orthodoxy, their charities, their liberality in the maintenance of temples and the conduct of festivals, their assumption of Brahmin titles, names and customs, and above all, the state patronage under which they lived, enabled them to counter-balance, to a certain extent, the opposite tendencies engendered by their occupation, by the observance of certain curious rites which shewed their foreign character, and by the sturdy conservatism of their women who clung, in spite of their husbands' movements with the times, to old customs, their old language, and their old methods of dressing. Not infrequently the disputes between the Saurāshtras and the Brahmins reached an unpleasant crisis, and the State had to intervene. A remarkable instance of such a crisis and such an intervention occurred in the regency of Mangammāl. We are informed that, in that reign, "eighteen of the members of the

(Saurāshtra) community were arrested by the governor of Madura for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *upākarma*, or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned in the *Śāstras* to investigate the Patnūlkarans' right to perform such ceremonies. This declared in favour of the defendants; and the queen gave them a palm leaf award accordingly, which is still preserved in Madura.¹ From this time onward the caste followed "many of the customs of the southern Brahmans regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and has recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles, such as Aiyar, Ācharya and Bhāgavatar.² Similar acts of state interference or arbitration made the conflicts between the various communities less serious than they would otherwise be, and before long the close proximity of the conquerors and the conquered, the services of the former in exploiting the country and increasing its resources, the growth of mutual acquaintance, the community of action and interest as against outsiders, and other causes contributed to greater cordiality among them; and the advent of the Badugas thus came to mean no other thing than an innocent complication of an already highly complex plethora of castes and tribes.

(To be continued.)

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE,¹

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

The word '*Pahārī*' means 'of or belonging to the mountains,' and is specially applied to the groups of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan hills extending from the Bhadravāh, north of the Panjāb, to the eastern parts of Nepāl. To its North and East various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kāshmirī and Western Panjābī, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjāb and the Gangetic plain, viz :—in order from West to East, Panjābī, Western Hindī, Eastern Hindī and Bihārī.

The Pahārī languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kurā or Eastern Pahārī, commonly called Naipālī, the Aryan language spoken in Nepāl. Next, in Kumaon and Garhwāl, we have the Central Pahārī languages, Kumaunī and Garhwālī. Finally in the West we have the Western Pahārī languages spoken in Jaunsār-Bāwar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chambā, and Western Kashmīr.

As no census particulars are available for Nepāl we are unable to state how many speakers of Eastern Pahārī there are in its proper home. Many persons (especially Gōrkhā soldiers) speaking the language reside in British India. In 1891 the number counted in British India was 24,262, but these figures are certainly incorrect. In 1901 the number was 143,721. Although the Survey is throughout based on the Census figures of 1891, an exception will be made in the case of Eastern Pahārī, and those for 1901 will be taken, as in this case they will more nearly represent the actual state of affairs at the time of the preceding census.

¹ *Madu. Gaz.* I, p. 111.

² *Madu. Gaz.* I, p. 111.

¹ This article is an advance issue of the Introduction to the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India* dealing with the Pahārī Languages.

Central and Western Pahārī are both spoken entirely in tracts which were subject to the Census operations of 1891, and these figures may be taken as being very fairly correct. The figures for the number of Pahārī speakers in British India are therefore as follows :—

Eastern Pahārī (1901)	..	..	..	..	..	143,721
Central Pahārī (1891)	..	..	..	..	..	1,107,612
Western Pahārī (1891)	..	..	..	..	..	816,181

TOTAL 2,067,514

It must be borne in mind that these figures only refer to British India, and do not include the many speakers of Eastern Pahārī who inhabit Nepāl.

To these speakers of Western Pahārī must be added the language of the Gujurs who wander over the hills of Hazāra, Murree, Kashmīr, and Swat and its vicinity. Except in Kashmīr and Hazāra, these have never been counted. In Kashmīr, in the year 1901, the number of speakers of Gujurī was returned at 126,849 and in Hazāra, in 1891, at 83,167, and a mongrel form of the language, much mixed with Hindōstānī and Pañjābī is spoken by 226,349 Gujars of the submontane districts of the Panjāb, Gujrāt, Gurdāspur, Kāngra, and Hoshiārpur. To make a very rough guess we may therefore estimate the total number of Gujurī speakers at, say, 600,000, or put the total number of Pahārī speakers including Gujurī at about 2,670,000.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Pahārī has little connexion with the Pañjābī, Western and Eastern Hindī, and Bihārī spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rājputāna. In order to explain this fact it is necessary to consider at some length the question of the population that speaks it. This naturally leads to the history of the Khasās and the Gurjaras of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit Khasā and Gurjara are represented in modern Indian tongues by the words Khas, and Gtjar, Gujar, or Gujur respectively. The mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahārī is spoken belongs, in the West, to the Kanēt and, in the East, to the Khas caste. We shall see that the Kanēts themselves are closely connected with the Khasās, and that one of their two sub-divisions bears that name. The other (the Rāo) sub-division, as we shall see below,² I believe to be of Gurjara descent.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent³ references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khasā (खस), with variants such as Khasa (खस), Khasha (खष), and Khasīra (खसीर).⁴ The earlier we trace notices regarding them, the further north-west we find them.

² See the continuation of this article in the next number.

³ Authorities on Kanēt and Khas :—Cunningham, Sir Alexander, —*Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 ff. Ibbotson, Sir Denzil, —*Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 288. Atkinson, H. T. —*The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces), Allahabad, 1884, pp. 268-70, 375-81, 439-42, etc. (see Index). Stein, Sir Aurel. —*Translation of the Rājā-Tarāṅgīnī*, London, 1900, Note to i, 317, II, 430, and elsewhere (see Index). Hodgson, B. H. —*Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepāl*. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* II (1833), pp. 217 ff. Reprinted on pp. 37 ff. of Part II of *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepāl and Tibet* (London, 1874). Vansittart, H., —*The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Nepāl*. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXIII (1894), Part I, pp. 213 ff. Lévi, Sylvain, —*Le Nepāl*, Paris, 1906. Vol. I, pp. 267, ff., 261-267, 276 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 216 ff., etc. (see Index.)

⁴ E.g. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 375:—*Daradā Kāśmīrā Khastrā, Darda, Kāshmirā, and Khasīra*. Regarding the equation of the last named with Khasās, cf. Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa* II, 184.

Before citing the older authorities it may be well to recall a legend regarding a woman named Khasā of which the most accessible version will be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,⁶ but which also occurs in many other similar works. The famous Kaṭyapa, to whom elsewhere is attributed the origin of the country of Kaśmīr, had numerous wives. Of these Krōdhavaśā was the ancestress of the cannibal Pīśācīs or Pīśāchas and Khasā of the Yakhas and Rākshasas. These Yakhas were also cannibals,⁷ and so were the Rākshasas.

In Buddhist literature the Yakhas correspond to the Pīśāchas of Hindū legend.⁸ Another legend makes the Pīśāchas the children of Kapiśā, and there was an ancient town called Kāpiśā at the southern foot of the Hindū Kush.⁹ That the Pīśāchas were also said to be cannibals is well known, and the traditions about ancient cannibalism in the neighbourhood of the Hindū Kush have been described elsewhere by the present writer.¹⁰ Here we have a series of legends connecting the name Khasā with cannibalism practised in the mountains in the extreme north-west of India, and to this we may add Pliny's remark¹¹ about the same locality,—'next the Aptaori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcari; then come the Casiri (Khasīras), an Indian people who look towards the Scythians and feed on human flesh.'

Numerous passages in Sanskrit literature give further indications as to the locality of the Khasas. The *Mahābhārata*¹² gives a long account of the various rarities presented to Yudhiṣṭhira by the kings of the earth. Amongst them are those that rule over the nations that dwell near the river Saṁdā where it flows between the mountains of Mēru and Mandara, i.e. in Western Tibet.¹³ These are the Khasas the Pāradas (? the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas¹⁴ and the Taṭganās.¹⁵ Especially interesting is it to note that the tribute these people brought was Tibetan gold-dust, the famous *pīpūlita*, or ant-gold, recorded by Herodotus¹⁶ and many other classical writers, as being dug out of the earth by ants.

In another passage¹⁷ the Khasas are mentioned together with the Kāśmīras (Kāśhmīris), the inhabitants of Urasa (the modern Panjab district of Hazara), the Pīśāchas, Kāmbōjas¹⁸

⁶ Wilson, II, 74 ff.

⁷ *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, III, xix, 21. They wanted to eat Brahmā himself!

⁸ So Kalhapa, *Bhāratavārtā*, I, 184, equates Yakhas and Pīśāchas. See note on the passage in Stein's translation.

⁹ Thomas in *J. B. A. S.*, 1906, p. 461.

¹⁰ *J. B. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 295 ff.

¹¹ XVI, 17; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 113. Is it possible that 'Thuni and Forcari' represent 'Hūpa and Tukhāra'?

¹² II, 1822 ff.

¹³ II, 1858. Cf. Pargiter, *Māhābhārata Purāṇa*, p. 351.

¹⁴ *Vide post.*

¹⁵ The *Táyyaroi* of Ptolemy. The most northern of all the tribes on the Ganges. They lived near Badrināth. Here was the district of Taṅgapapura, mentioned in copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Paṇḍukāvara near Badrināth (Atkinson, *op. cit.* p. 357).

¹⁶ III, 104.

¹⁷ VII, 399.

¹⁸ According to Yāska's *Nirukta* (II, i, 4), the Kāmbōjas did not speak pure Sanskrit, but a dialectic form of that language. As an example, he quotes the Kāmbōja *śaveti*, he goes, a verb which is not used in Sanskrit. Now this verb *śaveti*, although not Sanskrit, happens to be good Iranian, and occurs in the Avesta, with this meaning of 'to go.' We therefore from this one example learn that the Kāmbōjas of the

[a tribe of the Hindû Kush), the Daradas (or Dards) and the Sakas (Scythians), as being conquered by Kṛishṇa.

In another passage Duṣāsana leads a forlorn hope consisting of Sakas,¹⁸ Kāmbōjas,¹⁹ Bāhlikas (inhabitants of Balkh), Yavanas (Greeks), Pāradas,²⁰ Kuliṅgas (a tribe on the banks of the Satlaj²¹), the Taḡgaṇas,²² Ambashthas (of the (?) middle Panjāb, probably the Ambastai of Ptolemy),²³ Piśāchas, Barbarians, and mountaineers.²⁴ Amongst them,²⁵ armed with swords and pikes were Daradas,²⁶ Taḡgaṇas,²⁷ Khaśas, Lampākas (now Kāfirs of the Hindû Kush),²⁸ and Pulindas²⁹

We have already seen that the Khaśas were liable to the imputation of cannibalism. In another passage of the *Mahābhārata*, where Karṇa describes the Bāhlikas in the 8th book, they are again given a bad character.³⁰ Where the six rivers, the Satadru (Satlaj), Vipāśā (Bias), Irāvati (Ravi), Chandrabhāgā (Chinab), Vitastā (Jehlam), and the Sindhu (Indus) issue from the hills, is the region of the Āraṭas, a land whose religion has been destroyed.³¹ There live the Bāhlikas (the Outsiders) who never perform sacrifices and whose religion has been utterly destroyed. They eat any kind of food from filthy vessels, drink the milk of sheep, camels, and asses, and have many bastards. They are the offspring of two Piśāchas who lived in the river Vipāśā (Bias). They are without the *Vēda* and without knowledge.

Hindû Kush spoke an Aryan language, which was closely connected with ancient Sanskrit, but was not pure Sanskrit, and which included in its vocabulary words belonging to Iranian languages. We may further note that Yāska does not consider the Kāmbōjas to be Aryans. He says this word is used in the language of the Kāmbōjas, while only its (according to his account) derivative, *drau*, a corpse, is used in the language of the Aryans.

Again in the same passage Yāska states that 'the northerners' use the word *dāru* to mean 'a sickle'. Now we shall see that in Western Pahlāvi and in the Piśācha languages generally, *r* continually becomes *ch* or *sh*. Thus the Sanskrit word *puru*, a son, becomes *puoh* or *puah* in Bhiṇḍ. We may expect a similar change to occur in regard to the word *dāru*. This word actually occurs in Persian in the form *dā*, but the only relation of it that has been noted in the Piśācha dialects is the Kashmiri *drō*, which is really the same word as *dāru*, with metathesis of the *r*.

¹⁸ See above.

¹⁹ I. e., if they are the same as the Kuliṅgas of *Mārk. P.*, LVII, 37.

²⁰ VII, 1, 68.

²¹ VII, 4818.

²² VII, 4848.

²³ See above.

²⁴ *Mārk. P.*, LVII, 40, and Pargiter's note thereon.

²⁵ There were two Pulindas, one in the south and another in the north. See Hall on Wilson, *Vishnu P.*, Vol. II, p. 159.

²⁶ VIII, 2032 ff. A clan of the Bāhlikas is the Jartikas (2034), who perhaps represent the modern Jatts. If they do, the passage is the oldest mention of the Jatts in Indian literature.

²⁷ Note that their religion has been destroyed. In other words they formerly followed Indo-Aryan rites, but had abandoned them. They are not represented as infidels as *śūdras*. In this passage the Āraṭas are mentioned in verses 2056, 2061, 2064, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2081, 2100 and 2110. The name is usually interpreted as meaning 'a people without kings', but this is a doubtful explanation.

The Prasthalas,²⁸ the Madras,²⁹ the Gandhāras (a people of the north-west Panjāb, the classical Gandarii), the people named Āraṭas, the Khaśas, the Vasātis, the Sindhus and Sauvīras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus), are almost as despicable.³⁰

In the supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, known as the *Harivaṃśa*, we also find references to the Khaśas. Thus it is said³¹ that King Sagara conquered the whole earth, and a list is given of certain tribes. The first two are the Khaśas and the Tukhāras. The latter were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tōkhārīstān of Musalmān writers.

In another place,³² the *Harivaṃśa* tells how an army of Greeks (Yavanas) attacked Kṛishṇa when he was at Mathurā. In the army were Sakas (Scythians), Tukhāras,³³ Daradas (Dards), Pāradas,³⁴ Taigaṇas,³⁵ Khaśas, Pahlavas (Parthians), and other barbarians (Mlechchhas) of the Himālaya.

Many references to the Khaśas occur in the *Purāṇas*. The most accessible are those in the *Vishṇu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*, which have translations with good indexes. I shall rely principally upon these, but shall also note a few others that I have collected.

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa*³⁶ tells the story of Khasā, the wife of Kaśyapa, with her sons Yaksha and Rākhasa and her Piśācha stepson already given. It also tells (IV, iii) the story of Sagara, but does not mention the Khaśas in this connexion, nor does the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the corresponding passage (IX, viii). The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, on the other hand, in telling the story mentions the Khaśas, but coupling them with three other tribes. Of these three, one belongs to the north-west, and the other two to the south of India, so that we cannot glean from it anything decisive as to the locality of the Khaśas.

A remarkable passage in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (II, iv, 18) gives a list of a number of outcast tribes, which have recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Kṛishṇa. The tribes belong to various parts of India, but the last four are the Ābhīras,³⁷ the Kaśkas,³⁸ the Yavanas, and the Khaśas (v. l. Sakas). Here again we have the Khaśas mentioned among north-western folk.

Again in the story of Bharata, the same *Purāṇa* tells how that monarch conquered (IX, xx, 29) a number of the barbarian (Mlechchha) kings, who had no Brāhmanas. These were the kings of the Kirītas, Hūpas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaśkas, Khaśas, and Sakas. The list is a mixed one, but the last three are grouped together and point to the north-west.

²⁸ Locality not identified.

²⁹ In the Panjāb, close to the Ambashthas (see above). Their capital was Sākala, the Sagala of Ptolemy. In verse 2049 of the passage quoted, we have a song celebrating the luxury of Sākala.—“When shall I next sing the songs of the Bāhikas in this Sākala town, after having feasted on cow's flesh, and drunk strong wine? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments, in the company of fair-complexioned large sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef, and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels? They who eat not mutton live in vain.” So do the inhabitants, drunk with wine, sing. “How can virtue be found among such a people?”

³⁰ At the time that the *Satapatha Brāhmana* was written, the Bāhikas were not altogether outside the Aryan pale. It is there (I, vii. iii, 8) said that they worship Agni under the name of Bhava.

³¹ 784.

³² 6440.

³³ See above.

³⁴ I, xxi.

³⁵ On the Indus, the Abiria of Ptolemy.

³⁶ Kaśkas have not been identified, but in the list of nations who brought presents to Yudhisṭhira already mentioned (*Mahābhārata*, II, 1850) they are mentioned together with the Sakas, Tukhāras, and Rōmas (? Romans), i. e. as coming from the north-west.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 56) mentions the Khaṣas as a mountain (probably Himalayan) tribe. In three other places (LVIII, 7, 12 and 51) they have apparently, with the Sakas and other tribes, penetrated to the north-east of India. This would appear to show that by the time of the composition of this work the Khaṣas had already reached Nepāl and Darjeeling, where they are still a numerous body.³⁷

We may close this group of authorities by a reference to the *Laws of Manu*. Looking at the Khaṣas from the Brahmanical point of view, he says (X, 22) that Khaṣas are the offspring of outcast Kshatriyas, and again (X, 44), after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kāmbōjas,³⁸ Yavanas,³⁸ Sakas,³⁸ Pāradas,³⁸ Pahlavas,³⁸ Chīnas,³⁹ Kirātas,⁴⁰ Daradas³⁸ and Khaṣas are those who became outcast through having neglected their religious duties,⁴¹ and, whether they speak a barbarous (Ml̥chchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus. Here again we see the Khaṣas grouped with people of the north-west.

Two works belonging at latest to the 6th century A.D. next claim our attention. These are the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. The former⁴² in the chapter on dialects says, 'The Bāhlikī language is the native tongue of Northerners and Khaṣas.' Bāhlikī, as we have seen above, is the language then spoken in what is now Balch.⁴³ Here again we have the Khaṣas referred to the north-west.

Varāhamihira mentions Khaṣas several times. Thus in one place (X, 12) he groups them with Kulūtas (people of Kulu), Taṅgaṇas (see note⁴⁴), and Kāśmīras (Kāśhmīris). In his famous chapter on Geography, he mentions them twice. In one place (XIV, 6) he puts them in Eastern India, and in another (XIV, 30) he puts them in the north-east. The latter is a mistake, for the other countries named at the same time are certainly north-western.⁴⁵ The mistake is a curious and unexpected one, but is there nevertheless, and

³⁷ *Vide post.*

³⁸ See above.

³⁹ Usually translated 'Chinese,' but I would suggest that in this and similar passages, they are the great Ship race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.

⁴⁰ At present mostly in Nepāl.

⁴¹ So Kullūka.

⁴² xvii, 52. *Bāhlikabhāṣāśodhikyaṇām Khaṣāndeh oha evadāśajā*: I am indebted to Dr. Konow for this reference.

⁴³ Lakṣmīdhara, a comparatively late Prakṛit Grammarian, says that the language of Bāhlikā (Balch), Kākaya (N. W. Panjāb), Nepāl, Gandhāra (the country round Peshāwar), and Bhōṭa (for Bhōṭa, i.e., Tibet), together with certain countries in South India is said by the ancients to have been Pai śchi. See Lassen, *Institutiones Linguae Praecriticae*, p. 13, and Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 27.

⁴⁴ The whole passage (29 and 30) runs as follows:—'In North-East, Mount Mēru, the Kingdom of those who have lost caste (*nashṭarājya*), the nomads (*paṣupālas*, worshippers of Paśupati), the Kiras (a tribe near Kashmir, Stein, *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, trans. II, 217) the Kāśmīras, the Abhisīras (of the lower hills between the Jhelam and the Chinab), Daradas (Darde) Taṅgaṇas, Kulūtas (Kulu), Śaśrindhras (not identified), Forest men, Brahmapuras (Bharmaur in Chamba), Dervas (close to Abhisīra), Dāmaras (apparently a Kashmir tribe, Stein II, 304 ff.), Foresters, Kirātas, Chīnas (Shins of Gilgit, see note³⁹, or Chinese), Kaupindas (see below), Bhallas (not identified), Paṭōlas (not identified), Jāṭas (Jāṭas), Kunātas (see below), Khaṣas, Ghōṣas and Kuchikas (not identified). It will be seen that every one of the above names which has been identified belongs to the North-West.

moreover Varāhamihira is not alone in this. Bhaṭṭotpala, in his commentary to the *Bṛhatasamhitā*, quotes Parāśara as saying the same thing.⁴⁵

In the section dealing with those men who are technically known as 'swans,'⁴⁶ Varāhamihira says that they are a long-lived race ruling over the Khaśas, Śūrasēnas (Eastern Punjab), Gāndhāra (Peshawar country), and the Gangetic Dōab. This passage does not give much help.

Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle of Kashmīr, the *Rājataranginī*, written in the middle of the 12th century A.D., is full of references to the Khaśas, who were a veritable thorn in the side of the Kashmīr rulers. Sir Aurel Stein's translation of the work, with its excellent index, renders a detailed account of these allusions unnecessary. It will be sufficient to give Sir Aurel Stein's note to his translation of verse 317 of Book I. I have taken the liberty of altering the spelling of some of the words so as to agree with the system adopted for this survey :—

"It can be shown from a careful examination of all the passages that their (the Khaśas') seats were restricted to a comparatively limited region, which may be roughly described as comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pīr Pantaśāl range, between the middle course of the Vitastā (or Jehlām) on the west, and Kāshṭavāṭa (Kishtwār) on the east.

"In numerous passages of the *Rājataranginī* we find the rulers of Rājapuri, the modern Rajauri, described as 'lords of the Khaśas,' and their troops as Khaśas. Proceeding from Rājapuri to the east we have the valley of the Upper Āns River, now called *Paṃjgabbār* . . . as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the east lies *Bānāśāla*, the modern *Bānāhāl*, below the pass of the same name, where the pretender Bhikshāchāra sought refuge in the castle of the 'Khaśa-Lord' Bhagika . . . The passages viii, 177, 1,074 show that the whole of the valley leading from Bānāhāl to the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab), which is now called 'Bichhlārī' and which in the chronicle bears the name of *Vishalāśā*, was inhabited by Khaśas.

"Finally we have evidence of the latter's settlements in the Valley of Khaśālaya . . . Khaśālaya is certainly the Valley of Khaśāl (marked on the map as 'Kasher') which leads from the Marbal Pass on the south-east corner of Kashmīr down to Kishtwār . . .

"Turning to the west of Rājapuri, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parāṇṭsa or Prānta mentioned in the person of Tuṅga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be

Regarding the Kuṇḍinās or Kuṇḍinas, it may be mentioned that Cunningham (*Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, XIV, 135) identified them with the Kanēts of the Simla Hill States, whose name he wrongly spells "Kunet." The change from 'Kuṇḍina' to 'Kanēt' is violent and improbable, though not altogether impossible. It would be simpler to connect the Kanēts with Varāhamihira's Kuṇaṭas, but here again there are difficulties, for the *t* in 'Kanēt' is dental, not cerebral. Such changes are, however, not uncommon in the 'Pitācha' languages.

⁴⁵ A similar but fuller list is also given in Varāhamihira's *Samudra-samhitā*, in which the Khaśas are classed with Daradas, Abhisāras and Chīnas.

⁴⁶ LXVIII, 28.

chosen Queen Diddā's all-powerful minister. The Queen's own father, Simharāja, the ruler of Lhara or Loharin, is designated a Khaśa, ... and his descendants, who after Diddā occupied the Kaśmīr throne, were looked upon as Khaśas.—That there were Khaśas also in the Vitastā valley below Varāhamūla, is proved by the reference to Virānaka as 'a seat of Khaśas' Of this locality it has been shown . . . that it was situated in the ancient *Dvāravātī*, the present Dvārbidī, a portion of the Vitasta valley between Kathai and Muḡaffarābād.

"The position here indicated makes it highly probable that the Khaśas are identical with the modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill-chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kaśmīr belong. The name *Khakha* (Pahāḥi; in Kāśhmīrī sing. *Khochu*, plur. *Khakhi*) is the direct derivation of *Khaśa*, Sanskrit ś being pronounced since early times in the Panjāb and the neighbouring hill-tracts as *kā* or *k* (compare Kāśhmīrī *k* < Sanskrit ś).

"The Khakha chiefs of the Vitastā valley retained their semi-independent position until Sikh times, and, along with their neighbours of the Bomba clan, have ever proved troublesome neighbours for Kaśmīr."

We have already noted that another name for the Khaśas was Khaśīras. The name Kaśmīra (Kaśmīr) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khaśa and Khaśīra are more probable etymologies. At the present day, the Kāśhmīrī word for 'Kaśmīr' is '*kaśīr*,' a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśīra.⁴⁷

Turning now to see what information we can gain from classical writers, we may again refer to Pliny's mention of the cannibal Catri, who, from the position assigned to them, must be the same as the Khaśīras. Atkinson in the work mentioned in the list of authorities gives an extract from Pliny's account of India (p. 354.) In this are mentioned the Cesi, a mountain race between the Indus and the Jamna, who are evidently the Khaśas. Atkinson (l. c.) quotes Ptolemy's Achaia regio as indicating the same locality, and this word not impossibly also represents 'Khaśa'. Perhaps more certain identifications from Ptolemy are the *Kāśia* Mountains and the country of *Kāśia*.⁴⁸

In other places⁴⁹ he tells us that the land of the *Ὀρροκακόβου* (Uttarakurus) and the city of *Ὀρροκακόβου* lay along the Himodis and Seris mountains in the north, to the east of the

⁴⁷ The change of initial *kā* to *k* is not uncommon in Piācha languages. Thus, the Sanskrit *kāra*, an ear, is *kar* in Bāghali *Kāfir*, and in Shipā a language very closely connected with Kāśhmīrī, the root of the verb meaning 'to eat' is *ka* not *kā*.

⁴⁸ *Serica* VI, 15, 16, in Lassen *I.A.* I, 28.

⁴⁹ VI, 16, 2, 3, 5, 8; VIII, 24, 7, in Lassen *I.A.* I, 1018.

Kasia mountains. The latter therefore represent either the Hindû Kush or the mountains of Kashgar in Central Asia.⁵⁰

To sum up the preceding information. We gather that according to the most ancient Indian authorities in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindû Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the western Panjâb there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khaśa, which were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin. These spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit, but with a vocabulary partly agreeing with that of the Eranian Avesta. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans, and to have become Mlêchhhas, or barbarians, owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic peoples of India. These Khaśas were a warlike tribe, and were well known to classical writers, who noted, as their special home, the Indian Caucasus of Pliny. They had relations with Western Tibet, and carried the gold dust found in that country into India.

It is probable that they once occupied an important position in Central Asia, and that countries, places and rivers, such as Kashmîr, Kashgar in Central Asia, and the Kashgar of Chitral were named after them. They were closely connected with the group of tribes nicknamed 'Piśāchas' or 'cannibals' by Indian writers, and before the sixth century they were stated to speak the same language as the people of Balkh. At the same period they had apparently penetrated along the southern slope of the Himālaya as far east as Nepāl, and in the twelfth century they certainly occupied in considerable force the hills to the south, south-west and south-east of Kashmîr.

At the present day their descendants, and tribes who claim descent from them, occupy a much wider area. The Khakhas of the Jehlam valley are Khaśas, and so are some of the Kanêts of the hill-country between Kāngrā and Garhwāl. The Kanêts are the low-caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himālaya of the Panjâb and the hills at their base as far west as Kulu, and of the eastern portion of the Kāngrā district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Rājputa of pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanêts as husbandmen. Like the ancient Khaśas, they claim to be of impure Rājput (i.e. Kshatriya) birth. They are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiā and the Rāo, the distinction between whom is still sufficiently well-marked. A Khasiā observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Rāo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasiā wears the sacred thread, while the Rāo does not.⁵¹ There can thus be no doubt about the Khasiā Kanêts.

⁵⁰ According to Lassen, p. 1020, the *Kāśia ōpy* of Ptolemy are the mountains of Kashgar, i.e. 'Khaśa-giri,' the mountain of the Khaśas. See, however, Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 50 ff. The same name re-appears in Chitral, south of the Hindû Kush, where the river Khōnar is also called the Kashgar. For further speculations on the subject the reader is referred to St. Martin, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. Sav. Étrang.* I série vi, 1, pp. 264 ff., and to Atkinson (*op. cit.*), p. 377.

⁵¹ Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, § 487. Regarding the Rāos, see the next instalment of this article.

Further to the east, in Garhwāl and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasiā, and these people are universally admitted to be Khasās by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaon is known as Khasparjiyā, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east, again, in Nepāl, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepāl, however, the tribe is much mixed. A great number of so-called Khas are really descended from the intercourse between the high-caste Aryan immigrants from the plains and the aboriginal Tibeto-Burman population. But that there is a leaven of pure Khas descent also in the tribe is not denied.⁵²

In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himālaya from Kashmīr to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khasās of the *Mahābhārata*.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSI HISTORY.

PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M. A., of the Junagadh College has been lately devoting considerable attention to the early history of the Indian Parsis, and read on the 25th of October last, before the "Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Researches" a paper on the "Traditional dates of Parsi History" of which the following is a summary.

The lecturer first pointed out that chronological statements about certain interesting events in the early annals of the Indian Parsis many are found noted down at random on the margins and flyleaves of many manuscripts, but that very few of them are properly authenticated, that some of them are nameless, and even where the name of the writer happens to be known we are left entirely in the dark as to the sources of his information or his competence to form a judgment. Moreover, not one of them has been hitherto traced to any book or manuscript written before the middle of the eighteenth century. Lastly, they exhibit among themselves the most bewildering diversity and the same event (the first landing at Sanjān) is placed by one in V. Samvat 772, (A.D. 716) by another in V. Samvat 885, (A.D. 830) and by a third in V. Samvat 961 (A.D. 906). There is the same conflict as to the year in which the Persian Zoroastrians were, according to these entries, obliged to abandon their ancestral homes. According to one, it was in 838 V. Samvat

(A.D. 882), according to another in 777 V. Samvat (A.D. 721). A much later event, about which for that reason, if for no other, we might suppose they would be in agreement, is the subject of a similar conflict. The old Fire Temple is said to have been brought from Bamedāh to Navāri according to one of these entries in 1472 V. Samvat (A.D. 1416), but another would place the event three years later, giving the actual day and month, as Rōz Māhres-pand, Māh Shahrivar, V. Samvat 1475 (A.D. 1419); and not the least instructive fact about these rival dates is that both of them are demonstrably wrong.

The most important of these statements is the one which makes Rōz Bahman, Māh Tir, V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) the date of the first landing of the Parsi "pilgrim fathers" at Sanjān. That the Parsi *roz* *madh* here given does not tally with the Hindu *śukli* was proved to demonstration by the late Mr. K. B. Cama in 1870, but the year has for all that been accepted by many inquirers, perhaps only for want of anything more satisfactory to take its place. The earliest authority for this entry hitherto known was the *Kādim Tārīkh Pārsionī Kasar* a pamphlet on the Kabīrā controversy written by Dastur Aspendiārji Kāmdinji of Broach in A.D. 1823. The lecturer first showed that this entry can be carried back somewhat further, as it occurs in a manuscript of miscellaneous Persian verses belonging to Ervad Manekji R. Unwalla, which is at least a hundred and fifty year old. There can be no doubt that Dastur Aspendiārji

⁵² Regarding the origin of the Nepal Khas, see Hodgson and Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*

had seen this number 772 B. somewhere and that he was anxious for polemical purposes to obtain faith and credence for the date, by making it fit in somehow with the then universally accepted figures of the *Kisak-i-Sanjān*. It is fairly well known that according to that interesting old account of the "Parzi Retreat", the Zoroastrians lived for a hundred years in Kohistan, for fifteen years in Old Hormuz and for nineteen at Diu. Now, if the Dastur had followed the *Kisak* out and out, and added 184 (100+15+19) to A.D. 636—the year of the first decisive victory of the Arabs at Kādīsiya, or to A.D. 641, the date of fatal field of Nehāvend, or to A.D. 651, the year of the Yazdajird's death, the total would have been 770, 775 or A.D. 785, but in no case would it have been anything like A.D. 716 (772 V. S.). What then was to be done? Why to go back five years—take A.D. 631 the year of Yazdajird's accession as the starting point, borrow the cock and bull story of an astrologer having told Khusrū Parvis of the fall of the monarchy from a Muslimān annalist and adopt the inconceivably improbable notion that the Zoroastrians fled from their homes and took refuge in Kohistan *forty-nine years before Yazdajird's accession*; A.D. (631-49)=582+100+15+19=716 A.D. =772 V. Samvat. It is needless to state that a date which cannot be made up without being bolstered up by such a supposition must be regarded as absolutely unhistorical. Having thus disposed of the earliest date for the arrival at Sanjān, the Professor took in hand the latest, viz., 981 V. S. (A.D. 906), which is found in a manuscript written about A.D. 1750. The writer first notes that the Atash Beherām was brought to Navsāri in V. Samvat 1475 (A.D. 1419), and working backwards first on the line of the *Kisak-i-Sanjān* and then diverging from it in two particular items, arrives at V. Samvat 777=(A.D. 721) as the year of the commencement of the Iranian *wanderjahri*, which is by him made to extend to one hundred and fifty years (including fifty spent in different places), instead of the *Kisak's* century passed in Kohistan. V. S. 777+50+100+15+19+300+200+14=1475 V. S.=1419 A.D. The lecturer then proceeded to show the process by which these two new items (50 and 14 instead of 25) had been evolved and traced the first to a peculiar construction of some lines in the *Kisak*, and the second to a minor stream of tradition which made fourteen years only and not twenty-six (14+12) elapse between the sack of Sanjān and the transportation of the fire of Beherām to Navsāri. The next thing pointed out was how 777 V. Samvat, which is by others

regarded as the traditional date of the consecration of the first Indian fire temple, was converted by this calculator into the initial year of the Kohistan peregrinations. Last came the date 895 V. Samvat, which is put forward in a MS. copied by an Udvādā Dastur in 1816 A.D. It was shown to have been indebted for its existence to the ingenuity of some arithmetician, who, thinking (as many of us also must do) that V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) was not only too early, but opposed to all the probabilities of the case, made his own calculations somewhat thus: A.D. 651+54+100+15+19=839 A.D.=895 V. Samvat. Anquetil du Perron was told at Surat in A.D. 1750 that the Fire Temple was brought from Bāmadāh to Navsāri in V. Samvat 1472 (A.D. 1416), and the statement occurs also in a Persian poem written about the same time. This date is the simple result of 700—a round number which occurs in a much disputed couplet of the *Kisak*—having been added to A.D. 716 (772 V. Samvat,) the apocryphal date of the landing. The other figure associated with the Navsāri Fire Temple 1475 V. Samvat=(A.D. 1419) can be shown to have been made up in two ways—one of which has been already indicated above. The other rests upon an ingenious emendation of the disputed line in the *Kisak* by which 70 is substituted for 700 ('*haftād*' for '*haftād*') combined with the two items of a fifty years' cycle of wandering anterior to the Kohistan century, and the substitution of fourteen for twenty-six at the end. A.D. 651+50+100+300+200+70+14=1419 A.D.=1475 V. Samvat.

The Professor summed up by saying that most of these calculations appeared to have been *ex post facto* made up by combining a few generally accepted postulates with certain indeterminate items in that way which best brought up some preconceived answer. In short, he maintained that they were only speculative results arrived at by persons anxious out of a genuine historical curiosity to construct, for the satisfaction of their own understandings, intelligible systems of Parzi chronology, by arranging, altering and modifying the materials at their disposal according to their personal estimates of the probable and the improbable.

At the same time, the Professor emphatically declared that they were honest attempts for the advancement of knowledge, and very much like those mutually contradictory and even demonstrably false schemes of Kīlānian, Parthian or Sāsānian chronology, which were associated with the names of so many Oriental and European historians.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from page 148.)

Religious Effects.

SUCH were the social and political effects of the Vijayanagar conquest of South India. The religious effects were equally noteworthy. During the half century which elapsed between the Muhammadan conquest and the expulsion of Muhammadan power by Kampaṇa, Hinduism, both in its Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva aspects, was in a depressed and precarious condition. Temples were closed or even destroyed, religious processions were disallowed, and forcible conversions to Muhammadanism were attempted and in many cases secured. The gods of Madura, as the chronicles point out, had to be refugees in Travancore,³ and those of Srirangam at Tirupati.⁴ The great leaders of Hinduism became scattered, and kept their precarious torch of light and learning burning in retired corners, in secluded villages. The great Vēdāntācharya, for example, the apostolic head of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava community at Srirangam and one of the most profound scholars and philosophic and literary writers of the day, had to retire to the distant and secluded townlet of Satyamangalam⁵ and spend his days there in grief owing to the cessation of divine worship in the temple at Srirangam; while his rival Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher 'Śrī-Saila,'⁶ was carrying on at Ālvār Tirunagari and the south, amidst equally depressing circumstances, the development of the more popular form of Vaiṣṇavism which is adopted by the great Vaiṣṇava sect of Tēngalāis. Śaivism and the Smārta⁷ cult had their doughty champion in Vidyāranya, and he devoted every moment of his life to their revival and extension; but his attention could not have been entirely devoted to this work. From 1336 onward, he had to employ all the versatile qualities and powers of his genius in the organization and the strengthening of the great Hindu Empire which he founded. There is no doubt that his chief object in establishing this power was the expulsion of Muhammadan rule from the south, so as to restore peace to the ancient religion of the Hindu gods, and maintain the safety of Hinduism free from all trouble and disturbance. The realisation of this object necessitated at the time the employment of the resources of his great genius in the firm establishment of the new Hindu kingdom and the organization of its army and military strength, in the construction of frontier defences, the subjugation of neighbouring powers, and so on. And as these naturally could not be effected within less than the period of a generation, the Vijayanagar march to the valley of the Kāvērī⁸ could begin only after 1360. In the period between 1327 and 1360, therefore, the religious freedom of the Hindus in the south had completely gone. Madura was a centre of Musalmān influence rather than a stronghold of Śaivism, and Srirangam was daily subject to the vandalism of the Musalmān governor and his followers. The *Kōyilōḷuḡu* tells us that the Muhammadan was about to destroy the great shrine, when

³ See the *Pāṇḍ. Chron.* and other MSS.⁴ See *Yāttrōpapravāṣaprabhāva*, *Kōyilōḷuḡu*, and the *Guruparāmparas* of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavās of S. India.⁵ See the *Vadagalai Guruparāmparas*.⁶ *Yāttrōpapravāṣaprabhāva*.⁷ For a short but excellent account of the Smārtas see *Mad. Manu.*, I, p. 87-88.⁸ There are some authorities which say that Vijayanagar generals were in the south as early as 1348-9. *N. G.*, the *Kōṅṇuḍai Rājābhāṣa* and *Vadagalai Guruparāmparas*; but epigraphy clearly proves that their advent was after 1360. Śrī-rangam the great Vaiṣṇava centre seems to have come under Vijayanagar generals only about 1370. See *Kōyilōḷuḡu*.

the charms of a courtesan and the services of a Vaishṇava Brahman, Singapirān by name, moderated the animosity of the conqueror and made him proceed on moderate lines. A break in this comparative mildness was indeed caused by the attribution of a disease from which "the Mlēccha" suffered to Brahmanical magic and his consequent orders to raze the shrine to the ground; but the importunities of his mistress and the counsels of his servant made him satisfied with the mutilation of various parts and works of the temple instead of a wholesale destruction. The progress of the disease, however, led to the destruction of the gigantic walls of the temple and the utilization of their materials for the construction of a fort at Kaṇṇanūr;⁹ but this was discovered to be a blessing in disguise, for the Muhammadan governor from this time onward made his sojourn at Kaṇṇanūr instead of Trichinopoly. The people of Sri-rangam—the remnants of a once teeming crowd—were, in consequence of this, able to carry on their worship, but with their festival idol a refugee in Tirupati, their religious leaders scattered, and their fears alarmed by daily acts of Muhammadan vandalism, their worship was, in the eyes of many, a mockery, and their apparent freedom worse than slavery. The same was the case in every other important place in the south, and everywhere the people were in despair.

It was from this despair and dislocation that Kampaṇa Uṇṇayār and his lieutenants freed the people of the south. The expulsion of the Muhammadans by the year 1371 led immediately to the revival of worship and the opening of the closed temples, both Śaiva and Vaishṇava. The deities of Madura, say the chronicles, were brought back from their refuge in Travancore. "Worship was performed once more with extraordinary solemnity and fervour; and that nothing might be wanting to restore confidence and energy to all classes of men, the Brahmans contrived a great miracle significant of the pleasure of the god and of the perpetual regard for his faithful worshippers. Kampaṇa was taken on an appointed day to witness the reopening of the great pagoda, and on his entering and approaching the shrine for the purpose of looking upon the face of the god, lo and behold everything was precisely in the same condition as when the temple was first shut up just 48 years previously. The lamp that was lighted on that day was still burning; and the sandalwood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed before the idol on the morning of a festival day were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the evening of such a day."¹⁰ Kampaṇa Uṇṇayār was struck with this remarkable miracle. With great piety and reverence he made the customary offerings, endowed numerous villages to the temple, bestowed many jewels, and established rules and regulations for the regular performance and revival of worship. The same thing was done by Goppanārya in the Vaishṇava stronghold of Sri-rangam. He cleared it of its Muṣalmān tyrants, brought back the images of Ranganātha¹¹ and Ranganāyaki from Tirupati, and revived the ancient prosperity and busy activity of the shrine. He further made numerous endowments to it and made it, by the influence of his exalted office in the growing Empire, an object of solicitude in the eyes of the imperial rulers. Vaishṇavism in consequence began to shew from this time onward a new energy and vigour, a new spirit of proselytism and progress. The

⁹ Kaṇṇanūr is a village adjoining Samayāpuram, celebrated in the Carnāṭic wars.

¹⁰ Nelson's *Madu Mani*, p. 82. Nelson here gives simply the translation of the MB. chronicles,—as will be seen from a reference to appendix I, Rev. Taylor suspects the existence of secret wickets and private doors known only to Brahmans. O. H. MSS.

¹¹ See the various *Guruperaṃpāras*, *Yastidrapraśaṃprabḥḥ* and, above all, the *Kṛtyiloṃga*; See also *etc.*, for epigraphical references.

scenes of religious life on the banks of the Kāvēri came to be reproduced on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and the support of the Tamil kings and chiefs came to have its counterpart in the patronage of the Telugu ones. The despair of Vaishnava leaders was replaced by the prospect of unlimited triumph. The great Vēdāntāchārya came back to Srirangam, and resumed those soul-stirring lectures and disputations which had been the source of so much enthusiasm to his admirers and of so much terror and anxiety to his detractors. By the time of his death in 1371 he had the double satisfaction of seeing Vaishnavism safe from Mussalmān tyranny and Viśiṣṭādvaitism from Advaitic dominance; and when fifteen years later Vidyāraṇya breathed his last, he must have died with equal contentment at the bright prospects of Hinduism in general and of Advaitism in particular.

The rise of a popular Vaishnavism or Tengalāism.

The rescue of Hinduism from the tyranny of Muhammadanism was chiefly the work of the orthodox party, both of Vaishnavism and Saivism, through the agency of the Vijayanagar Empire. But the fruits of victory were to be realised by the people in general. The harmony established by the government led to a popular upheaval in religion, and there was a wide spread movement in the 15th and 16th centuries for the loosening of the reins of orthodoxy. Everywhere there was a cry against the rigidity of the caste system, against the elaboration of ceremonials, against exclusive adherence to Sanskrit at the expense of the vernaculars, and against the tendency to attach more importance to philosophy than to devotion. The people wanted, in other words, less philosophic and more devotional religions. They wanted less ceremony and more feeling in their cults, less formality and more sincerity of belief, less head and more heart. They wanted to see the caste system more in consonance with love of fellowmen, to remove that detestable social tyranny which went on in the name of religion. They wanted vernacular bibles in preference to Sanskrit ones. This widespread popular movement asserted itself both against orthodox Vaishnavism¹² and orthodox Saivism. The movement against orthodox Vaishnavism was called Tengalāism. It was organized and led by a great leader named Manavāḷa Mahāmuni, a native of Ālvār Tirunagari and a disciple of Śrī Saṭa. About the year 1400 he proceeded¹³ to Srirangam and began to organize his party with such skill and foresight that the orthodox party of Nainār Āchārya,¹⁴ the son and successor of Vēdāntāchārya, lost for ever its old prestige and following. The work of Manavāḷa Mahāmuni was carried on by his successors in the eight Matts¹⁵ he established for the purpose, and though the orthodox party was revived and strengthened by the celebrated

¹² In N. India the popular movement was carried on by the Rāmānandas, the Kabir Panthins, the Vallabhāchāryas, the Chaitanyas, the followers of Nānak, the Dādū Panthins, the Mīrā Bāis, etc. All these belonged to the 15th and 16th centuries. See Monier Williams' *Hinduism* 141-148. For Chaitanya's influence in the south and the rise of the Śāṭānis, see *Modr. Monu*, p. 78, 86 and 90.

¹³ The classical biography of him is called *Yatindraprasāna-prabodha*, of which there are two editions. Manavāḷa is considered by the Tengalāis to be the incarnation of Rāmānuja. He died about 1450 A. D. He is, of course, not the founder of Tengalāism, but it was he that gave it a highly sectarian colour: so sectarian, indeed, as to give rise to a new caste altogether. For a short description of the Tengalāis see *Modr. Monu*, I, 84. Hopkin's *Relig. Ind.* p. 501 and J. R. A. S., Vol. XIV.

¹⁴ Otherwise called 'Varadāchārya.' He organized the worship of Vēdāntāchārya in temples, and it is no doubt his zeal for that greatest of orthodox writers that contributed not a little to the strengthening of the rival sect of Tengalāism. Varadāchārya was born about 1320 and died about 1416. His disciple known as Kadāmbi Nainār was the preceptor (in the Bhāṭṭya) of Manavāḷa Mahāmuni. See the *Vadag. Gurup.*, 1913 edn. 168-180. For a comparison of the Tengalāi and Vadagalāi doctrines see *Mysore Census Report* 1891; *Brāhmaroddā*, 1912; *Modr. Monu*, I, p. 85 and 89-90. J. R. A. S., 1911.

¹⁵ The heads of these were called the *Aṭṭis-diḡ-gaḡas*. The most important of them was the jeṭ of Vāṇamāmalai or Nāṅumari in Tinnevely District.

Ādi Vag Saṭagōpa Swāmi of Ahōbīlam,¹⁶ yet the attraction which Tengalaism possessed among the masses, its tactful alliance with a large number of the temple authorities and of the ruling princes of the day, its skill in organization, its comparative laxity in caste matters, its advocacy of the vernacular bibles, naturally made it stronger and stronger in the land; so that by the end of the 15th century there was perhaps an equal number of followers among the two sects. The princes were of course divided between the two, some professing Vadagalaism as the Sanskrit school came to be called, and others Tengalaism. The Emperors professed the former, as they had for their teachers a very orthodox Vadagalai family of Conjeeveram known as the Tātāchāryas,¹⁷ and as they were the special worshippers of the deity of Ahōbīlam, a seat of Vadagalai influence. But the majority of the Polygars and minor chieftains seem to have been naturally attracted to the more popular religion. One of the Māvalivāṇas¹⁸ kings is actually said to have lifted up the palanquin of Manavāla Mahāmuni. It is not improbable that many of the Tōttiya chiefs were likewise brought under Tengalaism,—a phenomenon which explains the profession of the Tengalai cult by them to-day.

The rise of Saiva-Siddhāntism.

The popular movement in Saivism or Saiva-Siddhāntism as it was called, revived by the famous Meykaṇḍa¹⁹ Deva, the author of *Sivagnanabodham*, the philosophic bible of that creed, in the 13th century, made rapid progress in this period. Meykaṇḍa Deva had adopted the Viśiṣṭādvaitic philosophy of Rāmānuja, but made Śiva instead of Viṣṇu the Supreme Being. His system is thus the same as Rāmānuja's system, but with Saiva terminology. His great achievement was to make Saivism the religion of the masses as distinct from the religion of the higher castes as formulated by Śaṅkarāchārya, Vidyāraṇya and other Advaitins. Meykaṇḍa's work was continued by a number of saints, chiefly non-Brahman. The famous Pattiragiriyaṛ,²⁰ the fanatical Śiva Vākya, the reformed

¹⁶ He lived in the latter part of the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th century. He was the disciple of Gaṇikāśtam Ammaḷ, who was the disciple of Varadāchārya, the son and successor of Vēdāntāchārya. He established his celebrated Matt at Ahōbīlam, the god of which place, Naraśiṅha Perumāl, was his tutelary deity. Many miracles are attributed to Saṭagōpa. See *Saṭaṁpradīya Muktiśūlī* for an account of his life and his successors in the Ahōbīla Matt. Ādi Vag Saṭagōpa's disciple was Tholappāchārya, the author of *Smṛiti Ratnakara* and the preceptor of the Vijayanagar Emperor. (See also regarding Kamalapuram tank near Hampi). Even non-Brahmans were converted by Saṭagōpa, and many of the princes and Polygars who came to the south were devotees of Ahōbīla Naraśiṅga-perumāl. That is why the Tōttiya built temples to him wherever they settled.

¹⁷ A number of epigraphical references prove this. See section II, ante.

¹⁸ See the *Yāttrōpavāṇaprobhāva*.

¹⁹ The date of Meykaṇḍa Deva has long been one of doubt and controversy. Prof. Seshagiri Śāstri says he was the disciple of Paranjōtimunivar, the author of *Tirumalayādai Pordnam*, who, he says, lived about 1550 in the court of Ati Vira Rāma Pāṇḍya. (See his *Rep. Sans. Tam. MSS.* 1896-7, p. 52 and 56.) The author of the *Madras Manual* also thinks that the Siddhar School was after Ativira Rāma Pāṇḍya; but he assigns Ativira Rāma to the 11th century, about 1040 A. D. (See Vol. I, p. 57 and 120.) Mr. Gōpinatha Rao has given epigraphical and other arguments to show that he lived about 1236 A. D. (*Madras Review*, 1904).

²⁰ Gover attributes Pattiragiriyaṛ to the 10th century (See his *Folk songs*, 158). Anavara-tavinayakam Pillai in his edition of Pāṇḍipattu Piḷai's works (1907) says that as Pa. p. attu Piḷai refers to Varaguna in the 9th century and as some of his works are referred to by Nambīṇḍār Nambī in the 11th century, Pāṇḍipattu Piḷai must have lived in the 10th century, and so also Pattiragiriyaṛ his disciple. From the fact that many of Pāṇḍipattu Piḷai's works are not referred to in the 11th *tirumurai* and from his style, the majority of the scholars attribute him and his school to the 15th and 16th centuries. See eg. Dr. Caldwell's *Dravid. Gram.*, p. 116. Caldwell, it should be noted, divides later Tamil literary history into two cycles,—the literary, wherein he includes Ativira Rāma Pāṇḍya and the mystic, wherein he brings in the *Sittars*. The latter, he points out, pretend to be Śaivites, but philosophically nonsectaries. He attributes *Sivagnanabodham* to the 16th century and the *Sittars* (Tirumāla, Pattiragiriyaṛ, Śiva Vākya, etc.) to the 17th century (*Ibid.*, p. 146, and 188-9). For the alleged connection between the Siddhar school and Christianity, see Caldwell's *Dravid. Gram.*, 116; Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 210 and Hopkins' *Religions of India*, p. 482. The 'Siddha movement' is described in detail in the last chapter.

Paṭṭinattu Pillai, the scholarly Paranjodhimunivar, and the earnest Aghōra Sivāchārya and Sivagrayōgin are typical examples. They all declared a crusade against Brahmanical superiority. They condemned idol-worship, and held that religion ought to be a thing of feeling and not *observance*. They looked with abhorrence on the narrow view of limitation on which the worship of God in the form of an image was based. "Those who really know where the shepherd of the world lives, will never raise their hands to any visible shrine," nor "Are the gods of man's making helpful in the matter of salvation?" Can these artificial gods, Siva Vākya asks, who owe their existence or non-existence, their elevation or neglect to the piety or caprice of men; can these, made and unmade, baked and unbaked move of themselves? Can they free themselves when bound? What is the use of decking stones with flowers? What true religion is there in the ringing of bells, the performance of set obeisances, the going around fanes, the floating of incense, the offerings of things arranged as if in a market? Siva Vākya ridiculed even the *yogin* and his 96 rules of procedure. He ridiculed those who believed that the carriage of *linga* on the neck was true piety. He had no faith in self-mortification or in the efficacy of *mantras*. He held that pilgrimage was of no use. "Can a bath in the Ganges turn black into white?" he asks. The transformation of a sinner into a saint is not possible by that process. "Shun illusions, repress the senses, then the sacred waves of Kāśi will, he says, swell within your own breast." In short, to Siva Vākya, his own thoughts are the flowers and ashes to be offered to the Lord, his own breath is the *linga*, his senses are the incense, and his soul the light, and his God is not the artificial image in the temple, but a wholly spiritual object,—the original, the endless, whom no mind understands. He is not Viṣṇu, nor Brahma, nor Siva. In the beyond is He, neither black nor white, nor great nor little, nor male nor female,—but stands far, far, and far beyond all beings' utmost pale." Paṭṭiragiriyaṛ was less fighting and more pathetic in his appeal. He prays to his Lord to bend his mind like a bow, to bind his senses to it as strings and impel the arrows of his thoughts to Him alone. He asks: when will the senses be annihilated, when will his pride be subdued, and when will his tired being be steeped in sleepless sleep? "When, he asks again and again, will he cleave through birth's illusions and attain the last spiritual state, the acme of spiritual perfection from which there is no return? When will he be freed from the opium-like things of the world for the nectar-like things of God?" He finds all written wisdom useless as a guide to the identification with the divinity. He cannot find, in spite of immense poring into it, truth therein. He therefore yearns for the time when he can burn the *Sāstras*, deem the *Vedas* lies, and exploring the mystery, reach bliss, when the soul, suffering like a fish in a net will get freedom and happiness, when the carnal lusts will end, and "I with eyelids dropped, to heaven ascend and with God's Being my own being blend." The wailings of Paṭṭinattu Pillai were even more pathetic. No man had a truer idea of the illusion of earthly happiness, and a better capacity to weave fine ideas into "fine patterns of thought," though sometimes, in the opinion of Mr. Caldwell his productions are more "melodious verbiage than striking thought."²¹ When speaking of idol-worship, for example, he points out how God's presence is found not in stone or copper, chiselled or furbished by tamarind, but "in speech, in the *Vedas*, darkness, heavens, the hearts of ascetics and the loving mind." Idols, he vowed never to adore. Equally vehement is his hatred of earthly life and career. "What

²¹ *Ind. Ant.* I. p. 198. Dr. L. D. Barnett is of opinion that the Southern school of Saiva Siddhāntism had in reality its origin in the north. For a detailed consideration of the question. See *R. A. S. J.* 1910; *Siddhāntapīṭha*, June 1910. For a few examples of the writings of Paṭṭinattu Pillai and others see Gover's *Folksongs*.

is there in the body. he asks in one place, that men should love and cherish it so much ? It is a property claimed by various agents,—by fire, by worms, by the earth, by kites, jackals and crows. Its ingredients, moreover, are nasty and of bad odour. To love it, therefore, is the greatest of anomalies, of inexplicable inconsistencies. As is the body, so is every other thing of man. His habitation, his fame, his women, his children, his beauty, his wealth, nothing abides. The moment he is dead, he is, to his mother, an object of contempt. To his sons, “who encircle the pyre and “fall the wonted pots, his memory is more a burden than a pleasure.” “There is no love, therefore, concludes Paṭṭinattu Piḷḷai, as the love of God. It is the most enduring, eternal and pleasure giving.” It is the sole support of his life. Vows and austerities, *Vedas* and *Purāṇas*, offerings and prayers, sandals and ashes, *mantras* and mortifications, all these are, in his opinion, “nothing but Godward perfidy.”²² It is the love of the Lord that is everything.

The Policy of Vijayanagar.

With tender solicitude the Vijayanagar sovereigns fostered all these various aspects of religious activity. Their attitude towards the two great religions of Hinduism was one of inexhaustible generosity and boundless encouragement. And they shewed it in various ways. They first built temples and towers, walls and *maṇḍapas*, and constructed cars and vehicles. They organized festivals at state expense. They reared gardens of useful trees. They made numerous endowments of land. On all sacred occasions, on days of eclipses, on the anniversary days of the deaths of royal personages, they made various gifts to temples in the form of lamps, cows, gold, etc. They interfered in the management of the temples and looked after their proper maintenance.²³ They even remitted revenues amounting to thousands of *varḍhas* on behalf of temples. Nowhere else in the world's history do we find such a close alliance between the state and the church, such a hearty co-operation between temporal and spiritual leaders. True, Vijayanagar was pursuing no new policy. The idea of the close connection between royalty and religion is as old as Indian history; nevertheless the policy of Vijayanagar seems to have been singularly liberal and broadminded. The Emperors seem to have extended their patronage not only to sects of Hinduism. Their range of patronage knew no bounds, knew no petty partialities. A remarkable proclamation of Dēva Rāya in the 14th century declares the unity of the Jain and Vaiṣṇava religions, and the consequent necessity on the part of the adherents of the two religions to abstain from conflicts²⁴ Examples of endowments even to mosques are not wanting and prove the nobility of a power, which valued harmony above everything else among the various peoples and creeds of Empire.

The services of Vijayanagar to art and industries, to literature and culture were equally great, but space forbids an attempt to dwell on them. Nor is it my province to do so. The foregoing survey of the social, political and religious effects will suffice to point out the atmosphere in which the Nāik Rāj was established, the policy which it inherited, and the problems it had to solve. The other effects—on art, on painting and sculpture, on architecture and literature—will be incidentally illustrated in the course of this treatise. With these remarks we shall proceed to consider the circumstances under which the Nāik dynasty was founded in Madura.

²² *Ind. Ant.* I, p. 197-204.

²³ See the *Kōyilōṅgu* for examples of such interference.

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 233-5.

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

(Continued from page 151.)

While Sanskrit literature⁵³ commencing with the *Mahābhārata* contains many references to the Khasas, until quite late times it is silent about the Gurjaras. They are not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, or *Māhikāyita Purāṇa*. In fact the earliest known reference to them occurs in the *Bṛihaschacharita*, a work of the early part of the 7th century of our era.

According to the most modern theory, which has not yet been seriously disputed, but which has nevertheless not been accepted by all scholars, the Gurjaras entered India, together with the Hūṇas and other marauding tribes, about the sixth century A.D. They rapidly rose to great power, and founded the Rājput tribes of Rājputāna.⁵⁴ The Gurjaras were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe rose to power in India, the latter were treated by the Brāhmanas as equivalent to Kshatriyas and were called Rājputas, and some were even admitted to equality with Brāhmanas themselves, while the bulk of the people who still followed their pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gūjars, or in the Panjāb, Gujars.

So powerful did these Gurjaras or Gūjars become that no less than four tracts of India received their name. In modern geography we have the Gujrat and Gujranwāla districts of the Panjāb, and the Province of Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency. The Gujrat District is a Sub-Himalayan tract with a large proportion of Gujars. It is separated by the river Chināb from the Gujranwāla District, in which Gujars are more few. In the Province of Gujarāt there are now no members of the Gūjar caste, as a caste, but, as we shall see later on, there is evidence that Gūjars have become absorbed into the general population, and have been distributed amongst various occupational castes. In addition to these three tracts Al-Birūnī (A.D. 971-1039) mentions a Guzarāt situated somewhere in Northern Rājputāna.⁵⁵

In ancient times, the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjāb comprised territory on both sides of the Chināb, more or less accurately corresponding with the existing Districts of Gujrat and Gujranwāla. It was conquered temporarily by Saṅkaravarman of Kashmir in the 9th century.⁵⁶ The powerful Gurjara kingdom in South-Western Rājputāna, as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang in the seventh century, had its capital at Bhinmāl or Srimāl, to the North-West of Mount Abu, now in the Jodhpur State, and comprised a considerable amount of territory at present reckoned to be part of Gujarāt, the modern frontier between that Province and Rājputāna being purely artificial. In addition to this kingdom of Bhinmāl, a southern and smaller Gurjara kingdom existed in what is now Gujarāt from A.D. 589 to 735. Its capital was probably at or near Bharūch. Between these two Gurjara States intervened the kingdom of the princes of Valabhi, and these princes also seem to have belonged either to the Gurjaras or to a closely allied tribe.⁵⁷

⁵³ Authorities on the connexion of Rājputas and Gurjaras or Gūjars:—

Tod, J.,—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, London, 1829-32. Introduction. Elliot, Sir H. M., K.O.B.,—*Memoirs on the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Edited, etc., by John Beames. London, 1859. I, 99 ff., etc., (see Index). Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, K.C.S.I.,—*Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography*. Calcutta, 1883, pp. 202 ff. [Jackson, A.M.T.],—*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I, App. III. (by A. M. T. J.), Account of Bhinmāl, esp. pp. 463 ff. Smith, Vincent A.,—*The Gurjaras of Rājputāna and Kanauj*, J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 63 ff. Bhandarkar, D. R.,—*Foreign elements in the Hindu Population*. *Indian Antiquary*, XII. (1911), pp. 7 ff. esp. pp. 21 ff.

⁵⁴ See Mr. V. Smith's note below.

⁵⁵ *India* (Sachau's translation, I, 202). Mr. Bhandarkar (loc. cit. p. 21) locates in the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. The Gujrat dialect spoken in the hills of the North West Frontier Province is closely connected with the Mīwātī spoken in Alwar at the present day. On the other hand, as stated in a private communication, Mr. Vincent Smith considers that it must have been at or near Ajmer, about 180 miles to the North-East of the old capital Bhinmāl.

⁵⁶ *Rājataranginī*, v. 143-150, and Stein's translation, I, 99.

⁵⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 2, 4.

The Gurjaras who established the kingdoms at Bhinmāl and Bharoh probably came from the West, as Mr. Bhandarkar suggests. The founders of the Panjab Gurjara kingdom which existed in the 9th century presumably reached the Indian plains by a different route. There is no indication of any connection between the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjāb and the two kingdoms of the widely separated Province of Gujarat.⁵²

As may be expected, the Gūjar herdsmen (as distinct from the fighting Gurjaras who became Rājputās) are found in greatest numbers in the north-west of India from the Indus to the Ganges. In the Panjāb they are mainly settled in the lower ranges and submontane tracts, though they are spread along the Jamna in considerable numbers, Gujrat District is still their stronghold, and here they form 13½ per cent. of the total population. In the higher mountains they are almost unknown.

In the plains tracts of the Panjāb they are called 'Gujars' or 'Gujjars' (not Gūjars), and they have nearly all abandoned their original language and speak the ordinary Panjābī of their neighbours.

On the other hand, in the mountains to the north-west of the Panjāb, i.e., throughout the hill country of Murree, Jammu, Chhibhal, Hazāra, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshāwar as far as the Swat river, and also in the hills of Kashmīr, there are numerous descendants of the Gurjaras still following their pastoral avocations. Here they are called 'Gujurs' (not 'Gujar' or 'Gūjar') and tend cows. Closely allied to them, and speaking the same language, is the tribe of Ajars who tend sheep.

The ordinary language of the countries over which these last mentioned people roam is generally Pushtō or Kāshmirī, though there are also spoken various Pīācha dialects of the Swāt and neighbouring territories. In fact, in the latter tract, there are numerous tribes, each with a Pīācha dialect of its own, but employing Pushtō as a *lingua franca*. The Gujurs are no exception to the rule. While generally able to speak the language, or the *lingua franca*, of the country they occupy, they have a distinct language of their own, called Gujurī, varying but little from place to place, and closely connected with the Mēwātī dialect of Rājasthānī, described on pp. 44 ff. of Vol. IX, Pt. II of the *Survey*. Of course their vocabulary is freely interlarded with words borrowed from Pushtō, Kāshmirī, and what not; but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mēwātī, and closely allied to that of Mēwārī.

The existence of a form of Mēwātī or Mēwārī in the distant country of Swat is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. One sept of the Gujurs of Swat is known as 'Chauhān,' and it is known that the dominant race in Mewar belongs to the Chauhān sept of Rājputās. Two explanations are possible. One is that the Gujurs of this tract are immigrants from Mēwāt (or Alwar) and Mewār. The other is that the Gurjaras in their advance with the Hūnas into India, left some of their number in the Swāt country, who still retain their ancient language, and that this same language was also carried by other members of the same tribe into Rājputānā.

The former explanation is that adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has kindly supplied the following note on the point:—

"The surprising fact that the pastoral, semi-nomad Gujur graziers and Ajar shepherds, who roam over the lower Himalayan ranges from the Afghān frontier to Kumāon and Garhwāl, speak a dialect of 'Hindī,' quite distinct from the Pushtō and other languages spoken by their neighbours, has been long familiar to officers serving in the Panjāb and on the North-Western Frontier.⁵³ In 1908 the *Linguistic Survey* made public the more precise information that the grammar of the speech of the still more remote Gujurs of the

⁵² The above account of the early history of the Gurjaras is based on information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. V. Smith.

⁵³ Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography* (1883), p. 265.

Swât Valley is almost identical with that of the Râjpûts of Mēwât and Mēwâr in Râjputânâ, distant some 600 miles in a direct line.⁶⁰ In the intervening space totally different languages are spoken. Why, then, do the Muhammadan Gujur herdsmen of Swât use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindû Râjpûts of Mēwâr? The question is put concerning the Gujurs of Swât, because they are the most remote tribe at present known to speak a tongue closely allied to the Mēwâtî and Mēwârî varieties of Eastern Râjasthâni.

"But dialects, which may be described as corrupt forms of Eastern Râjasthâni, extend along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chambâ through Gahwâl and Kumâon into Western Nepâl, so that the problem may be stated in wider terms, as:—'Why do certain tribes of the lower Himâlaya, in Swât, and also from Chambâ to Western Nepâl, speak dialects allied to Eastern Râjasthâni, and especially to Mēwâtî, although they are divided from Eastern Râjputânâ by hundreds of miles in which distinct languages are spoken?'

"It is not possible to give a fully satisfactory solution of the problem, but recent historical and archaeological researches throw some light upon it. All observers are agreed that no distinction of race can be drawn between the Gûjars or Gujurs and the Jâts or Jatîs, two castes which occupy a very prominent position in North-Western India. It is also agreed that several other castes in the same region, such as Ajarîs, Ahîrs and many more, are racially indistinguishable from the Jâts and Gûjars. The name Gujar appears in Sanskrit inscriptions as Gurjara, and nobody can doubt that the modern Gûjars represent the ancient Gurjara. Long ago the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson recognized the fact that in the Panjâb it is impossible to draw distinctions in blood between Gûjars and many clans of Râjpûts, or, in other words, local enquiry proves that persons now known as Râjpûts may be descended from the same ancestors as are other persons known as Gûjars.⁶¹ Mr. Baden Powell observed that 'there is no doubt that a great majority of the clan-names in the Panjâb belong both to the "Râjpût" and the "Jât" sections. And this indicates that when the numerous Bâla, Indo-Scythian, Gûjar and Hûna tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as "Râjpût," while those who took frankly to cultivation, became "Jât".'⁶² Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has demonstrated recently that the ancestors of the Rânâs of Udaipur (Mewâr) were originally classed as Brâhmanas, and were not recognised as Râjpûts until they became established as a ruling family.⁶³ In fact, there is abundant evidence to prove that the term 'Râjpût' signifies an occupational group of castes, which made it their principal business to rule and fight. That being the traditional business of the ancient Kshatriyas, castes known as Râjpût were treated by the Brâhmanas as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and superior in rank and purity to castes engaged in agriculture. We may take it as proved that there is nothing to prevent a Râjpût being descended from a Brâhman, a Gûjar, a Jât, or in fact from a man of any decent caste. Consequently the Gujur herdsmen and Ajarî shepherds of Swât may well be the poor relations of the Râjpût chivalry of Mēwâr, and the present divergence in social status may be the result of the difference of the occupations to which their respective ancestors were called by Providence.

"If the Swât Gujurs and the Mēwât and Mēwâr Râjpûts come of one stock, it is not so wonderful that they should speak a language essentially one. Certainly there is no difficulty in believing that all the Himalayan tribes, both in Swât and east of Chambâ, who speak forms of Râjasthâni, may be largely of the same blood as the Râjpûts of Eastern Râjputânâ. Of course, I do not mean that a pure race is to be found anywhere in India—almost every caste is of very much mixed blood.

⁶⁰ *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II (1906), p. 323. [In the passage quoted from Vol. IX of the Survey, the particular Râjasthâni dialect was Jaipurî. But further enquiry has shown me that Mēwâtî and Mēwârî are more akin to Gujurî than is Jaipurî. This is a matter of small importance. Jaipur lies between Mēwât and Mēwâr.—G. A. G.]

⁶¹ Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁶² Notes on . . . the Râjpût Clans (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 534).

⁶³ 'Guhilots' (*J. Proc., A. S. B., New Ser.*, Vol. V. (1909), pp. 167-187); 'Atpur Inscription of "aktikumâra", *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIX (1910, p. 186). [So, in *Nakshatras* VIII, 2076. a Bahlika Brâhman may, if he choose, become a Kshatriya.—G. A. G.]

"Not only are the Jatts, Gûjars, Ajars, etc., related in blood to the Râjpûts, but we may also affirm with confidence, that that blood is in large measure foreign, introduced by swarms of immigrants who poured into India across the north-western passes for about a century, both before and after 500 A.D. The Gurjaras are not heard of until the sixth century, but from that time on they are closely associated with the Hûqas (Hups) and other foreign tribes, which then settled in India and were swallowed up by the octopus of Hinduism—tribes insensibly, but quickly, being transformed into castes. It is now certain, as demonstrated by epigraphical evidence, that the famous Parihâr (Pratihâra) Râjpûts were originally Gurjaras or Gûjars; or, if we prefer, we may say that certain Gurjaras were originally Pratihâras; and it is practically certain that the three other 'fire born' Râjpût clans—Pawâr (Pramâr), Solankî (Chaulukya), and Chauhân (Châhamâna)—were descended, like the Parihâra, from ancestors belonging to a Gurjara or cognate foreign tribe.

"We are not able to identify the locality beyond the passes from which these ancestors came, nor do we know what tribal names they bore before they entered India, or what language they then spoke.⁶¹ Further, it is not possible at present to be certain concerning the road by which the Gurjaras, Hûqas, etc., entered India. Probably they came by many roads. But the legend locating the origin of the fire-born clans at Mount Âbû and much evidence of other kinds indicate that the principal settlements of the foreigners were in Râjputânâ, which became the great centre of dispersion.

"We know that as early as the first half of the seventh century, Bhinmâl (Srimâla) to the north-west of Mount Âbû, was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Vyâghramukha Châpa. The Châpas were a subdivision of the Gurjaras. A coin of Vyâghramukha was found associated with numerous slightly earlier Hûqa coins of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Manaswâl Plateau in the outer Siwâlik Hills, Hoshiyârpur District, Panjâb, which at that period undoubtedly was under Hûqa-Gurjara rule. Early in the eighth century, Nâgabhaṭa I, a Gurjara, who had then become a Hindû, established a strong monarchy at Bhinmâl, where Vyâghramukha had ruled a hundred years earlier. Nâgabhaṭa's son, Vatsarâja, greatly extended the dominions of his house, defeating even the king of Eastern Bengal. In or about 810 A.D., Nâgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarâja, deposed the king of Kanauj and removed the seat of his own government to that imperial city. For more than a century, and especially during the reigns of Mihira-Bhōja and his son (840-908 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratihâra kingdom of Kanauj was the paramount power of Northern India, and included Surâshṭra (Kâthiâwâr) within its limits, as well as Karnâl, now under the Government of the Panjâb.

"I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Râjputânâ, from the sixth century onwards adopted the local language, an early form of Râjasthâṇî, with great rapidity. They brought, I imagine, few women with them, and when they formed unions with Hindû women, they quickly learned the religion, customs, and language of their wives. I am inclined to believe that during the period of Gurjara rule, and especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Râjasthâṇî language must have been carried over a wide territory far more extensive than that now occupied by it. It seems to me that the Gujurs and Ajars of Swât, and the similar tribes in the lower Himâlayas to the east of Chambâ, should be regarded as survivals of a much larger population which once spoke Râjasthâṇî, the language of the court and capital. For one reason or other the neighbours of those northern Gujurs and Ajars took up various languages, Puṣhtô, Lahndî, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought from Râjputânâ, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mēwât. If this theory be sound, the forms of the Himalayan Râjasthâṇî, should be more archaic than those of modern Mēwâtî or the other

⁶¹ I have a suspicion that they may have been Iranians, perhaps from Sistan, but I cannot profess to prove that hypothesis.

dialects of Rājputānā, just as in Quebec French is more archaic than current Parisian.⁶⁵ I do not see any other way of explaining the existence of the Rājasthānī 'outliers,' if I may borrow a convenient term from the geologists. The historical indications do not favour the notion that the Gurjaras, etc., came *viâ* Kābul and thence moved southwards, dropping settlements in the Lower Himālayas; they rather suggest immigration from the west by the Quetta and Kandahār routes or lines of march still further south. Settlements dropped among the Himālayan Hills by invaders speaking a Central Asian language could not possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Rājputānā. The ancestors of the Swāt Gujurs must have spoken Rājasthānī and have learned it in a region where it was the mother tongue. The far northern extensions of that form of speech must apparently be attributed to the time when the Gurjara kingdom attained its greatest expansion. We know from inscriptions that the dominions of both Mihira-Bhōja and his son, Mahēndrapālā (c. 840-908 A. D.), included the Karnāl district to the north-west of Delhi.

"My answer to the problem proposed at the beginning of this note, therefore, is that the Gujurs, etc., of the lower Himālayas, who now speak forms of Rājasthānī, are in large measure of the same stock as many Rājput clans in Rājputānā, the Panjāb, and the United Provinces; that their ancestors emigrated from Rājputānā after they had acquired the Rājasthānī speech; and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century, when the Gurjara-Rājput power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj.⁶⁶"

Turning now to the other explanation, we may premise by stating that the Gurjaras may possibly have entered Rājputānā from two directions. They invaded the Sindh Valley, where they have practically disappeared as a distinct caste, the Gakkhars, Janjūās, and Pathāns being too strong for them.⁶⁷ But their progress was not stopped, and they have probably entered the Gujarāt Province and Western Rājputānā by this route. In Gujarāt they became merged into the general population, and there is now in that province no Gūjar caste, but there are Gūjar and simple Vāpīs (traders), Gūjar and simple Sūtārs (carpenters), Gūjar and simple Sonārs (goldsmiths), Gūjar and simple Kumbhārs (potters), and Gūjar and simple Salāṭs (masons).⁶⁸

Gūjars, as distinct from Rājputs, are strong in Eastern Rājputānā, their greatest numbers being in Alwar, Jaipur, Mewār, and the neighbourhood. Here they are a distinct and recognised class, claiming to be descended from Rājputs.⁶⁹ These must have come along the other supposed line of advance from the north. Several Gūjar-Rājput tribes, such as the Chālukyas, Chāhamānas (Chauhāns), and Sindas, came to Rājputānā from a mountainous country called Sapādalaksha.

⁶⁵ [As a matter of fact Gujuri is more archaic in its forms than its nearest congener, modern Mōwālī. See the Gujuri section below.—G. A. G.]

⁶⁶ For historical, epigraphical, and numismatic details, see V. A. Smith—

"The Gurjaras of Rājputānā and Kanauj" (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., April, 1909);

"White Hun Coins from the Panjāb" (*Ibid.*, Jan. 1907);

"White Hun Coins of Vyāghramukha" (*Ibid.*, Oct. 1907);

"The History of the City of Kanauj, etc." (*Ibid.*, July 1908).

D. R. Bhandarkar—

"Foreign elements in the Hindu Population" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 7-37). Mr. Bhandarkar (p. 80) thinks that Eastern Rājasthānī is derived from Pāhānī Hindī; but I do not think he can be right.

⁶⁷ Ibbetson, *l. c.*, p. 283. Mr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the position of their principal settlement, that at Bhīmāl, North-West of Mount Abū, indicates that the Gurjaras came from the West, across Sindh, and not from the North down the Indus Valley. They could have entered Sindh either *viâ* Makrān, as the Arabs did later in the end of the 7th century, or through Balūchistān by roads further north. If they came from Sīstān and spoke an Eranian language, they would soon have picked up an Indian tongue. On this theory, the Gujars of the Panjāb would have entered that province from the south, proceeding up the Indus Valley. Mr. Smith points out that the Panjāb Gurjaras probably are a later settlement. We hear of them first in the Kashmir chronicles in the 9th century.

⁶⁸ Bhandarkar, *l. c.*, p. 22.

⁶⁹ In 1901, the total number of Gūjars in Rājputānā was 462,789. Of these, 46,048 were enumerated in Alwar, 184,494 in Jaipur, and 50,574 in Mewār. Bharatpur, adjoining Alwar, had 44,876.

Mr. Bhandarkar⁷⁰ has shown that this Sapādalaksha included the hill-country from Chamba on the west, to Western Nepal on the east, thus almost exactly corresponding with the area in which Western and Central Pahārī are now spoken. Now, in this tract at the present day it may be said that, while there are plenty of Rājputās, there are no Gājars. The main population is, as we have seen, Khaśa, in which the non-military Gājars must have been merged.⁷¹ The Sapādalaksha Gajar-Rājputās, on the other hand, have provided Mewār with its Chauhāns. We have seen that one of the Swāt Gujur septs is also called Chauhān, and the second of the two explanations for the presence of the Gujurs in their present seats is that they are not a backwash of immigration from Rājputāna, but are the representatives of Gurjaras who were there left behind while the main body advanced and settled in Sapādalaksha. Instead of taking to agriculture and becoming merged in the population, they retained their ancestral pastoral habits and their tribal individuality.⁷²

We have seen that there were originally many Rājputās in Sapādalaksha. In the times of the Musalmān rule of India many more Rājputās from the plains of India took refuge amongst their Sapādalaksha kin and there founded dynasties which still survive. Particulars regarding these will be found in the Introduction to the three Pahārī languages and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that it is plain that down even to the days of late Musalmān dominion the tie between Sapādalaksha and Rājputāna was never broken. And this, in my opinion, satisfactorily explains the fact of the close connexion between the Pahārī languages and Rājasthānī.

We thus arrive at the following general results regarding the Aryan-speaking population of the Pahārī tract.

The earliest immigrants of whom we have any historical information were the Khaśas, a race hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking an Aryan, but not necessarily, an Indo-Aryan, language. They were followed by the Gurjaras, a tribe who invaded India about the sixth century A. D. and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapādalaksha. At that time, they also spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan, language.⁷³ Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khaśa population. Others were fighting men, and were identified by the Brāhmins with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Rājputāna from Sapādalaksha, and, possibly, Western Rājputāna from Sindh, and founded, as Rājputās, the great Rājput states of Rājputāna.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ I. c. pp. 28 ff. *Sapādalaksha* becomes in modern speech *sad-dākh*, and means one hundred and twenty-five thousand, a reference to the supposed number of hills in the tract. At the present day the name is confined to the 'Siddh' hills.

⁷¹ We see traces of this merging in the great Kanūt caste of the Simla Hills. It has two divisions, one called Khamū and the other Rāo (Ibbetson l. c. p. 288). The former represent the Khaśas, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Rāos are Gājars who have become merged into the general population and have adopted a name Rāo, indicating their closer connexion with the Rājputās.

⁷² The writer's personal opinion upon this disputed point is given at length near the end of this article (p. 166).

⁷³ It is possible that the Gurjaras, at the time that they first entered the hills, did not speak an Indo-Aryan language. We are quite ignorant on the point. But this must not be taken as suggesting that the languages of their descendants, the Rājputās and the Gujurs, is not Indo-Aryan. It is now-a-days certainly Indo-Aryan, and belongs to the Inner-Group of these languages.

⁷⁴ It is interesting, on this point, to note that the Central Pahārī of Kumaon and Garhwāl (i. e., of Eastern Sapādalaksha) agree with Eastern Rājasthānī in having the genitive postposition *kō* and the verb substantive derived from the *coḥ*, while in the Western Pahārī of the Simla Hills (i. e., Western Sapādalaksha) the termination of the genitive is the Western Rājasthānī *rō*, while one of the verbs substantive (*d, is*) is probably of the same origin as the Western Rājasthānī *kō*. As for Gujarātī, the genitive ends in *rō*, and the verb substantive belongs to the *coḥ* group. West of Western Pahārī we have the Pōthwārī dialect of Lahndā. Here also the genitive termination is *rō*, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujarātī. On the other hand Gujarātī agrees with all the Lahndā dialects in one very remarkable point viz., the formation of the future by means of a sibilant. We thus see that right along the lower Himalaya, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects agreeing in striking points with, in order Gujarātī, Western Rājasthānī and Eastern Rājasthānī.

The Khasas were, we have seen, closely connected with the tribes nicknamed 'Pisachas' or cannibals, of North-Western India. I have elsewhere contended, and I believe proved, that the wild tribes of the extreme North-West, immediately to the South of the Hindû Kush, are modern representatives of these ancient 'Pisachas,' and I have classed the languages now spoken by them and also Kâshmiri, as belonging to the 'Pisacha Group.' This Pisacha Group of languages possesses many marked peculiarities strange to the Aryan languages of the Indian Plains, and several of these are clearly observable in the various forms of Western and Central Pahârî,—strong in the extreme west, but becoming weaker and weaker as we go eastwards. It is reasonable to infer that in this we have traces of the old language of the Khasas, whom Sanskrit tradition makes to be related to the Pisachas.⁷⁵ But the Pahârî languages, although with this Khasa basis, are much more closely related to Râjasthâni. This must be mainly due to the Gâjar influence. We have seen that the Gâjars occupied the country, and became absorbed in the general population, but at the same time they must have given it their language. Then there was a constant reflux of emigration on the part of the Gâjar-Râjpûts from Râjputâna and the neighbouring parts of India. These re-immigrants became, as befitted their Kshatriya station, the rulers of the country and to-day most of the chiefs and princes of the old Sapâdalaksha trace their descent from Râjpûts of the plains. The re-immigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughul rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribe after tribe, and leader after leader, abandoning their established seats in Râjputâna, and seeking refuge from Musalmân oppression in the hills from which they had originally issued to conquer the Gangetic Valley.⁷⁶

In Sapâdalaksha proper (the hill-tract with Chamba for its western and Kumaon for its eastern extremity) the Khasas and the Gâjars have kept themselves comparatively pure from admixture with the Tibeto-Burmans who overflowed from beyond the Himâlâya and also occupied the southern slope of the range. Here the Aryans succeeded in arresting their Tibeto-Burman competitors in the race for possession. On the other hand, in the east, in Nepâl, the Tibeto-Burmans forestalled the Khasa-Gâjars, and when the latter entered the country they found the others already in possession of the chief valleys. The bulk of the population of Nepâl is Tibeto-Burman, and the Khas conquerors have ever been in a minority. The result has been a considerable racial mixture, which is well described by Hodgson and Professor Sylvain Lévi in the works mentioned in the list of authorities. Most of the Khasas of Nepâl are of mixed descent. Here it is unnecessary to do more than record the fact, and to refer the ethnologist to the works above mentioned for particulars. What concerns us now is the language, and that has followed the fate of the Khas-Gâjar tribe. While still distinctly allied to Râjasthâni, the Aryan language of Nepâl presents a mixed character. Not only many words, but even special phases of the Grammar, such as the use of the Agent case before *all* tenses of the transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

⁷⁵ Attention will frequently be called to these Khasa traces in dealing with each language in the following pages. See especially the section devoted to Western Pahârî.

⁷⁶ For details, see the Introductions to each of the three Pahârî Groups.

The question of the language spoken by the Gujurs of Swât is different and more difficult. Two opposing theories have been given in the preceding pages, and the present writer will now attempt to give his own views on the subject. It must, however, be observed that these views are founded on imperfect materials, and are only put forward as what seems to him to be the best explanation till further materials become available.

We do not know what language was spoken by the Gurjars of Sapâdalaksha. It has been stated that it was not necessarily Indo-Aryan. This is true merely as a confession of ignorance. We simply do not know. All that we can say is that in some respects (such as the use of *handô* as a postposition of the genitive, the form *chhal* for the verb substantive, and the use of *lô* to form the future tense) its modern descendant, Râjasthâni, shows points of agreement with the Pisâcha languages of the north-west.

These Sapâdalaksha Gurjars came into Eastern Râjputâna, and their language there developed into Modern Râjasthâni. But as has been shown in the part of the *Survey* dealing with Râjasthâni, this is not a pure language. The Gurjars settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindî. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was Râjasthâni, a mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Râjputâna, in Alwar and Mewât, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Now the Gujurs of Swât speak this mixed Mewâti Râjasthâni, and not the language of the Sapâdalaksha Gurjars, whatever that was. Of this there can be no doubt. Swât Gujuri therefore must be a form of Mewâti Râjasthâni, and we cannot describe the latter as a form of Swât Gujuri, for we know that it originally came from Sapâdalaksha, not from Swât.

Mr. Smith has described how the Gûjars of Râjputâna can have entered the Panjab, and, whether the details of his theory are correct or not (and the present writer, for one, sees no reason for doubting them), we may take it, that the main point,—their entry from Râjputâna—is proved.

We are thus able to conceive the following course of events. The Mewât Gûjars went up the Jamnâ Valley, and settled in the Panjâb plains. There they amalgamated with the rest of the population and lost their distinctive language. Some of them settled in the submontane districts of Gujrât, Gujrânwâla, Kângrâ, and the neighbourhood. Here they partially retained their old language, and now speak a broken mixture of it, Pañjâbî, and Hindôstâni. The use of Hindôstâni forms in this mongrel submontane Gujari, far from the River Jamnâ, on the banks of which Hindôstâni has its proper home, is most suggestive.

Finally, other Gûjars, more enterprising than their fellows, went on further into the mountains, beyond the submontane tract, and are now-a-days represented by the Gujurs of Swât, Kashmîr, and the neighbourhood.

These last wander free over the mountains of their new home, and have little intercourse with the other inhabitants of the locality. They have hence retained the original language which they brought with them from Mewât. But even here we shall see in the specimens sporadic waifs picked up on their journey—stray Hindôstâni and Pañjâbî forms, retained like solitary flies in amber, within the body of the Gujur speech.

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH. D., UPSALA.

(Continued from page 153.)

From this point the various chronological documents ought to be considered separately, and I shall begin here with the Brahmanical tradition as incorporated in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

According to this text the above-mentioned, Darśaka (or Harṣaka)⁵⁴ after a reign of 25 years was succeeded by Udaya (or Udayāśva), who reigned 33 years; after him came Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, to whom a reign of altogether 85 years is assigned. Mahānandin was the last king of the Śāṣunāga dynasty, and after him the nine Nandas, Mahāpadma, etc., reigned during two generations altogether 100 years; of the Māuryas, who followed the last Nanda, Candragupta reigned 24, Bindusāra 25, and Aśoka 36 years. If we now sum up the different reigns from Ajātaśatru down to the accession of Aśoka, it makes altogether 317 years; and if we take for granted, that Buddha died eight years after the accession of Ajātaśatru, this would place Aśoka just 309 years after the Nirvāṇa, which is simply impossible, for even if we could use the Ceylonese era, according to which Buddha died 544 B. C. this would correspond to 234 B. C., and we know, that Aśoka had been anointed more than 12 years before a date which fell between 260 and 258 B. C. And, if we take 477 B. C. as the year of the Nirvāṇa, the accession of Aśoka would fall in 168 B. C., which is still more absurd.

So there must be an error in the *Purāṇas*, and I think it is rather easily detected. That there were two generations of Nandas, including a father and nine sons, the last of whom was called Mahāpadma, is related not only in Brahmanical, but also in Jain and (to a certain extent) in Buddhist texts. Moreover, Hemacandra and other Jain authors assert expressly, that Udaya or Udayi was the last of the Śāṣunāgas. Now, it is obvious that names like Mahānandin and Nandivardhana have nothing in common with the Śāṣunāgas, but look suspiciously like Nanda, and *Mahānandin* may even be a sort of shortening for the fuller *Mahāpadma Nandārāja*.⁵⁵ From this and from the great exaggeration in years I conclude, that the *Purāṇa* has twice counted the reigns of the Nanda dynasty, which is quite possible, as there seems to have been a great confusion prevailing in matters concerning their history. Moreover, the number of years (100) seems very suspicious as allotted to a father and nine sons, for it would give just ten years to each. From these instances I venture to draw the conclusion, that Mahānandin and Nandivardhana originally represented the two generations of Nandas, reigning 85 years,⁵⁶ and that the 100 years attributed to the Nandas is an interpolation based on oblivion and misunderstanding of the real facts. If then we eliminate the 100 years of the Nandas, the time between the death of Buddha and the accession of Aśoka would be 209 years instead of 309, which would place his date in 268 B. C. according to the adjusted chronology. But now the Buddhists, who may have had after all, the best information concerning Aśoka, tell us, that he reigned 4 years before his coronation and 37 years after it, which is fairly near the 36

⁵⁴ In the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* his name is Darbhaka, Cf. Müller, *Ancient Skt. Lit.* p. 296.

⁵⁵ *Nandārāja* is mentioned twice in the inscription of Khāravala and in Kāṭhīlīya p. 429. *Nandrus* is an evident emendation of (vide Gutschmid) for Alexandrus in Justin XV, 4. I am absolutely at a loss to understand what *Xandramas* or *Aprammas*, which was the name of the last king of Magadha before Candragupta according to Diodorus XVII, 93 and Curtius IX, 2, might be in Sanskrit. *Xandramas* seems to contain a Sanskrit *candra* "or perhaps *caṣṭa*" but nothing can be made out of this, as there is no such name amongst the Nandas.

⁵⁶ Two generations reigning for 85 years may seem to be a rather incredible event, but it is by no means impossible as Mr. Vincent A. Smith has supplied in his *Early History of India*, p. 40, examples from English history illustrating the length of reigns, I need only call attention to the fact that the reigns of Henry VIII and his children covered a period of no less than 94 years (1509-1603), and that Henry VIII was born 112 years before the death of Elizabeth.

years mentioned in the *Purāṇa*. If so, we must increase the 36 by five years, which would bring his accession to the throne to 273 B. C., which is nearly coincident with the date calculated from the inscriptions, 276-274 B. C.

So far concerning the Brahmanical tradition. The Jain records consist mainly in the *versus memoriales* treated of above, and the traditions incorporated in Hemacandra's *Parīṇīpaparvan*, but these must be considered later on, and so I pass now to the statements of the Buddhists, as we find them related in the Ceylonese chronicles. Here we must begin with the *Mahāvamsa*, as the statements there are at least clear, whilst the *Dīpavamsa* gives several utterly confused traditions.⁶⁷

According then to the *Mahāvamsa* II, 25 sq. and IV, 1 sq., V. 14 sq., Bimbisāra reigned 52 years, and was succeeded by his son and murderer Ajātaśatru, who reigned 8 years before and 24 years after the death of Buddha, or altogether 32 years. The princes after Ajātaśatru may have been rather faint supporters of the Buddhists religion, for the *Mahāvamsa* IV, 1 sq. calls the following a '*pitugātakocamea*,' a 'lineage of parricides', and tells that one after another succeeded to the throne by slaying his father and predecessor. They were: Udayabhaddaka, reigning 16 years, Anuruddhaka and Muṇḍa together 8 years⁶⁸ and Nāgadāsaka 24 years. After these monsters, of whom the last was slain by the infuriated people, a righteous minister, Susunāga, reigned 18 years, and was succeeded by his son, Kālāsoka, whose reign lasted 28 years. In the eleventh year (*atite dasame vassa*, IV, 8) of his reign the second council was convoked at Vesālī, 100 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. Kālāsoka was succeeded by his ten sons, who reigned 22 years, and these by the nine Nandas, reigning another 22 years.⁶⁹ After the dethronement of the last Nanda by Cāṇakya, Candragupta reigned 24 years. His son Bindusāra reigned 28 years, and was succeeded by Aśoka, who, after having murdered his 99 brothers, was anointed king 218 years after the Nirvāṇa. All these dates fit fairly well to each other, but the 'error' in the *Samantapāsādikā* mentioned above shows undoubtedly that the tradition is not on all points to be trusted, and we may perhaps, after all, not attach too much weight to the report that Aśoka was anointed just 218 years after the death of Buddha. However, there is one date, which may have been at least approximately known by the Buddhists, and that is the year of the second Council. That it took place 100 years A. B. is asserted by the *C. V.* XII, 1, 1, and it does not matter here if that is not the quite correct date, or even if the Council never

⁶⁷ I cannot consider here the *Dīpavamsa*, which states that Aśoka reigned 100 years after Buddha (pp. 368, 379 etc.) and gives on pp. 369, 430 an utterly incredible list of kings, which is in contradiction with all other records. According to this list the rulers of Magadha were the following: Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Udayin (Udayibhadra), Muṇḍa, Kākavarṇin, Sahāli, Tulakuci, Mahāmaṇḍala, Prasenajit, Nanda, Vindusāra, Aśoka, Sampati (son of Kumāla and grandson of Aśoka), Vyhaspati, Vyhasena (!), Puṣyadharman and Puṣyaratha. I only point to the fact, that in this list, Candragupta is forgotten, from which its value may be judged.

⁶⁸ In the *Samantapāsādikā* 3213 ff. Buddhaghosa assigns to these rulers 18 years instead of 8: a very remarkable tradition as it is in contradiction with the total sum of years between Buddha and Aśoka. This seems to point to a grave uncertainty in the Ceylonese tradition.

⁶⁹ It has not been observed before, as far as I know, that the Jain tradition has preserved a faint recollection of Kālāsoka and his successors. In *Upāṅga* 8 and 9 (*niroya-vallī*) it is spoken of prince Kāla and his 9 brothers, whom the tradition makes out to be step-brothers of Ajātaśatru, and later on of his 10 sons, two of whom bear the names *Mahāpadma* and *Nandana*. This shows a certain coincidence with other relations of the Nandas, albeit in an utterly confused form.

took place,⁷⁰ for the main question is that the date was an important starting point in the Ceylonese chronology, and I am firmly convinced that the monks in Ceylon also knew from old traditions, that this centenary fell just after the tenth year of Kālāsoka's reign. I only emphasize once more the deviating statement of Buddhaghosa which must perhaps induce us to alter in some way the list of rulers before Kālāsoka. But the events previous to his time do not, of course, affect the date of the great Aśoka, as there was, no doubt, a clear tradition that his *abhiṣeka* took place 118 years after the second Council and A. B. 218. Counting according to the adjusted chronology, this would fix the date of the *abhiṣeka* in 260-59 B. C., which is impossible to judge from the inscriptions.

It is true, that Aśoka always does count from the year of his *abhiṣeka*, as is clearly seen from all the dated inscriptions⁷¹; but we have calculated above, that his coronation must have taken place between 272-270 B. C. This would, no doubt, imply that the death of Buddha happened between 490-488 B. C., a date which does not coincide with the calculations of General Cunningham and Professor Max Müller. But here the following point of view ought to be considered.

Aśoka was, according to the Buddhist reports, an unbeliever during the first part of his reign, and he was converted three years after his coronation.⁷² Now this is of great interest, as it will probably be in agreement with the statements of Aśoka himself. The well-known introduction to the Rock-Ed. XIII tells us that '[a]stava[s]a abhiṣita[s]a de[va]na priasa Priadrāsisa rāṣo ka[ḷiṅga vijita]'⁷³; so the conquest of Kāliṅga must have taken place between 264-262 B. C., and immediately afterwards the king began to repent the slaughter and bloodshed that had taken place and became to a certain degree a convert. Now he further tells us, in the *Sahasrām* etc., edicts, that he was during more than 2½ years a rather luke-warm lay-follower, but had since that time during more than a year been an energetic member of the community (*adhikān[i] adhātīyāni vāsāni ya hakaṃ upāsake no tu kho bādham pakaṃte huraṃ ekaṃ sa(a) vacharaṃ sātīreke tu kho sa(m)vachar[a]ṃ yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayāte bādham ca me pakaṃte*). This implies, that more than 10½, say about 11, years had elapsed since the coronation, and consequently about 15 years since the accession, before he became a really faithful convert to Buddhism. And in the Rock-Ed. VIII he tells us that in his eleventh year he 'set out for the *sambodhi*' (*ayāya sambodhi*), which fairly corresponds to the statement of the *Sahasrām* edict.⁷⁴ If now we compare the three years after the coronation spoken of by the *Dīpaṃsa* and the 'more than 2½ years' of the *Sahasrām* edict, it cannot be denied that they present a striking resemblance, and I do not hesitate to conclude that in reality they point to the same event.⁷⁵ But this leads us further

⁷⁰ This is, of course, not my opinion, as I feel by no means convinced by the various theories adduced principally by R. O. Franke to invalidate the Buddhist tradition on this point.

⁷¹ Dates from the year 8 (conquest of Kāliṅga) in Rock-Ed. XIII to the year 26 (Pillar-Ed. I, IV and V and 27 (Pillar-Ed. VII).

⁷² *Dīpav.* VI, 18; also the corrupt verse VI, 24 speaks of the conversion three years after the *abhiṣeka*.

⁷³ *Shāhāśokaḥ*: *Ep. Ind.* II, 462.

⁷⁴ I have here fully made use of the very clear and convincing statements by Dr. F. W. Thomas, *J. A.* 1910, p. 507 sq.

⁷⁵ There are further proofs of coincidence between the Buddhist scriptures and the edicts which seem to be quite undeniable. The *Dīvyāvadāna*, e. g. knows of the existence of religious edicts, and makes their number be 84,000, a phantastical exaggeration; but it speaks in connexion with them (pp. 419, 429 etc.) of the institution of the *Paṭicārāṭṭhika*, which must be the same thing as the *dharmaḍḍā*, taking place every fifth year according to Rock-Ed. III and IV. Moreover, *Dīvyāvad.* p. 407 tells us that Kuṇḍala was sent by his father to Takṣaśīla as governor (Hem. *Paripīṭop.* IX, 14 sq. says to Ujjayīni), which certainly reminds us of the expression in the Ed. I of Dhauli and Jaugarā: *Ujaini(ke) kumhā* and *idhāharitā* (*Kumhā*). The coincidence between *Dīvyāvad.* p. 390 and the Rummindel inscription suggested by Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73 and Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* V., p. 5, is denied by Fischel *S. B. Pr. A. W.* 1903, p. 781, and is rather uncertain. But it is a matter of fact that the *Dīvyāvadāna* tells us of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places.

to the conclusion, that the Ceylonese chronicles—or rather their source the old *Aṭṭhakathā*—were under a certain misunderstanding, when they spoke of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and the *abhiṣeka* of Aśoka. The 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhiṣeka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kāliṅga or to the first conversion, or to both these events. And it must be conceded, that for the Buddhists the conversion was of infinitely more importance than the *abhiṣeka*, and that this may have been originally the point in the life of Aśoka, from which they started their chronological and historical records concerning him. As for the conquest of Kāliṅga it was probably of no importance in chronological calculations, but merely in connection with the conversion, and there is in my opinion no single trace of an era founded upon the incorporation of Kāliṅga in the realm of Aśoka, either in Kāliṅga itself or anywhere else."⁷⁶

If, then, 218 years of the Ceylonese chronicles did originally refer to the conversion, and not to the coronation of Aśoka, this event would have taken place in 259 B. C., and the final conversion about three years later, or 256 B. C., i. e., if we accept the year 477 B. C. for the death of Buddha. But this seems to be some years too late, as the conquest of Kāliṅga must have been completed at latest in 262 B. C. However, we must notice two facts, which possibly might bring the dates into full agreement with each other: (1) as stated above there is a disagreement between Buddhaghosa and the chronicles which may be of certain importance, and (2) the *Mahāvamsa* attributes to Bindusāra a reign of 28 years, whilst the Brahmanical sources, which may be more correct here, give him only 25, or three years less. These slight differences taken together may involve the conclusion, that the 218 years are in reality a little exaggerated, and so I find in this no objection, but rather a confirmation, of the correctness of the adjusted date 477 B. C.

The relations of the *Mahāvamsa*, albeit in some points a little incredible, seem to be very clear, when we turn to the *Dīpavamsa*, which gives us a most confused description of the different kings and their reigns. As far as I have been able to find a way through these entangled statements, there seem to be two main traditions concerning the kings of Magadha, of which the first is desperately confused, and the second is muddled up in a strange way with the calculations of the reigns of Ceylonese kings. To commence: two cardinal points stand out in the *Dīpavamsa*, as well as in the *Mahāvamsa*, viz., that the second Council was held 100 years after Buddha, when ten years and 15 days had elapsed of the reign of Aśoka, son of Susunāga,⁷⁷ and that the second Aśoka was anointed 218 years after Buddha.⁷⁸ What the *Dīpavamsa* supplies, in scattered notices from III, 56 ff. onwards as far as VI, 1 ff., where the reign of Aśoka begins, is that Bimbisāra reigned 52 years, Ajātasatru 8 years before and 24 years after the Nirvāṇa—32 years and Udaya (-bhadda) 16 years⁷⁹: but Anuruddhaka

⁷⁶ I agree with Dr. Fleet J.B.A.S. 1910, pp. 242 ff. 824 ff., that the inscription of Khāravela does not give us any right to presume the existence of a Māurya era, although I find his interpretation of line 16 in that inscription absolutely inacceptable. Dr. Fleet translates: 'he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas.' What does this mean? The seven first *aṅgas* have never, as far as I know, been taken as forming a unity in the canon, and could not well do it, as *Udeśagadaśo* is in composition far more similar to VIII and IX than to VI; and presuming that the canon existed in its present shape at that time—which is most incredible—the 64th Chapter would correspond to *Bhagavatī*, *sarga* 5, which Khāravela would have 'revived.' This is absurd. Moreover, *aṅgas* 9-11 do not contain 75 *adhyaṅga*'s, for 33+10+30 make 63. But I shall deal with this subject in another connexion. That Candragupta did not found any Māurya era seems clear, as Aśoka never makes use of it; and moreover the statement of Megasthenes in Pliny VI, 17 (21), that at his time the Hindus reckoned 153 kings from 'father Bacchus' down to Alexander during a time of 6451 years, seems to be a distorted record of the reckoning of the Kaliyuga, or the use of some Lūkika era., Cf. also Arrian, *Ind.* ch. 8.

⁷⁷ *Dīpav.* IV, 44; V, 25.

⁷⁸ *Dīpav.* IV, 38; V, 97.

⁷⁹ *Dīpav.* VI, 1 ff.

and Muṇḍa, who reigned together 8 years according to the *Mahāvamsa*, are totally omitted by the *Dīpaṃsa*, and from V, 78 it seems absolutely necessary to conclude, that *Dīpaṃsa* makes Nāgadāsa the immediate successor of Udaya; as for Nāgadāsa, he reigned at least 21 years,⁸⁰ as is seen from XI, 10. Susuṇaga reigned ten years,⁸¹ and was succeeded by Kālāsoka; but I am not aware of any statement in the *Dīpaṃsa* concerning the length of his reign. Kālāsoka must have been confounded with his father Susuṇaga in V, 99, when it is said that:

Susuṇagass' accayena honti te dasa bhātarō |
Sabbe bhāvisati vassam rajjāṃ kārēsu vameato ||

for clearly by this are indicated the ten sons of Kālāsoka, reigning 22 years according to the *Mahāvamsa*. The Nandas are totally lacking, Candragupta reigned 24 years, and Bindusāra is only mentioned, in V, 101; VI, 15, as the father of Aśoka without any further notice of the length of his reign⁸².

As for Aśoka himself, he reigned 37 years (V, 101), was anointed 218 years after Buddha, and converted three years after his coronation, etc.: all well-known statements. But, beside the clearly corrupt verse VI, 24:

paripuṇṇavāsasamhi Piyadassibhisiṭṭayam |
pāsaṇḍam parigaṇhanto tūi vassam alikkami ||

where the 20 years refer to an unknown event, there is another manifestly confused statement regarding the time of Aśoka. For in V, 102, it is said, that Tissa died in Aśoka's 26th year, but in VII, 32, in his 8th year. I am not able to make out how these contradicting statements may have originated.

In XI, 1 ff., we find the kings of Ceylon, who were in old times as remarkable for their long reigns as afterwards for the speed with which they succeeded each other. V, XI, 8 ff. states that Vījaya began his reign in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru,⁸³ and died after having been king 38 years in Udaya's 14th year. After an interregnum of about one year Paṇḍuvāsa was anointed in Udaya's 16th year, and died after a reign of 30 in the 21st year of Nāgadāsa. After him Abhaya became king, and reigned for 20 years; and after him there was an interregnum of 17 years, during which Pakuṇḍaka or Pauṇḍukābhaya 'lived as a robber' (*coro āsi*, XI, 2); having put seven of his maternal uncles to death (XI, 3), and having been anointed at Anurādhapura he reigned 70 years, and died in the fourteenth year of Candragupta, leaving the crown to his son Muṇḍasīva, who reigned 60 years, and died 17 years after the coronation of Aśoka⁸⁴. These accounts would place Candragupta in about 315/314 B. C., and the coronation of Aśoka in 257 B. C., but both dates are too late. Now, it is nearly impossible, that Pakuṇḍaka who was 37, when he was crowned, should have reigned 70 years, and have had a son reigning after him for 60 years.⁸⁵ But where the error lies is not easily ascertained. However, the miscalculation is rather small, and after all the Ceylonese Chronicles do not form an obstacle to retaining the adjusted date, 477 B. C.

If we now sum up the results of this short investigation, we have found that Aśoka's coronation must have taken place between the years 272-270 B. C., and his real accession to the

⁸⁰ If Nāgadāsa was really the successor of Udaya, he must have reigned 40 years; for Kālāsoka had reigned 10 years and 15 days at the centenary of the Nirvāṇa.

⁸¹ *Dīpaṃsa*, V, 97.

⁸² But this may be calculated from XI, 12-13 (v. below), and seems to have been about 29 years.

⁸³ He came to Ceylon in the last year of Buddha, *Dīpaṃsa*, IX, 40, on the very night of Buddha's death, according to *Mahāv.* VII, 1 ff.

⁸⁴ From this statement the date of Bindusāra can be calculated; he seems to have reigned 29 years.

⁸⁵ It is, however, remarkable that more than one classical author speaks about the high age reached by the inhabitants of Taprobane: *Of.*, a. g., Pliny, VI, 23 (24)

throne about four years earlier, or 276-274 B.C. If, to obtain a more fixed date, we take the last of these years, and suppose that Asoka became king in 274 B.C., and reigned after that time 41 (4+37) years, he must have died 233 B.C. I further think, that the Brahmanical statement concerning Bindusāra is more correct than the Buddhist, and that the absolutely longest duration of his reign that we can assume is 25 years; this would fix his time between 299-274 B.C., and I should rather prefer to think that he began to reign some years later. Candragupta would have reigned between 323-299 B.C., and this seems to me to be very probable; for from Justin XV, 4, I fail to draw any other conclusion than that Candragupta became king of Magadha a certain time after he conquered the western provinces⁸⁶, even if he really did see Alexander before that time.⁸⁷ If Megasthenes, as seems sure, came in 303-302 B.C. to the court at Pataliputra⁸⁸ and lived there some years, the earliest date for Candragupta's death may be 299 B.C., for Megasthenes certainly speaks of him as being alive.

The space of 164 years between 477 and 323 B.C. would then be filled up by Ajātasatru and his lineage and the Nanda Kings. Ajātasatru is said to have reigned 24 years after Buddha, and so we may probably fix his death at about 453 B.C.;⁸⁹ Udaya or Udāyi, however, who was, in my opinion, certainly the last of the Śāiśunāgas, is said by the Purāṇa to have reigned 33, by the Ceylonese chronicles only 16 years. But here also we must consider, the testimony of the Jains, with which I shall deal below, and it seems rather to confirm the Puranic view. It is certain from the *Digha Nikāya*, that Udāyi was thought to have been born and to have already attained some age when Ajātasatru visited Buddha; but notwithstanding this he may have reigned about 30 years. This would bring us down to roughly 425 or 420 B.C., or 100 years before Candragupta. And this time may have been filled up principally by the Nandas, who reigned according to Hemacandra 95 years (see below), and according to what I have tried above to make out from the *Purāṇa* about 85 years. As concerns Susunāga the name is very suspicious, for Śiśunāga was founder of the dynasty to which Bimbisāra, etc., belonged; if Kālāsoka really existed, he may have been a Nanda. As the dynasty of the Śāiśunāgas may thus have ceased about 420 B.C., and this is not very much at variance with the statement of Hemacandra regarding the time of Nanda's accession, I think that date may as an approximation be approved. And I find no objection whatever to accepting the year 477 B.C. as the most probable date for the Nirvāṇa of Buddha.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The opinion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 115 sq. is the opposite one, but I cannot approve it.

⁸⁷ Plutarch, *Alex.* ch. 72.

⁸⁸ Smith, *l. c.* p. 118 sq.

⁸⁹ These 24 years show a remarkable coincidence with the statement of the *Purāṇas* that Ajātasatru reigned for 25 years. Does this really imply the use of a reckoning from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, existing in the time in which the Puranic list of kings originated? There is, of course, another coincidence in the 36 years of Asoka. In the *Purāṇa* and the 37 years after his coronation by the Buddhists.

⁹⁰ As for the reasons adduced by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 42 f., for dating the Nirvāṇa at 487/86 B.C., they do not seem to be convincing at all. Concerning Vāsiṣṭha and Vindhyaśāstra, they were contemporaries of Vasubandhu, and are said in Chinese sources to have lived '900 years after the Nirvāṇa'; but M. N. Péri, *B. E. F. O.* XI, 339 ff., has showed with sufficient evidence, that the Chinese authors placed the Nirvāṇa at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and that Vasubandhu really lived before 350 A.D. As for the 'dotted record' at Canton, finished in 489 A.D., and indicating the year 486 B.C. as the Nirvāṇa, it seems at first rather important; but when we consider, that the Buddhists of different schools have all gone astray about the date, and that no one of them, as far as I know, has ever counted with the year 486 B.C., it seems very strange if just this single record should have kept the right date. Paramārtha, for instance, who lived 499-569, tells us that one of his works was completed 1365 years A.B. (Péris *l. c.* p. 361). As for the tradition that Asoka lived 250 years after the Nirvāṇa, and was a contemporary of She-hwang-ti (246-210 B.C.), this would bring the date back to 496 B.C. (246+250). As for the reasons of Mr. V. Gopala Aiyer, *Ind. Ant.* XXXVII, 341 ff., they are based on the wrong interpretation of 258 in the *Sahasrām. Ed.*, and on too uncritical acceptance of the dates given in the Ceylonese Chronicles.

If then 477 B.C., is the most credible date for the death of Buddha that seems to be available, he must have been born about 557 B.C., as he was 80 years old when he died. And as the Pāli texts—our only source on this subject—inform us that he was 29 years old at the time of his renunciation, and 36 when he attained Buddhahood, this last event must have happened about 520 B.C. From these calculations, which cannot be very wrong, it is quite clear that if Mahāvira had died 527 B.C., as one tradition asserts, he and his great rival would absolutely never have come into contact with each other, and all the statements of the Pāli texts concerning Nātaputta and his followers would be only fancy and invention from the beginning to the end, which seems a quite unjustifiable supposition.

Thus we have seen that if Buddha died 477 B.C., as he may really have done, there is no possibility of 527 B.C., being the right date for Mahāvira; and we have seen above that this date, based on the calculation that Mahāvira died 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era, rests on no solid ground. So there is no doubt that we must reject this date and try to obtain another, which fits better with the chronological calculations. As such a date has already long ago been suggested by Professor Jacobi,²¹ I have here merely to lay stress upon his arguments and try to confirm them by some new reasons.

III.

The Jain tradition according to Hemacandra and the real date of Mahāvira.

Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1170), the greatest of all Jain writers, in his *Sthavirāvalīcarita*, usually called *Parīṣiṭaparvan*, has given a sort of history of the time between Bimbisāra and Samprati, the grandson and successor of Aśoka. This often very fanciful and legendary historical record is given as a sort of appendix to what is the real object of the poem, the history of the old Jain patriarchs or pontiffs. But I am rather convinced that, confused and legendary as the record may be, it contains here and there some hints of real historical value, which may be used for the calculation of Mahāvira's date.

Sreṇika (=Bimbisāra) and his son Kāṇika (=Ajātaśatru) are well-known to the Jains, but the dates of their reigns are, as far as I know, never given. In VI, 21 ff., Hemacandra tells us how Kāṇika died in Campā, and was succeeded by his son Udāyin, who founded the new capital, Pāṭaliputra. This king was a stout Jain, and became very powerful, but he met with a sad fate, for the son of a king, whom he had deposed, managed to get into his palace disguised as a Jain monk, and murdered him. Udāyin had no heirs and consequently the five royal appurtenances were sent out to find a successor to him. The choice was rather strange, for it fell upon a certain Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber (VI, 231 ff.), and he was consequently anointed king. This took place 60 years after the death of Mahāvira, according to VI, 243 :

anantaram Vardhamānasvāmīnirvāṇavāsarāt-
gatāyām śaṣṭivatsaryām esa Nando' bhavan nipaḥ ||

This first Nanda seems not to be very unfavourably judged by Hemacandra, and this may lead us to believe that he was thought to have been to some degree a protector of the Jain faith. Such a suggestion seems really to be confirmed by a document of great value, the inscription of Khāravela at Udayagiri. For there he speaks twice of a *Na(m)darāja*, who must, of course, have been a member of the Nanda dynasty; and although the first passage is by no means clear, and the second one badly mutilated, the latter seems to tell us that Khāravela 'made the king of Magadha bow down at the feet of the highest (or first Jina), brought away (?) by Nandarāja' (*pāde va(m)dāpayati Nandarājanitasa agajinasa*); the *agajina* may be Mahāvira or Rābha, it does not matter which, but so much seems clear, that a Nanda king had taken away an idol of a Jina²² during a raid into Kalinṅga. And why should he have chosen so strange an object, if he had not been a believer in the Jina! Moreover,

²¹ *Kalpas*, p. 8 ff.

²² A curiously similar instance is told about Pradyota and Udayana in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Brāhmanen*, p. 31 sq.

Udāyin, the predecessor of Nanda, was a faithful Jaina, and Ajātaśatru may have been something of the same.⁹³ No wonder then that the Buddhists style them 'a lineage of parricides', which elsewhere is only known to suit Ajātaśatru.

Thus sixty years elapsed between the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira and the accession of Nanda. This period was evidently, according to the Jains, filled up by part of the reign of Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) and the whole reign of Udāyin, and I have tried above to prove, that Udāyin was most probably the last of his dynasty. Now if Buddha died, as I think proved, in 477 B.C., Ajātaśatru must have become king 485 B.C., i.e., eight years before the Nirvāṇa. The first enterprise of the new ruler was a war with the old king of Kosala, the brother of his father's second wife. Now the *Bhagavati*, *Saya* XV,⁹⁴ states that the heresiarch Gosāla, the bitter rival of Mahāvira, died at Srāvastī, just after that war,⁹⁵ and that Mahāvira survived him for 16 years. That this statement coincides with the other dates given concerning Gosāla is seen from the fact that he claimed to have attained Jinahood two years before Mahāvira, when the latter was 40 years old, and that after that time they did not see each other for 16 years. Their next and last meeting did not occur before the year of Gosāla's death. So Mahāvira must have been 56 years old, when Gosāla died, and as he attained the age of 72, he consequently did survive him for 16 years.⁹⁶ These 16 years bring us down to a time shortly after 470 B.C., say about 468-67, and this coincides quite with the date proposed by Professor Jacobi for the death of Mahāvira on the authority of Hemacandra. There is no exact statement, as far as I know, that Mahāvira died during the reign of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, but there is also nothing said concerning an interview between him and Udāyi; and I think we must rather conclude that the reign of Ajātaśatru is correctly stated in the Buddhist chronicles to have lasted for about 30 years, but that the reign of Udāyi must have lasted for more than 16, or even more than 33 years, if really there was no one between Ajātaśatru and him.⁹⁷

The Nandas, served by very clever ministers, descendants of Kalpaka, the minister of the first Nanda, were nine in number. The minister of the last of them was the famous Sakaśāla, here said to have been the father of Sthūlabhadra, the seventh (or ninth) pontiff of the Jain church, who died 215 (or 219) after Mahāvira. The stories of Nanda, Sakaśāla and Vararuci, and of the youth of Candragupta and his connection with Cāṇakya seem all to be merely fairy tales: albeit it is remarkable, that they are found already in the commentaries on the *Avaiyaka Nirṇukti*, and agree partly with the tales in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, etc., and to a still greater extent with the stories told in the *Mahāvamsa* (ikā 119, 8 ff.; 121, 22 ff.).⁹⁸ But this cannot be of any value to us here, and only proves furthermore, that 'some centuries after the beginning of our era popular stories about the epoch of the Nandas and the Mauryas were current in India' (Jacobi, *Parīti*, ap. p. 50 n. 2). After all the only useful passage is here the verse VIII, 339:

evam ca irimahāvīramukte varṇasate gate |
pañcapañcāśadadhike Candragupto 'bhavan nripaḥ ||

Which Jacobi⁹⁹ has already emphasised as giving another and better tradition concerning the death of Mahāvira. The similarity in construction between the expression:

⁹³ Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 8.

⁹⁴ Concerning the following Cf. Dr. Hoernle's *Uds* App. I and *Hastings's Encycl.* p. 260 sq.

⁹⁵ That it occurred after the war seems clear from the statement of the *Bhag* p. 1254 sq that an allusion to the war is included in the doctrine of the 'eight finalities' of Gosāla. Cf. Hoernle *l. c.* p. 263.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hoernle *Uds* II, p. 110.

⁹⁷ If Ajātaśatru survived Buddha for 24, he must have survived Mahāvira for 14 years, if we accept the year 467 B.C. for the latter, and then Udāyi would have reigned for 46 years according to the statement of Hemacandra concerning 60 years between the death of Mahāvira and Nanda's accession. This seems to be a very long time, for he is spoken of as a boy already at his father's interview with Buddha, some 30 years before his own accession to the throne (*D. N. I.*, 80).

⁹⁸ Cf. Turnour *Mahāvamsa I*, p. XXXIX ff. and Gelger, *Dipav.* and *Mahā* p. 42 ff. The agreement between this text and the *Parīti* extends to the most trifling details. The *Mahāvamsa* seems to be late (Gelger *l. c.* p. 37), but it contains old material.

⁹⁹ *Kalpas*, p. 8 ff.

Candragupta ' bhavan nripah.

and the end of verse VI, 243 :

esa Nando ' bhavan nripah

is scarcely fortuitous, and seems to infer the conclusion, that Hemacandra borrowed such verses *versatim* from an older source, or perhaps translated them from old chronological *gāthās* in Prākṛit. As Hemacandra only tells us that Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra (VIII, 445), and the latter again by his son Aśoka¹ (IX, 14 ff.), who in his turn left the throne to his grandson Samprati¹⁰⁰, the son of Kuṣāla (IX, 35 ff.), and a faithful Jain, without giving their dates or any further references to chronology, we may assume with Jacobl that he took as correct the tradition of 255 years elapsing between the accession of Candragupta and the Vikrama era. This would then make up the time between the death of Mahāvira and the accession of Vikrama till 255+185=440 years, and involve the conclusion that Mahāvira died 487 B.C., which in my opinion is the date best fitted for all circumstances connected with it, and may be deemed the right one.

This gives, in conformity with the tradition reported by Merutuṅga, 312 B.C. as the year of Candragupta's accession : a rather puzzling date. For I do not believe in the suggestion that the Māurya era was made to begin in 312 B.C., to make it to coincide with the Seleucid era ; for if Candragupta, as we know, expelled Seleucus from India, and even took from him a part of his Bactrian Dominions, there is no reason whatsoever why he should have adjusted his era after that of a conquered enemy. Moreover, Candragupta probably never founded a new era (cf. above p. 170). But as Candragupta now is said to have been anointed king in 155 after Vira, this may stand in connexion with some event of great importance to the Jains, and I think it does so too.

The time of Candragupta was undoubtedly a period of affliction and distress for the Jain church. Not only is it very probable that the royal protection of the sect ceased, for, although the Jains themselves claim Candragupta to have been a believer and even a monk during his last years, there is little doubt that the policy of Cāṇakya was by no means favourable to the heretical sects,¹ and in fact the connexion of the Jains with Eastern India, which ceases completely after Aśoka (with the single exception for the reign of Khāravēla, whose time is uncertain), seems even earlier to become rather faint. But also under the reign of Candragupta happened the dreadful famine of 12 years, which is represented as having caused the schismatic movement, that marks, no doubt, the commencement of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. At the time when Candragupta became king, the Jain church was for one of the few times in its long history governed by two pontiffs, Sambhātavijaya and Bhadrabāhu ; but the former died exactly in the year after Candragupta's accession, or 186 after Vira, which may, after all, perhaps be the very same year as Hemacandra, *Parisī*, ap. viii, 839, says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*) ; and so I have no doubt that it is this very event, which has made Hemacandra place the commencement of Candragupta's reign in the very year corresponding to 312 (or 311) B.C., instead of ten or eleven years earlier. For Sambhātavijaya's death marks the end of a period in the history of Jainism. It is true that Bhadrabāhu, who died fifteen years later, and Sthūlabhadra, who became his successor, knew both the 14 *pūras*, the latter,

¹⁰⁰ The mention of Samprati as successor of Aśoka in *Diyaśat*, p. 430 receives a certain importance from this. As was known from the Nāgarjuni inscriptions, that Aśoka was succeeded in Magadha by Dasaratha, of whom the Jains know nothing, the suggestion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History* p. 181, that the empire was divided at the death of Aśoka into an Eastern and a Western part, seems to me therefore probable. The constant connexion of Kuṣāla, the father of Samprati, with Ujjayini and Takṣaśila points to the same fact ; and this perhaps accounts for the 108 years, which the Jains attribute to the Māuryas, for the dynasty may have ceased to rule earlier in the Western parts than in Magadha, where it was overthrown by Puṣyamitra about 185 B.C. However, it is remarkable that Puṣyamitra (*Puṣyamitra*) is mentioned in the chronological verse by Merutuṅga as having reigned 30 years, and at a period which must coincide with 204—174 B.C. I cannot account for this statement, which seems to be contradictory to the chronology afforded by the *Mahābhāṣya* and the date of Menander.

¹ Cf. H. Thomas, *Records of the Gupta dynasty* p. 17 sq.; Jacobl, *Kalpas*, p. 8 n. 1; Vincent A. Smith, *Early History* pp. 38 n. 1; 40 n. 1; 187 n. 2 and *Fleet*, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 825 n. 2.

however, with the restriction not to teaching the last four of them to others. So the Digambaras consider Bhadrabāhu as the last *śrutakevalin*, while the Svetāmbaras consider Sthālabhadra as such². It seems from this that Bhadrabāhu was a more important person than Sambhūtavijaya, and no doubt he was; but after all Bhadrabāhu was, albeit the pontiff of the whole church, something of a sectarian, for he left behind a party of his followers in Magadha, when he himself went to the south. And that party, which withdrew with him, did not afterwards approve of either the conduct of the monks who remained at home, or their canon. And as Bhadrabāhu afterwards went away to Nepal, and was not very willing to help the council in gathering the sacred texts³, he seems not to have been in full agreement with their task, or to have fully approved of it. And so, after all, Sambhūtavijaya is in fact the last pontiff of the original old, undivided church, unaltered since the days of Mahāvira himself, whilst his far more famous colleague Bhadrabāhu came, through the influence of the disturbed period, into a somewhat different position. So I think we might safely conclude that Candragupta was placed in the years of Sambhūtavijaya's death, just in the same way as we have heard Pālaka become king on the night of Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa⁴.

Other circumstances in favour of 467 B.C. as the year of Mahāvira's death have been discussed by Professor Jacobi in his introduction to the *Kalpasūtra*, and I shall here only dwell shortly on two points, which seem to be of importance for this question.

All Jain tradition from Hemaandra⁵ downwards gives 170 after Vira as the year of Bhadrabāhu's death. This would be 357 B.C., if we accepted the traditional date, but 297 B.C., if we accept the date of Professor Jacobi; and the latter is the only possible one, for all Jain tradition also brings Bhadrabāhu into the closest connexion with Candragupta, and this excludes totally the year 357 B.C.

§148 of the *Jinacaritra* of the *Kalpasūtra* tells us that the work was finished 980 years after Mahāvira, but makes the significant addition that in another recension (*vāyaṇantare*) the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old *cārri*,⁶ refer this date to different events:—⁷

- (1) The Council of Valabhī under Devarddhigaṇin, where the *Siddhānta* was written in books;
- (2) The Council of Mathurā under Skandila, who probably revised the *Siddhānta*;
- (3) The public recitation of the *Kalpasūtra* before king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura, to console him for the death of his son, and
- (4) The removal of the *Pajjāsan* by Kālakācārya⁸.

As for the council of Skandila at Mathurā, it has here been confused with the far more important and famous one at Valabhī, where the *Siddhānta* was undoubtedly settled in its present shape; but if it ever took place, it was certainly of a far earlier date, and cannot be considered here.⁹ But the statements concerning the Council at Valabhī and the public recitation of the *Kalpasūtra* before king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura are of great interest. Unfortunately, we have no statement concerning Ānandapura, except that the commentaries identify it with Mahāsthāna, but this does not help us much. However, we must take in consideration the following facts:—

² The *Ārthakāśtra*, which I prefer to hold for the real work of Cāpakya till it can be fully proved that it is not, contains absolutely nothing of sectarian, or Jain influence, except perhaps the passage p. 55 etc., where Aparājita, Jayanta and Vāijayanta are spoken of amongst other gods. However, this is in my opinion of no great importance. The *Śrīkākara* mentioned on p. 199 etc., may denote a Jain saint, but we must remember that *śrīhika*, *avyaśrīhika* is a title given to ascetics of various schools in the Pāli canon.

³ But there seem to be proofs for the fact, that even the Svetāmbaras sometimes considered Bhadrabāhu as the last one, *cf. Jacobi Kalpas. p. 11; ZDMG. 38, 14 sq.*

⁴ For all details on this subject see the paper of Professor Jacobi on 'the origin of the Svetāmbaras and Digambaras sects' in *ZDMG. 38, 1 ff.*

⁵ *cf. above p.*

⁶ *Paripīṭap. ix, 112.*

⁷ *Jacobi Kalpas. p. 25.*

⁸ *Jacobi, SBE. XXII, 270 n.*

⁹ This Kālakācārya is the third in the list of the Jains and, of course, not is the same as the enemy of Gardabhilla, who flourished 470 after Vira; *cf. Jacobi, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.*

(1) Dhruvasena is by no means a very common name. It belongs to a certain dynasty at Valabhi, and we know, that Dhruvasena I came to the throne in A.D. 526 ;

(2) This Dhruvasena had apparently no son, for he was succeeded in A. D. 540, by his brother Guhasena¹⁰ ; and

(3) If we take 467 B. C., as the year of Mahāvira's decease, and count with one redaction of the *Kalpasūtra*—that this version was a really old and valuable one is shown by the fact that it is mentioned in the ultimate redaction of the canon—993 years from that event, we will find a most remarkable coincidence, for 993—467 is—526, or just the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhi.

From these facts I do not hesitate to draw the conclusion, that the great council at Valabhi was held just in the year of Dhruvasena's accession, and that consequently the present text of the life of Mahāvira in the *Kalpasūtra*, which had been finally settled there, was publicly recited before Dhruvasena. And this forms in my opinion a very valuable confirmation of the suggestion that the real year of Mahāvira's death was 467 B.C.

There is only one more question to be dealt with here. It will be immediately pointed out by scholars, who do not find this suggestion acceptable, that it is expressly contradicted by the statement in the Pāli canon concerning Nātaputta's death at Pāvā while Buddha was staying at Sāmagāma in the Sākya-land, consequently before the decease of Buddha himself. I fully admit this, but I believe that a somewhat careful consideration of the question will show that this statement is of no great value.

Evidence—and rather, strong evidence—has been brought forward by Professor Jacobi and in this treatise for rejecting the year 527 B. C., and accepting instead, on the authority of Hemacandra, the year 467 B. C. And I must add that I consider this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pāli canon.

The passage is found in *Digha Nik.* III, 117 sq.; 209 sq. and *Majjh. Nik.*, II., 243 sq.¹¹ and tells us that while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pāvā, and that the *nirgranthas* were divided by serious schisms and almost on the point of breaking up the whole community. The statement concerning Pāvā is partly correct, for Mahāvira died, according to the Jain tradition also, at Pāvā, and partly wrong, for as I have shown above¹² the Buddhists do not mean the Pāvā near Rājagṛha, which is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jains, but the little town near Kusināra, where Buddha took his last meal in the house of Cunda. Even this circumstance arouses suspicion. Moreover, I have pointed out above that the meeting with Upālī, which is said later to have been the real cause of Mahāvira's death, implies nothing of that sort in the oldest texts. And finally the story concerning the schism makes the report still more suspicious, for the Jain texts know absolutely nothing about this, but seem to represent the state of the community at this event as an entirely peaceful one ; and they generally conceal nothing concerning the schisms. But instead of this, they tell us of two minor schisms occurring as early as during the lifetime of the Prophet,¹³ not to mention the everlasting trouble with Gosāla and his followers, finished only by the death of this heresiarch. Accordingly I think, that some faint reports of these schisms reached the authors of the *Nikāyas*, and were confused by them by the similarly somewhat dim knowledge of the death of Nātaputta at Pāvā—for which they mistook the place of the same name more familiar to them—with the story told in the canon. After all, I cannot find in this legend an obstacle to the result of the investigation as expounded above, and I wish to note two other circumstances, which fit in very well with the opinion as to Mahāvira being somewhat later than Buddha.

¹⁰ If Skandila, the president of the Council, is the same person as the one mentioned in a *Pañḍitak* published by Klatt, *Festschrift an Böhlingh* p. 54 ff., he is said to have died 414 after Vira, i.e., 113 B.C.

¹¹ That the succession of brothers was no rule in this dynasty is seen from the fact that Guhasena again was succeeded by his son Guhasena II in A.D. 559.

¹² Quoted and translated by Chalmers, *JRAS.* 1895, p. 565 sq.

¹³ See p

The Jain creed is called in *D. N. II.*, 57 sq.; *M. N. I.*, 377; *S. N. I.*, 66; etc., *cāturyāma* 'consisting in four restrictions.'¹⁴ But this is not the creed of Mahāvira, who enforced five great vows upon his followers, but of his predecessor Pārva the last *śīrṭhakarā* but one. And there seems in fact to be amongst the Jains themselves some confusion concerning the number of the 'great vows.'¹⁵ This is evidently no mistake on the part of the *Sāmañña phalasūla* and other Buddhist texts, but rather depicts the state of things such as it was, when Buddha and Mahāvira came into closer contact with each other; and from this we may perhaps conclude that Mahāvira did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

Moreover, Bimbisāra is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajātaśatru does not appear so very much there, which strengthens the statement that Buddha's life was already in the beginning of his reign coming to its end. But in the canon of the Jains Kāṇḍiaka plays a far more important rôle in the life of Mahāvira, and is certainly taken as much notice of as his father, if not more; and while the Buddhists represent their master as visiting and being visited by these kings in Rājagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, amongst the Jains Campā, the new capital of Kāṇḍiaka, is almost as often mentioned as the scene of the interviews between the king and the prophet. This, too, undoubtedly points to a later period of Ajātaśatru's reign.

I have now reached the end of this investigation. It may be said with justice that most of what it contains has been said in one form or another before; but this is an inevitable evil, common to all such researches of a more general kind. Moreover, I do not regret it, because I have found it most convenient to lay once more before the reader the whole mass of facts, which enables them far better to form a proper opinion, whether it agrees with that suggested above or not. And I think, that the question concerning the date of Mahāvira is a very important one, and deserves to be discussed with the aid of as much material as may be available. If I cannot expect that all scholars will agree with my conclusion—which is in fact only that long ago suggested by Professor Jacobi, which I have tried to confirm by some new arguments—I may at least hope that the preceding discussion may be of some use in drawing the attention of scholars to a problem, which seems for a long time to have been somewhat neglected. New material, not available to me, will perhaps be supplied, and may furnish another solution of the question; for the present I see no possibility of arriving at any solution, harmonising better with the various facts connected with and depending upon the date under consideration.

Note.—It has perhaps occurred to the reader of this paper that I have nowhere quoted the introduction by Professor Geiger to his translation of the *Mahāvāṃsa* (London 1912). In fact, I did not read this treatise before I had finished my paper, and consequently some of the conclusions drawn by me are simply repetitions of what has already been proved by Professor Geiger. But, notwithstanding the unsurpassed knowledge of this eminent scholar on matters connected with the Ceylonese tradition, I cannot agree with the main result of his chronological investigations. As for my reasons for believing the date of Buddha's death to be 477 B. C. they have been set forth above; and I am not convinced of their incorrectness by the possible existence of a Ceylonese era counting from 483 B. C., traces of which cannot be discovered before the eleventh century A. D., or about 1500 years after Buddha's death. And when Professor Geiger fixes the date of Aśoka's Coronation to 264 B. C., he has neglected the epigraphical evidence, according to which the 13th year after that event fell between 260 and 258 B. C. And in comparison with the contemporaneous inscriptions the evidence of the Ceylonese chronicles is, of course, valueless.

In concluding this paper I wish to express my most sincere thanks to Dr. F. W. Thomas, who has had the great amiability to go through my manuscript in order to correct the numerous passages inconsistent with the usage of the English language.

¹⁴ Cf. *Leumann, Ind. Stud.* XVII, 98 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. *Chulavāṃsa* in *Uttar.* XXIII, 12.

¹⁶ Cf. Dr. Hoernle in *Hartings' Encyclopaedia* I, 264.

MISCELLANEA.

COBRA MANILLA.

IN Hobson-Jobson the name of this snake is derived from Mahābhāṣa *maṣṣā*, which is said to be connected with Sanskrit *maṣṣā*, 'a jewel'. But 'Manilla' seems rather to go back to *maṣṣāṭi*, which, according to the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, is a corruption of *maṣṣāṭi*, 'earth-eater,' from *maṣ*, 'earth,' and *ṣāṭi*, 'to eat.' In the Madras Presidency this snake is popularly believed

to eat earth and to have two heads, one in front and one behind, which it uses alternately for six months! The Anglo-Indian form 'Cobra Manilla' was taken over from Portuguese, where *cobra* means 'a snake' and *manilla* 'a bangle.' As shown above, the second part of the name is due to a popular etymology of the Tamil *maṣṣāṭi*.

R. HULTSCH.

[This makes the cobra manilla to be the well known Indian water snake—the *domanak*.—ED.]

BOOK-NOTICE.

The Bower Manuscript. Facsimile leaves, Nagari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation, with notes, edited by A. F. RUDOLPH HOERNLE, O.E., M.A., PH.D., Calcutta. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1893-1912, Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXII, Fol. xviii. 401 pp.

THIS monumental edition of the Bower manuscript is the result of long and laborious work extending over more than twenty years. It commenced in the summer of 1891, and the introductory remarks were written in April 1912. The learned editor has had to contend with very great difficulties, but then his patient and careful work has resulted in adding considerably to our knowledge of ancient Indian medicine and Indian civilisation generally.

Though the discoveries of the first decennium of our century have brought to light fragments which are considerably older than the Bower manuscript, this latter one occupies a unique position, in so far as its discovery and publication in Calcutta, to use the words of the editor, 'started the whole modern movement of the archaeological exploration of Eastern Turkestan.' It is not necessary in this short notice to follow the different stages in this development. Suffice it to remind of the fact that these explorations have in a remarkable degree widened the scope of Indian philology and research. We are now able to see, much more clearly than was formerly the case, what a predominant rôle Indian civilisation played in Asia at a very early period, and to trace the various elements that contributed to the history of Central and Eastern Asia during long centuries. And from the finds in Turkestan unexpected light has already been thrown on many questions concerning Indian archaeology itself, Indian art, Indian literature, and Indian history. Every student of Indian history and archaeology will consequently view the Bower manuscript with pride, and greet a careful edition of it, such as the one we owe to the zeal of Dr. Hoernle, with gratitude.

The chief contents of the Bower manuscript are medical, and of considerable interest for the history of Indian medicine. That is a consequence of the fact that it seems possible to settle the question about the date of the manuscript with some confidence. The result of a careful study of Indian palaeography and the alphabet of the Bower manuscript has led Dr. Hoernle to the conclusion that the time of writing was the second half of the fourth century A. D. The learned editor has succeeded in adducing very valid reasons for this dating. He also tries to show that the writers were natives of India who had migrated to Kucha. One of them is supposed to hail from the northern, and the two other ones from the southern part of the northern area of the Indian Gupta script. "But the fact that they use birch-bark as their writing material shows that the country, from which more immediately they migrated to Kucha, must have been Kashmir or Udyāna; and the quality of the birch-bark which they use, suggests that they wrote their respective parts of the Bower Manuscript after their settlement in Kucha, when their store of birchbark had run short."

It is of course impossible to prove these theses with absolute certainty. We know that the Indian Brāhmī alphabet was introduced into Eastern Turkestan in the Kushāna period, and we also know that its Turkestan varieties did not change much in the course of the centuries. It is therefore just possible that the date of the Bower manuscript is a little later than assumed by Dr. Hoernle, and that the scribes were not themselves immigrants from India! However, Dr. Hoernle's theory is, I think the most likely one. Only I should not attach much importance to such features where the alphabet of the Bower manuscript agrees with Brāhmī. That latter alphabet seems to have been used over a comparatively wide area, and, moreover, it does not occur in epigraphical records before a much later time.

¹ Compare *f. i.* forms such as *parimāṣṣāṭi* with the common Khotanī change of *ṣ* to *ṣ*.

At all events, however, the Bower manuscript is much older than anything of the same kind so far found in India. It has already been remarked that it has been written by more than one hand. There seem to have been altogether three scribes, and the last one seems to have been a man Yasamitra, i.e., Yaśomitra, by name. Dr. Hoernle thinks he may have been a Buddhist monk and probably a man of repute. This he infers from the fact that the manuscripts were found in the relic chamber of a *stūpa*, which he thinks shows that they must have been the property of the person in whose honour the *stūpa* was erected; and to be accorded such an honour that person must have been a monk of acknowledged eminence. I am afraid that this conclusion is a little rash. The manuscript was evidently deposited as a votive offering, but nothing authorises us to believe that it had belonged to the person in whose honour the *stūpa* was erected.

The manuscript consists of seven different parts, which were put together in the shape of an Indian *pothi*. A similar book from Turkestan has been illustrated in fig. 6 and 7, of which the latter has been placed upside down. Parts I-III are purely medical; Part I is of a somewhat miscellaneous description, Part II contains a handbook of prescriptions covering the whole field of internal medicine and called *Navantaka*; Part III is a fragment of a similar work; Parts IV and V contain two short manuals of cubomaney, and Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of a protective charm against snake bites and other evils.

The most important is Part II, the *Navantaka*. This anonymous tract can hardly be younger than about 300 A.D. On the other hand, it quotes copious extracts from works like the *Charaka Samhita* and the *Susruta Samhita*, of which the former is ascribed to a contemporary of Kanishka. It is evident that the existence of a record like the Bower manuscript thus becomes important for the chronology of Indian medicine. From the fact, on the other hand, that Fa-hsien's contemporary Charaka was recognised as a great authority by the author of the *Navantaka*, it is not possible to draw any other inference as to the date of Kanishka than that he must have ruled before A. D. 300, supposing that Dr. Hoernle's dating is correct.

The history and chronology of Indian medicine is still far from being settled. Dr. Hoernle's work as editor of the Bower manuscript has naturally led to his taking up the study of these questions on a broader basis in his *Osteology of the Ancient*

Indians and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The most important contribution, however, is the edition of the Bower manuscript itself. The excellent facsimile plates will be of the utmost use to the palaeographer in settling various questions connected with the Brāhmī alphabet and its history in India and Central Asia. The text itself, with the careful translation and with the copious indexes, will prove extremely useful to the student. It is a consequence of the long duration of the whole work that many points, which from the beginning seemed too difficult, have, in the course of time presented a different aspect, and it is only natural that the editor has, in many cases, arrived at new and better results in the course of his work. In order to bring the whole edition up to date, he has thus reprinted not a few pages, so that the binder may, sometimes, experience some difficulty. Before taking up the study of the work it will also be advisable to consult the list of emendations and misprints in order to avoid unnecessary work and trouble. Everybody who goes to this study and is able to form an opinion of the difficulties that had to be overcome in editing and translating texts dealing with subjects so unsatisfactorily known as Indian medicine and written in an alphabet which was, some twenty years ago, so little known that it baffled the efforts of experienced Indian scholars, will feel sincerely thankful to the editor for the zealous and unremitting work he has devoted to his task. He is himself to be congratulated on the excellent way in which he has acquitted himself of it, and the splendid edition which is now presented to the public is a fine monument of his critical scholarship. Our thanks are also due to the Indian Government, under whose auspices the Bower manuscript has been published. The edition itself bears testimony to the fine spirit prevailing amongst its officers. For everybody knows that much unselfish devotion is needed in order to take up a work of this kind, which must necessarily be slow and which will inevitably prevent the scholar who undertakes it from devoting his spare time to studies that bring more immediate results.

It would not be proper in this place to enter upon a minute discussion of details and to point out such cases where it is now possible to amend Dr. Hoernle's results. He has himself laid before us all the materials upon which such a criticism can be based. For the present the critic must be content to give expression to a feeling of sincere gratitude and admiration. The incessant zeal and the unselfish devotion which have always characterised Dr. Hoernle's work, is preeminently evident in this edition, and is sure to win the highest recognition from scholars and from the Government in whose services it has been completed.

BRUN KOSOW.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

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(Continued from p. 92.)

CHAPTER III.

Declension of Nouns.

§ 53. Old Western Rājasthāni possesses all the three genders of Sanskrit and Apabhrāmça, and so do Modern Gujarātī and Mārwaṭī. As a rule the Sanskrit gender is retained both in *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*; exceptions, however, are not wanting, as is to be observed in cognate vernaculars. In many of these exceptions, indeed, the change of gender had already been effected in the Prākṛit; in the others it took place subsequently and was brought about either by the influence of a synonym of a different gender or, in the case of a few masculine nouns habitually used in the locative or instrumental, by mistaking for feminine the terminal °i, (< °ai) of the postpositions, with which they were construed. Illustrations of the different cases are:

kalatra (fem.) "Wife" (Yog. ii, 76; See § 133) < Skt. *kalatra*-(neut.),

kāya (fem.) "Body" (P. 167, 488, 578) < cf. Jaina Māhārāṣṭri *kāyā*, (fem.) (*Bhāvacairāg-gacataka*, 7) < Skt. *kāya*-(masc.),

deha (fem.) "Ditto" (P. 344) < Skt. *deha*-(masc., neut.),

nāka (neut.) "Nose" (P. 311) < Pkt. *nakko* (masc.),

vāṭa (fem.) "Road" (P. 582) < Ap. *vaṭṭā* (fem.) < Skt. *varīmā*, nominative from *variman* (neut.),

vāra (fem.) "Time, turn" < Skt. *vāra*-(masc.),

velu, *velaṭ* (masc.) "Creeper" (P. 548 ff.) < Pkt. *velli*, *veḷā* (fem.),

-ni pari (fem.) "Like..." < Ap. *paṭṭe* < Skt. *prakāreṇa* (masc.) (See §§ 3, 75).

In the case of *vāra* the change of gender was probably brought about through such locative constructions as the following:

āṭi (for *āṭai*, see § 10, (3)) *vāri* "This time" (P. 315),

bijī (for *bijai*) *vāra* "A second time" (Dd.)

The noun *āṭi* "Fire", which in some vernaculars has become feminine, has retained its original masculine gender in the Old Western Rājasthāni (cf. Indr. 83).

§ 54. There are two numbers: singular and plural. In the direct cases (nominative, accusative, vocative) nouns often have only one form for both numbers, and in one oblique case (instrumental), a plural inflectional termination has come to be used for the singular also.

§ 55. The declension is partly inflectional and partly periphrastic. For the purpose of studying the former it will be convenient to divide nominal bases into two classes, viz. consonantal and vocal. Consonantal bases end in a consonant (or conjunct) followed by -a, which is dropped before all terminations. This class comprises all so-called "weak" *tadbhavas* and *tatsamas* in °a. Vocal bases may be subdivided into: a) bases ending in a vowel different from a, namely: °ā, °i, °u, °ā, and b) bases ending in °aa (< Ap. °aa < Skt. °āka). The former retain their terminal vowel before all terminations, the latter drop the final vowel, just like consonantal bases, and suffix the terminations to the penultimate a. In ordinary grammars the latter bases are called "strong". They are all *tadbhavas*, but there is one class of *tatsamas*, viz. *tatsamas* in °aya, which is treated exactly like them.

§56. The Inflectional declension is limited to the cases following: nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. Of these the nominative and accusative have the same termination and so have on the whole the instrumental and locative, the confusion having already taken place in the Apabhraṃṣa. Further, the ablative has lost its original case meaning and has passed into that of the locative, a change of which there are also traces in the Apabhraṃṣa. In the usual grammars of Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, the instrumental and genitive cases are now termed as agentive and oblique, but I prefer to hold to the older terms, as being more correct from the point of view of historical grammar. Nouns are not all subject to inflection in the same degree. As a rule inflection is common to all nouns in the instrumental, ablative, locative and vocative cases only; in the other cases only vocal bases are inflected and consonantal remain unchanged. There are, however, some exceptions, chiefly formed by consonantal adjectives which may be inflected in all cases, consonantal nouns which are sometimes inflected in the nominative-accusative singular, and vocal nouns in °i, °u, which are not inflected in the nominative-accusative and genitive. In the latter three cases, bases in °i, °u may also optionally remain uninflected and bases in °ā are uninflected as a rule. Feminine bases in °ā, °i are subject to inflection only in the instrumental and locative, and feminine adjectives in °i remain generally unchanged in all cases alike. Let us now proceed to deal with each case particularly.

§ 57. Nominative-accusative singular.—(1) Masculine vocal bases take the termination -u, from Apabhraṃṣa -u < Skt. -aḥ, -am. Ex. :

prāhuṛāṣi Ādi 51, *velaṣi* P. 548,
kuṣaṭi Ādi 77, *vivekarāpiu hāṭhi* Čl. 1,
pāu Čl. 26, *rāu* Čl. 109, Vl. 59, Ratn. 150.

Consonantal bases and vocalic bases in °ā remain uninflected and so bases in °i optionally. Ex. :

vidāsa Ādi 75, *bālaka* Kal. 5,
sārathi Črā., *rājā* Ādi 81.

Rarely consonantal bases take also -u Ex. :

Jinavaru Rg. 196, *murativanu* Čl. 28, *bobaḍu* Indr. 77.

In the accusative singular, masculine bases in °aa form an exception in that they may optionally take the ending °aṣi instead of °aṣ. This ought not to be considered as an irregularity, but rather as a survival of the Apabhraṃṣa habit of representing Sanskrit °kaḥ by °ā, instead than by °u (See Pischel, § 352). Instances of such nasalized accusatives are chiefly met with in the declension of pronouns and adjectives. Not rarely °aṣi is contracted to °ā, according to § 11, (3). Modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī contract °aṣi into °ā.

(2) Feminines have the nominative-accusative identical with the base. Substantival feminine bases end mostly in °ā, °i, rarely in °a, °i. Adjectival feminine bases end always in °i. So °i appears to be the termination characteristic of the feminine gender in Old Western Rājasthānī. In Apabhraṃṣa the °i feminine termination had already begun to supersede °ā, not only in adjectives, but also in substantives (Cf. *bāli*, Pischel's *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃṣa*, XVI). Examples of the four classes of feminine bases are :

mālā Dd. 5, *kanyā*, Vl. 125,
ghaṭi Ādi 20, *pātāli* Dd. 3,
piḍa Čl. 33, *tarasa* P. 541, *āṣa* Črā.
sāpiṇi Kal. 35, *tāṇi* P. 366, *koṇi* P. 391, *bhamuḥi* P. 564, *seji* P. 344, *vahāri* Čl. 110.

Observe that *bhamuḥi* and *seji* in the last class are from original nouns in °ā, viz. < Skt. *bhruvukā, *gayyā* (Pischel, §§ 206, 124). These feminine bases in °i have lost the latter vowel in

Modern Gujarātī, thus: *sāpeṣa*, *tāṣa*, *koṭa*, *seja*, *vakhāra*. The same has been the case with other vernaculars, as for instance with Hindī, as shown by the Old Baiswārī, in which feminine nouns that in Modern Hindī end in °a still retain their terminal °i.

(3) Neuters are inflected exactly like the masculines, except that they are nasalized. Thus their termination is -ā. Apabhraṃṣa employed -u or -am after consonantal bases, and -ī after vocal bases in °aa. Old Western Rājasthānī examples are :

āśikhā Daç. viii, 34, *ārogapaṇā* Çil. 3, *māṭhā* Çrā., *karaṇḍiū* Indr. 51, *yukḍā* Indr. 11.

According to § 11, (3), °aī is liable to be contracted into °ā. Ex. :

pahilā Daç. iv, *tāharā* Kal. 7, *kuḍā* Daç. iv.

In some texts traces are still surviving of the old neuter termination -ā < Ap. -ā, -am. I have met with the following :

jā (Kal., passim) < Ap. *jā* < Skt. *yad*,

hāyī (Daç.) < Ap. *hāā* < Skt. *bhātam*.

In Modern Gujarātī all original neuters in °aī (from bases in °aa) have been simplified into ā, a process, of which there are already traces in the MS. *Up.*, which is dated in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

§ 58. Nominative-accusative plural.—(1) Masculine vocal bases add the termination -ā, which is identical with Apabhraṃṣa -ā < Skt. -āḥ. Before this termination, bases in °aa lose their penultimate vowel (according to § 9), and bases in °ī (°i), °ā (°u) optionally insert euphonic *r*. Ex. :

ghoḷā Indr. 2, *saḡā* Ādi. 13,

paṅkhā F 722, 28, *paṭhā* P. 100, *vivāhā* F 728, 4, *vāḡā* ĀdiC.,

bunḥuyā Daç. iv, *bindā* Daç. iv, 8.

Consonantal bases and, optionally, vocal bases in °i, °ī, °u, °ā take no termination. Thus:

cora Kal. 13, *verī* Indr. 8., *paravādī* Kal. 18.

(2) Feminine bases undergo no change. Thus :

kāḍī Daç. iv, *nāḍī* F 663, 6, *māḍī* Kal. 28, *riddhī* Bh. 25.

(3) Neuter bases, when subject to inflection, take -ā, a termination which is from Apabhraṃṣa -āī (-aī) (see § 14) < Skt. -āni. Examples are :

mo/akā *kāḍā* Yog. ii, 54, *īḍā* *viḡḍayā* P. 536, *omḷā* *karma* Ṣaṣṭ. 55.

§ 59. Instrumental singular. For this case there are two terminations, to wit : -ī (-i) and -īī (-iī). The former is from -ī, the regular Apabhraṃṣa termination for the instrumental singular ; the latter is from Apabhraṃṣa -īī < Pkt. -ehī < Vedio Skt. -ebhis, and is therefore a plural termination. Both are used side by side, but the latter is by far the less common, it being generally used only after consonantal bases, whilst the former is used after vocal bases as a rule, and after consonantal bases optionally. With the latter bases, however, the -īī termination is more common than -ī. Occasionally consonantal bases take -aī (< Ap. -aī)²² instead of -īī, and so do optionally masculine bases in °ā, °ī, °ā. Bases in °u generally drop their final vowel and take optionally either -ī or -īī. Examples are :

(a) in -ī (-i) : Masculines and neuters :

pasā Çāl., *vāḷ* Daç. i, 14, *rāḷ* Up. 20, *niḡcaḷ* Ādi., Indr., *lobhī* Indr. 24, *sukhī* Indr. 71, *cidhāḍī* Indr. 90, *pāpī*, P. 248, *āḷeḷī* P. 664, *pāḷī* Daç. iv., *gurī* Rq. 9.

Feminines :

māḷī Pr. 2, *māḷimḍī* Çil. 84, *gāḷ* P. 21, *saṛikhāḷī* Ādi. 75, *strī* P. 327, *buddhī* P. 694, Kal. 17.

²² One instance of the termination -aī is in the form *ākāḷī*, which occurs Up. 18.

(b) in -ī :

anali Kal. 11, *mihyātī* Ādi. 1, *mohī* Bh. 98, *kāmī* Indr. 73, *saṁyamī* Daç. iii, 13, *hāthī* Daç. iv, *pagī* Daç. iv, *hetī* F 583.

(c) in -aī :

dehā Bh. 94, *gokā* Ādi. 69, *maranā* Indr. 24, *vastrā* Daç. iv, *puṇyā* F 659, 3, 4, *tāpasa* P. 664, *rājā* ĀdiC., *mantriya* Dd 2.

Bases in °ā, whether masculine tatsamas or feminines, may optionally contract the -ī termination with the ultimate °ā into °ā, according to § 14. Examples thereof are very frequent in Up. :

mahātmā Up. 100, *rājā* Up. 113, *nagarānaya* Up. 164, *Sujyē* ibid.

The old termination -ī has been preserved in the MS. Vi. (saṁvat 1485) in the two passages following and in another one, which, it being used in the original plural meaning, will be quoted under the next head :

rūpihī Rambhā samānī "Similar to Rambhā in beauty" (Vi. 16),

dāivīhī kīdhī chāi je kīma "The things which have been done by Fate" (Vi. 93).

Observe that in both cases the -ī termination is added to consonantal nouns. Nine forms in -ī occur also in the *Vasantavilāsa* (see H. H. Dhruva's *The Gujarati Language of the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century*, pp. 326-327). Occasionally -aī is assimilated to -ī (see § 10, (2)), thereby giving a termination practically identical with the original -ī. For the contraction of -aī into -ī see §§. 10, (3), 53, 131.

Old Western Rājasthānī °aī, which is the regular ending of °aa bases in the instrumental singular, is turned into °ā in Modern Gujarātī and into °ai in Mārwarī. In the former language -ē is employed as a general termination after all bases alike (Cf. the Old Western Rājasthānī forms *rājā* and *mantriya* quoted above).

§ 60. Instrumental plural.—This case is generally formed from all bases alike by the addition of -ē, a termination, which is derived from Apabhraṁça -aī, by dropping intervocalic ā (see § 37, (1)) and contracting the two vowels (see § 10, (4)). Apabhraṁça had both -īhī and -aī, in Old Western Rājasthānī the former gave -ī and the latter -ē. We have seen that in Old Western Rājasthānī the former came to be used as a singular termination. Instances of plural instrumentals with -aī contracted to -ē are already met with in Piṅgala. Thus Piṅgala i, 93 we find *putte* for *puttāhī* (Skt. *putrais*). To the same contraction were liable vocalic stems in °ā, after the latter vowel had been shortened to °a. Thus *matte* for *matāhī* (Skt. *mātrābhis*) (Piṅgala i, 196). From the termination -āī (Skt. -ābhis), which Apabhraṁça employed after vocal bases, Old Western Rājasthānī derived -ī, a termination apparently identical with that of the singular. We thus have in Old Western Rājasthānī two terminations for the instrumental plural, viz. -ē and -ī. The former is by far the commoner and it has superseded the latter even after vocal bases in °ī, °i, °ā, °u, which, to be regular, ought to have -ī. It is clear that in Old Western Rājasthānī -ē has become a general termination. The few remnants that are still occurring of -ī are naturally confined to bases in °ī, °i, °ā, °u. Vocal bases in °aa before -ē lose their penultimate vowel according to § 12. Examples are :

(a) in -ē : Masculines and neuters :

hāthe P. 318, *dīṇe* P. 685, *nayane* F 783, 71, *vidvāse* Yog. i, 16, Kal. 17, *devē* Śaṅg. 139, *hāthiāre* Ādi C., *irise muhūrti* Çrā., *beṇe* Daç. X, *pāṇie* Indr. 9, Bh. 82, *mahātmāe* Up. 40, *gure* Up. 66, *bhāie*, Up. 25, *vāyue* Up. 182.

Feminines :

jvālāe Ādi. 38, *nārie* Indr. 68, *astrie* Indr. 24.

In poetry -ē is optionally shortened into -ē, -i. Thus : *thodē dīni* P. 166, 264.

(b) in -ī: Masculines and neuters:

vyādhi Bh. 86, *viveki* Yog. iii, 94, *pānī* Indr. 62, *sādhi* F 663, 41, *hai* F 585, 1.

Feminines:

dorī Indr. 2, *gaki* Indr. 41, *strī* Indr. 24.

Of the old -īhi termination I have noticed the two instances following:

guxi kari-nai cha samāni "Equal to him in virtues" (Vi. 70),

ghara-ni riddhihi na vāhiyā " (He) was not seduced by (his) domestic wealth" (Up. 153).

Occasionally, though rather rarely, consonantal bases take -aī as in the singular. Ex.: *kāṭaī* Indr. 22, *aḥilāī* Bh. 78, *kamalaī* R. 58. In *Adi C*, one instance occurs of -aī added to a vocal base, to wit: *āsāī*. It is to -aī that the -ē of Modern Gujarātī is to be traced. Observe that, in the case of vocal bases in °aa, Modern Gujarātī has ā before the -ē termination.

In Old Western Rājasthānī the instrumental being more frequently employed to give the meaning of the agentive, than of the instrumental proper, it is natural that a necessity was felt for establishing a difference between the two functions. This was obtained by adding to the instrumental proper the pleonastic postposition *kari*, which is the instrumental locative form of the past-participle *kariu* "Done" and is identical both in form and in origin with the so-called conjunctive participle of *karavaī* "To do". Examples will be found § 70, (1). Occasionally to *kari* the postposition *nai* was also added pleonastically, as in the example from Vi. 70, quoted above. The same in Modern Gujarātī.

§ 61. Ablative. For this case two terminations seem to be used in Old Western Rājasthānī, viz. -ī and -ō. The former is very rarely met with, except in the pronominal declension, where it is added to pronominal bases to form adverbs of place, as in: *tihī*, *tī*, *jihī*, *jī*, etc. (See §§ 89-91). When so suffixed to pronouns, -ī is no doubt from Apabhramṣa -ī < Pkt. -mhi < Skt. -smāt, the regular pronominal suffix for the ablative. Thus Old Western Rājasthānī *tihī*, *tī* are from Ap. *tahī* (Hc., iv, 355) < Pkt. *tamhi* < Skt. *tasmāt*. It is possible that the -ī termination, which is suffixed to substantival bases to form ablatives, is also from Sanskrit -smāt. But against this identification is, perhaps, the fact that such ablatives in -ī, which are very rare in the Old Western Rājasthānī and strange to Gujarātī, are common in Mārwaṭī (and so in Jaipurī), and therefore appear to be a peculiarity of the latter. This leads us to conclude that in this case -ī is from -ahī, the Apabhramṣa termination for the ablative plural, and therefore is only apparently identical with the -ī of the pronominal declension. The contraction of -a(h)ī into -ī is amongst the peculiarities of Mārwaṭī. The ablative in -ī having lost its original ablative meaning and passed into that of the locative, scholars have been hitherto deceived into considering it as a real locative and so have perforce been unable to explain its derivation satisfactorily. The change of meaning from the ablative to the locative is a very old one, pronominal ablatives in -ī being frequently employed as adverbs of place in Piṅgala (see ii, 11, 182, 183) and so possibly also in *Siddhahemacandra*, iv, 355, where the examples, though they are cited as ablatives, may as well admit of the locative meaning.

The only instances of ablatives in -ī, which I have noticed in Old Western Rājasthānī, are:

hiraī (Crā.) < *haraī* < *karavaī* "Now" (See §§ 7 (3), 94 (4)),

suṇi siṃha kopī jali thayaī "Having heard [this], the lion burned with anger." (P. 434),

te dukha toḥi si vellī¹³ sahiyī pachi vilai jāi "These sufferings, after they have been endured for a very short time, pass away" (Saṅg 155),

¹³ In this particular case *vellī* might also be explained as a contraction from the regular locative form *velai* according to § 14.

bhagavanta -kanhā dikā divarāvī "He caused the Venerable one to give him the *dikā*" (Adi C),

sukha -kejā dukha āvai, "After pleasure cometh pain" (Up. 30).

Observe that the two last quotations above are from those very MSS., which exhibit a form of Old Western Rājasthānī, that is more closely connected with Mārwarī than with Gujarātī.

The other ablative termination, i.e., *-ā*, is evidently from Apabhraṃṣa *-ahu*. The only traces of its use, that seem to have survived in Old Western Rājasthānī, are possibly in some adverbial compounds, made up by a substantive, apparently in the ablative, followed by the same substantive, apparently in the locative. Example :

hāthō hāthā! (F 783, 64) < Ap. **hāthahu hāthahi* "From hand to hand."

Other examples are :

khandō khandi, P. 451, *diso disī** P. 445, *māho māhai* F 783, 28, F 535, ii, 11, *vāro vāra* P. 288.

Cf. the Sanskrit adverbial compounds in *°ā—°i*, like : *hastā-hasti* and Prakrit *°ā—°im*, like : *khandā-khandim* occurring *Uvāsagadasāo*, §§ 95, 99. Ablatives derived from Apabhraṃṣa *-ahu* (*-ahū*) have survived in Sindhī, Pānjābī and Western Hindī. In both the latter languages, such ablatives are commonly employed for the locative. Sindhī uses ablatives in *-ā* and in *-ō* side by side.

For the pronominal base *poa-*, the first syllable of which I derive from an ablative (*appahu*), see § 92.

§ 62. **Genitive singular.** In Old Western Rājasthānī the termination for this case was originally *-ā*, as in Apabhraṃṣa, and it was appended, it seems, to all bases alike. But this termination went soon out of use, *-ā* possessing a very strong tendency to be dropped without leaving any trace on the word, to which it was suffixed. So this case became apparently without suffix and practically identical with the base. In one case only *-ā* has possibly survived in a contracted form, viz., in the case of bases in *°aa*, which make their genitive (oblique) in *°ā* < **°aaha*.

Of the old form *-ā* of the genitive termination not the least trace has been preserved in Old Western Rājasthānī prose, but in poetry, where archaisms are easily retained and additional syllables are occasionally sought to make up the sum of *mātrās* that are required for a verse, *-ā* has not altogether died out. Many instances of its usage I have noted in the MSS. I have seen. A few ones are the following :

vanaka -māhi "In the forest" (F 728, 16),

supanaka -vāi "Of the dreams" (F 535, ii, 16),

bāpaka -āgali "Before the father" (Vi. 140),

kalakaka -pūhi "In the rear of the army" (Kānh. 43),

bharatāraka sarisa "Equal to [her] husband" (Vi. 96),

amha manaka manoraka "Our hearts' desire" (Rq. 121).

(To be Continued.)

* Cf. Prakrit *diso disī*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

CHAPTER II.

(Continued from p. 158).

THE FOUNDATION OF THE NAIK DYNASTY OF MADURA.

SECTION I.

The Emperor Achyuta Rāya 1530-1542.

The Common Version of Achyuta Rāya's Character and Administration.

On the death of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya²⁵ in 1530, the imperial throne of Vijayanagar was ascended by his half brother Achyuta Rāya, a person about whose character and capacity a very widespread divergency of opinion exists. According to Nuniz,²⁶ a celebrated traveller who visited Vijayanagar at this time, and Mr. Sewall who bases his history on the account of that traveller, no worse man than Achyuta could have been chosen for the throne, and no worse misfortune to the empire was possible than his accession. Achyuta, we are told, could neither endure the fatigues of war, nor was fit to perform the duties of peaceful rule. He was endowed with a character which could hardly endear him to his people. His tyranny alienated the nobles around him, and his weakness invited the dominance of the despised Sultān of Bijāpur. Imaḡl Adil Shah had received humiliating treatment at the hands of Kṛishṇa Dēva, and felt it so much that he had vowed to refrain from wine till he avenged the disgrace and removed the stain of subordination. A fit opportunity presented itself, we are informed, with the accession of the weak Achyuta Rāya. The keen Musalmān promptly invaded the Raichur Duāb, captured the coveted towns of Mudkal and Raichūr—never again to come into the hands of the Hindus—and even marched as far as Hospet,²⁷ which he razed to the ground. This disgrace, together with the general weakness of Achyuta Rāya's internal administration, we are further informed, lost for him the esteem, the obedience, and the loyalty of the people. In their hatred, the nobles set up the standard of rebellion. A liberal policy of tact and conciliation would have killed disaffection and restored order; but Achyuta Rāya had more pride than wisdom, more passion than tact. Unable to rise to that statesmanship and forgiveness which could forget injury and disarm treason, he brought an eternal ignominy on his name by calling for help, at the cost of the independence of Vijayanagar, his deadliest enemy, Ibrāhīm Adil Shah²⁸ (1533-1557). The latter was of course too glad to obtain an opportunity of triumph which none of his predecessors had had either by arms or by diplomacy. To be within the city of Vijayanagar, to have the mastery of its internal politics and the emperor for his tool, was a circumstance which the most ambitious of his forefathers had not dreamt. Such a circumstance was practically equal to the subordination of Vijayanagar to Bijāpur. Ibrāhīm found himself therefore in 1536 as the guest of Achyuta Rāya²⁹ at Vijayanagar. It is true his satisfaction at this achievement received a rude and premature check; for the Hindu nobility suddenly awakened to the seriousness of the situation and, by a timely obedience to their debased sovereign, persuaded him to cancel an engagement, so derogatory to the prestige, and so

²⁵ Kṛishṇa Dēva had a son named Tirumalayya, but he died during his father's life-time. See Nuniz *Thron*; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 186; and *Sp. Rep.* 1912, p. 80-81.

²⁶ See *For. Emps.* 366 ff. (Chap. 20-23).

²⁷ *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 187. Nuniz points out that Achyuta had 200 chiefs and 600,000 soldiers under him, and yet suffered defeat.

²⁸ See Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol I, pp. 78-112; and Scott's *Dakṛin*, Vol I, pp. 261-85 for the details of his reign. Ibrāhīm came to the throne in Sep. 1534. Note the fact that *Ferishta* does not mention Achyuta but "Bhoj Trimul Ray" in his place.

²⁹ See Briggs III p. 83-4 and Scott I 262-265 for a most confused account of the alleged domestic plots, civil wars and disputed successions that are said to have taken place in Vijayanagar. A discussion of this is out of place here. For an attempt at the unravelling of the whole, see *For. Emps.* 182 ff; *Ind. Antq.* XXVII, p. 300-1

harmful to the safety, of the empire. But it was easier to invite the Sultān than to expel him. The proud Musalman had seen with his own eyes the splendour and glory of Vijayanagar, its noble streets, its magnificent palaces, its grand temples, its untold wealth, its busy trade, and the sight was not calculated to smother ambition or encourage sacrifice on his part. Ibrāhīm Adil Shah, however, was a wise opportunist. He had come to help the emperor against his subjects, and he now had no plausible reason for the continuance of his stay. He felt, moreover, that a permanent occupation of the Hindu capital was impossible. He therefore yielded to exigencies, but only after the receipt of about two million pounds (50 lakhs of *Annas*) from the imperial treasury to compensate him for his troubles and expenses.

The different Epigraphical Version.

Such is the commonly accepted version of Achyuta Rāya's administration; but Mr. Krishna Sāstri, the epigraphist of Madras, gives a different picture of the emperor. He points out from the incontrovertible evidences of epigraphy—and these evidences are singularly numerous in the case of Achyuta Rāya,—and of contemporary literature, that, whether Achyuta Rāya was a tyrant or not, he can, under no circumstances, be called a craven. He might have been wanting in the virtues of a statesman, but he was certainly not wanting in the talents of a soldier. In fact Mr. Krishna Sāstri speaks of Achyuta Rāya as not only an equal of his illustrious predecessor in prowess but also in popularity³⁰. "The way in which people still speak of the happy days of Achyuta Rāya Krishna Rāya sufficiently suggests the popularity and the greatness of that sovereign." Far from being the tool of Adil Shah, the inscriptions speak of him during the very first year of his succession, as "the terror to the Tulukars,"³¹ and "the conqueror of the Oddiya forces" and later records call him a universal conqueror and the conqueror of Ceylon. Mr. Krishna Sāstri believes that these titles were not idle panegyrics, that the early inscriptions really record an important victory which Achyuta Rāya achieved over Bijāpur and Wāratgal which had perhaps taken advantage of Krishna Dēva's death to make a joint attack on Vijayanagar. It is in the strong hold which Achyuta Rāya had over the numerous feudatories in his empire, however, that his martial valour is conspicuous. He made his sovereignty a potent factor throughout South India. His magnificent donations to temples and Brahmans reminded men of the palmy days of his predecessor. 200 feudatory³² chiefs who maintained an aggregate army of 600,000 men saluted his standard and acknowledged his supremacy.

SECTION II. THE TINNEVELLY CAMPAIGN 1532.

Achyuta Rayas expedition to Tinnevelly.

A remarkable campaign³³ which Achyuta Rāya led to the basin of the Tāmbraparai during the very second year of his accession serves to illustrate his martial capacity and his determination to retain at all costs his hold on the South. This campaign of Achyuta Rāya deserves close scrutiny; for it had momentous effects on the history of South India and indirectly led to the establishment of the Nāik dynasty in Madura. Historians or rather epigraphists have been puzzled to account satisfactorily for the expedition; but a careful

³⁰ *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1911 p. 85.

³¹ This is proved by an inscription at Thiruppanaigādu dated S. 1453. The emperor boasts of his victories over the Muhammadans and his erection of a pillar of victory in Orissa. See *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1907 p. 85; *Ibid.* 1911 (Insc. 250 of 1910); and *Ibid.* 1913, p. 123.

³² The authorities for this are both literary and epigraphical. The chief literary work is *Achyuta Rāyabhyudaya*. The inscriptions are at Conjeevaram, Thiruppanaigādu, etc. All these have been summarised and commented on in *Madras Ep. Rep.* 1899—1900; 1907; 1908; 1909; 1910; etc.; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906-09; and *Trans. Arch. series*. See also Taylor's *Reis* catol. III, 231. Regarding this important campaign Sewall wrote: "two inscriptions at Conjeevaram, dated respectively in 1532 and 1533, implied that at that period king Achyuta reduced the country about Tinnevelly; but apparently he was not present in person, and nothing farther is known regarding this expedition." (*Forg. Amps.* p. 167). It will be seen that much information has been brought to light after Sewall wrote.

grasp of the circumstances under which the campaign was organized leaves no problem as regards the *causæ belli*. Students of epigraphy will easily remember how in the time of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya's administration, there ruled in the basin of the Kāvēri and the Vaigai a great Sāluva chieftain of the name of Chellappa³⁴ Vira Narasimha Nāikar, who had gained the first place among Krishṇa Dēva's grantees and who had been only looking for a timely opportunity to declare himself independent. The death of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya and the difficulties in which Achyuta Rāya was involved with the Sultān and the Gajapati, afforded him the long-wished-for opportunity. Sāluva Nāik would probably have been reconciled to subordination and allegiance, if he had been approached with tact and friendship by the new emperor. But immediately after Achyuta Rāya's accession, an event happened which had exactly the contrary effect, which did not only increase the vassal's discontent, but drove him into actual rebellion. This was the rise of a formidable rival, Mahāmandalējvara³⁵ Tirumalaiya Mahārāja, in the court and counsels of Achyuta Rāya.

The causes of the Tinnevely Campaign.

Tirumalaiya was the head of the Salaka chiefs, and had distinguished himself in the camp as well as the court. He was, moreover, closely allied by blood to the emperor, for the latter had married his sister. The Salaka chiefs again, had evidently long been the rivals of the Sāluvas, and in the keen race for office and distinction had not unoften perhaps come into conflict. The result of all this was the growing discontent of Sāluva Nāik. He could not endure to see himself dethroned from the post of first minister by a rival. He could not follow the imperious lead of a man who obstructed his own views of ambition and chances of distinction, and who, thanks to his family, his tradition, his office, and his kinship with the emperor, was his deadly enemy. Either he or Tirumalaiya must go. They could not live side by side, and as the emperor was naturally partial to the Salaka chief, Sāluva Nāik felt that he had nothing more to gain by his loyalty to the Empire. From a long-standing feudatory he now changed into an irreconcilable foe, and prepared to gain allies. And they were not wanting. Between Madura and Tinnevely, there was one of the most turbulent feudatory chiefs of the age—the celebrated Tumbichchi³⁶ Nāik. A restless and greedy soldier, he was evidently in dispute with his nominal suzerains, the Pāṇḍyan kings. In him Sāluva Nāik found a capable colleague and congenial ally. Shortly after, he found an even more capable ally. In the extreme south of the peninsula, the region between the Tāmbra-parṇi and the sea, the greedy and aggressive king of Travancore, Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma "the greatest and the most illustrious of the early sovereigns of Vēṇād," was waging a deadly war with the Pāṇḍyans. From very³⁷ early times the kings of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty and the kings

³⁴ The inscriptions speak of Chellappa, but the *Achyutaratyābhyaśaya* uses the word Chōlappa. An example of Vira Narasimha's disobedience is his exaction of *jōḷi* from the village of Tiruppanaṅḡu, though this tax had been excused in favour of the temple there.

³⁵ See *Aroḷ. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 188; *Ep. Rep.* 1911 p. 86. That there were curious disputes between Achyuta and Sāluva about grants is clear from a curious *insc.* (No 83) described in p. 336 of *Rois catal. III*. Achyuta Rāya, it will be seen, resumes certain grants as a result of Sāluva's representations. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 116 for his genealogy, and *Ibid* 1912, p. 81 for some of his inscriptions.

³⁶ See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 86 and appendix VI—the *Tinnevely Pāḷayams*. According to a *Mack. MS.* (M. 30, p. 85-88), the founder of the Pāḷayam was a servant of Krishṇa Dēva. The *MS.* says wrongly that he was sent by the emperor with Viśvanātha Nāik to the south in S. 1331, K. 4510. The date of Krishṇa Dēva and Viśvanātha as given here is wrong. It is too early by a century. We may suppose that the first of the Tumbichchis came to the south, about 1400 A.D. Then, as a reference to the family memoir will show, the Tumbichchi Nāik referred to here must be Kumāralinga who ruled from 1502-1535 A.D. Tumbichchi's Pāḷayam included Pēryūr, Tummana-Nāikenpaṭṭi, Śrimalaipāṭṭi and three other villages.

³⁷ See *Nagam Aiyar's Travancore Manual I*, p. 267, ff. Mr. Nagam Aiyar points out that throughout the 15th century, the dispute gave rise to war. The kings he attributes to the 15th century are Śrī Vira-Rāma-varma, alias Champaka-Rāma-varma, the senior Thiruvāḍi of Tiruppāpūr (10 miles south of Trevandrum) who ruled about 1468 A.D.; Vira-Kōḍai Aditya-varma (1472-84) and Vira-Ravi-varma (1479-1512) in whose time Kāyal was evidently part of Travancore state; Aditya-varma; and Bhūtala-vīra-Udaya-Mārtāṇḍavarma (1494-1535), the conqueror of the Tāmbra-parṇi region then reigned. According to Shan-gonny Menon, the rulers of Travancore in this period were: Venad Mootha Raja 1444-1458; Vira Mārtāṇḍa

of Trāvancore were engaged in this dispute. And now, Udaya Mārtāṇḍa was so much inspired by the desire to achieve a permanent conquest of the region that he seems to have employed all his resources against the Pāṇḍya Āhava-Rāma³⁸ and had such a triumphant career that, by the year 1530, he had the villages of Brahmadēsam, Shermādēvi, Ambāsamudram, Kaḷakāṇḍu, etc., in his hands. The Pāṇḍya, in alarm, appealed to the emperor for protection. Achyuta Rāya commanded the Tiruvaṇṇī³⁹ to disgorge his spoils and surrender his conquests, but the imperial mandate had only the effect of confirming the rebel in his treason and extending the range of his activities. He did not only withhold the customary tribute due to the Empire, but entered into an active alliance with Sāḷuva Nāik and his ally Tumbichchi Nāik. It is not improbable that the Chōḷa princess whom he is said to have married was the daughter of Sāḷuva⁴⁰ Nāik. There thus came into existence a powerful confederacy against the Empire in the south,—a chain of enemies from the Kāvēri to the end of the peninsula. Sāḷuva Nāik guarded the districts on the banks of the Kāvēri, Tumbichchi those on the banks of the Vaigai, and Udaya Mārtāṇḍa assailed those on the Tāmraparpi. Nothing is known about the attitude of the Vānada⁴¹ Rāyas of Madura, and Bōgaiyyadēva-Mahārāja⁴² of Trichinopoly in this crisis; but as they were the enemies respectively of Sāḷuva Nāik and Tumbichchi Nāik, they possibly threw in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas and the Empire; but divided from one another by inimical territory and open to raids on every side, they could not make a successful resistance.

Achyuta's Generals: Tirumalaya and Nagama Nāik.

There was now no other alternative for Achyuta Rāya than to prepare for a decisive blow against the enemies. The Pāṇḍya had to be saved from danger, perhaps from destruction. The prestige of imperial power had to be restored. Delay meant disaster, and Achyuta Rāya hastily patched up peace with his adversaries in the north, and himself took the command of the gigantic army which was to chastise the spoliators of the imperial fabric. The ablest generals of the day commanded the different sections of the grand army. Tiru-

Varma 1458-71; Eravi Varma 1478-1504; Mārtāṇḍa Varma 1504; Vira Eravi Varma 1504-1528; Mārtāṇḍa Varma 1528-1537 and Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma 1537-1580; Kērala Varma 1580-3 (See Sewall's *Antiquities*, II p. 238 and Shungonny Menon's *Hist. of Travancore* p. 95-6). There are thus two different accounts, the more reliable being Nagama Aiyā's, but both agree in regard to a Mārtāṇḍa-Varma in the early years of the 16th century. By the year 1509 he got possession of Kaḷakāṇḍu, as an inscn in the local Śiva temple shewa. Mārtāṇḍa was a liberal donor to temples. Sewall mentions his grants of lands in 1511, 1513, 1521, 1531, etc., to the temples of Śiva, Gomatī, etc., in Cape Comorin, Nāgeroḷ, (Inscn. 63 of 1896), and other places. Kaḷakāṇḍu seems to have been Mārtāṇḍa Varma's seat of residence. Mr. Nagama Aiyā says that he got this place as a dowry of his queen, a Chōḷa princess, by name Chōḷakulavallī. "Bhūtalā Vira made Kaḷakāṇḍu his capital and built in it a new palace." On account of this marriage, Mārtāṇḍa-Varma is said to have called himself *Puli-Mārtāṇḍa*—from the fact that the Chōḷa dynasty had "the leopard" for its insignia. He is also said to have conquered Ceylon and exacted tribute. He maintained 300 female archers. His enlightened religious policy is clear in his Edict of Toleration to the Paravas. See *Trav. State Mon.*, I, p. 296. The latest epigraphical reports also contain inscns. concerning him. E. g. 463 and 473 of 1909. See also the *Christ. Col. Mag.*, 1904-5 for an excellent article on the relations between Travancore and Vijayanagar.

³⁸ Mr. Gopinatha Rao says the king at this time was Śrivalḷabha, Āhavarāma's successor. But Śrivalḷabha came to the throne only in 1533. It is highly probable, however, that Śrivalḷabha distinguished himself even in his predecessor's time, and so came to have the title of *Iradaḷḷamaṇḍu* and *Pāṇḍya Rājyaśāpandacharya*.

³⁹ The writer to the *Christ. Col. Mag.* (1904-5) makes a curious mistake in saying that Taylor and Nelson attribute Achyuta's invasion of 1532 to the struggle between Chandra Śekhara and Vira Śekhara. He thinks that the Chōḷa queen referred to was the daughter of Vira Śekhara Chōḷa.

⁴⁰ For the origin of this word see *Indian Antiquary* XXIV, p. 257. *Tiruvāṇṇī* means *Holy Feet*. As Sundaram Pillai says, the kings of Vēṇḍ were always known to literature as *Vēṇḍuvāṇḍi*, "the Holy feet of Vēṇḍ." Sri Vira-Kērala-Varma (c. 1140) was the first king to bear this title, and Sundaram Pillai sees in it the indication of the expansion of his dominions and the growth of his power.

⁴¹ There is evidence to shew that about this time there was a war between the Vāpa king and Tumbichchi Nāik. See the *Hist. of the Pāṇḍya of the Tumbichchi Nāiks*, Appendix VI.

⁴² Owing to the absence of epigraphical lore, Caldwell said that it was simply a struggle between the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa. It was Mr. Venkayya that first suggested that the Chōḷa referred to was probably Channaiya, evidently co-ruler with Bōgaiyyadēva Mahārāja. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that Bōgaiyyadēva Mahārāja was the successor of the deposed Vira-Narasimha-Nāyaka. He does not trace any connection between Channaiya and Bōgaiyya. It seems to me that the latter was the contemporary, if not successor of the former and perhaps shared or inherited his dislike of Sāḷuva Nāik. *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 188.

malaiyadēva, the emperor's brother-in-law and the personal enemy of Śāluva Nāik, was the first of the leaders. Equally prominent, if not even more, was a celebrated man who was destined, more than anybody else, to reap rich harvest from this expedition. It was the renowned Nāgama Nāik, the *kottiyam* or store-keeper, according to some, the cattle-keeper according to others, and the finance-minister according to still others, of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya. No figure is more elusive and mysterious in Indian History than this Nāgama Nāik "of the Kātyapa-gōtra." There is very meagre mention of him in epigraphy⁴². It is from contemporary literature, the Polygar memoirs and the Madura chronicles that we understand that he was one of the most powerful, scheming and enterprising noblemen of the Empire. The *History of the Karnāṭaka Governors*⁴³ tells us that Nāgama became, by his pushfulness, skill and loyalty, one of the most influential grandees of the imperial court. Besides being the leader of 40,000 horse, a corps of 4000 elephants and 10,000 camels, which belonged to the Empire, he had his own army of retainers consisting of 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, for the maintenance of which he was authorised to collect the *pesāṭus* from all the feudatory states of Vijayanagar from Arcot to Nanji⁴⁴ (Travancore). A man of soaring ambition and formidable valour, Nāgappa was a powerful magnate both as a feudal chieftain and as a guardian of the Empire from its enemies, and he was therefore, as the Krishṇapuram plates seem to inform us, a prominent commander of the Vijayanagar army⁴⁵ during this expedition.

(3) Viśvanātha Nāik.

A third imperial general who loomed large in the eyes of his contemporaries and who evidently had a share in the grand enterprise was the son of Nāgama, Viśvanātha Nāik⁴⁶ by name. Few among the many adventurers who have figured in Indian History as the founders of kingdoms and the architects of their renown, can be compared with this remarkable man and hero, who was to stamp a permanent impression of his existence in history by the firm foundation of a powerful and magnificent line of kings. Though it is a notorious fact that, owing to the caprices of armies, the loose tie of allegiance between princes and vassals, and the weakness of the kings themselves, the dynasties of mediaeval India had, as a rule, an extremely ephemeral and precarious existence, and though the establishment of a new dynasty may not be conceived to be noteworthy in an age when the rise and fall of dynasties was a commonplace occurrence, yet there is so much of singular interest in the exploits of Viśvanātha, that they deserve the close attention, and excite the warm appreciation, of the critical historian. Many lesser men than Viśvanātha have raised themselves by the strength of their personality or by the support of strong partisans, to the rank and dignity of kings; but few of them have left behind them such lasting monuments of their work, as the founder of the Madura Nāik kingdom has done. His work as a statesman, as an organizer, as a friend of the people and the framer of an administrative system, will be narrated in its proper place; but here it may be noted for a correct understanding of his policy and movements, that he was not a mere soldier capable of gaining the blind devotion of his men, but a statesman endowed with a keen insight into character and a genius for organization. From the first, Viśvanātha was a cynosure of his countrymen. An idol of his contemporaries, he became a theme for romance and tale even from his birth. The story goes that his

⁴² There is an inscription in his name at Virinchipuram in 1482: the Krishṇapuram plates call him by the title of Pādājya Rājyaśatrapanāchārya, a title wielded by Achyuta Rāya and Śrī-Vallabha.

⁴³ See appendix I for a full translation of this very important MS.

⁴⁴ See *Tres. Arch. Series*. Nāgama had, in consequence of this, the title of Pādājya-Rājya-Sāhāyaka-rya, like Achyuta Rāya and Śrīvallabha. It is curious that Mr. Krishna Sastri totally ignores Nāgama's part in this campaign.

⁴⁵ The MS calls it Nanji Nādu. It is the tract lying between the Kāṇala and Pāṇḍyan kingdoms. For its history see *Travancore State Manual*, I. 260-3. *Ep. Rep.* 1909, p. 119; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 191 &c.

⁴⁶ *Ep. Rep.* 1909, p. 119; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 191 etc.

father Nāgama Nāik had at first no son to inherit his vast estates and to perpetuate the memory of his family, in spite of the many propitiatory offerings and the practice of hard vows with which he implored the favour of the gods; that he went on pilgrimage to Benares, where by the liberality of his donations, the magnificence of his charities, and the vigour of his penance,⁴⁰ he obtained, by the grace of the god Viśvanātha, the blessing of a son, later on the founder of the Madura Nāik dynasty, whom he christened after the god whose gift he was. The exact date of Viśvanātha's birth is unknown; but it may be surmised that it was sometime about 1600. A child of penance and prayer, Viśvanātha foreshadowed his coming greatness even in his youth. He underwent an excellent military and literary training under his father, and developed into a fine scholar and a finer athlete; and by the time he was sixteen, "he was admired for the beauty of his person and his natural as well as acquired knowledge, and was in every respect accomplished." When about twenty years of age, he was introduced by his father to the imperial presence and into the imperial service. A romantic and picturesque story is narrated in the indigenous Chronicles in connection with his advent into the emperor's service. In accordance with the custom of those days, we are told, the emperor brought, as a result of the chase, a wild buffalo from the neighbouring woods, to be offered, on the tenth day of the Navarātri festival⁴¹, as a sacrifice to Durga, the guardian deity of Vijayanagar, the celebrated Bhuvanēśvari of Vidyāraṇya's devotion and worship. It was widely believed that the efficacy and fruitfulness of the sacrifice depended on the head of the beast's being severed from the body at a single stroke. The superstition of the day held that if the victim had to be struck twice, a disaster was in store for the empire. Now it happened that the buffalo which was led to the sacrificial altar had such long, strong and irregular horns that it became a serious problem how to cut its head off at one stroke. The Emperor, courtiers and people were in despair, when young Viśvanātha, we are told, came to the rescue. He was, we are further informed, induced by the goddess herself, in a vision, to offer himself as the executioner, provided he was given a particular sword in the king's armoury. When the youth made his appearance before the anxious Emperor and offered his service, he was not believed to be earnest, but the fervent solicitude of the young hero, his earnest offer to sacrifice his life in case of failure, made Kṛṣṇa-Dēva agree to try him. And the emperor had no reason to be sorry for his decision. To his unbounded joy and enthusiasm, the young soldier performed his task with remarkable success. As a reward for his service, Kṛṣṇa Dēva declared him a public benefactor, a saviour of the State from a catastrophe, and promised him before long, inasmuch as he deserved a crown and kingdom, the dignity of royalty. At the same time he distinguished the favourite's merit by appointing him to the command of a section of the army. As a general, Viśvanātha's career was a brilliant one. He distinguished himself with such glory in the subjugation of certain enemies⁴² of the empire in the north, that the emperor raised him to a high rank, and bestowed on him all honours and privileges as well as the ensigns and trophies which his valour had taken from the conquered chiefs.

(To be continued)

⁴⁰ The *Hist. Carn. Governors* gives details. It points out how Nāgama and his wife bathed daily in the Ganges, ate everyday only three handfuls of rice, and waited on the god Viśvanātha day and night in the temple. They did so for forty days, when the god appeared to them in a vision, expressed his satisfaction at their penance, promised to give them a sight of his person the next day in the Ganges, and declared that their object would be fulfilled. The next day the pious couple, while bathing in the Ganges, felt a piece of stone coming into contact with their knees. They went to another ghat, but here also the same thing happened, and once again in a third spot. They now found that it was an emerald *linga*. Realising at once that it was the god's fulfilment of his promise, Nāgama returned to his country. About a year afterwards Viśvanātha was born. The *Mirt. Mss* give a slightly different version. See also the various *Polygar Memoirs*, where there is ample reference to this story.

⁴¹ The Navarātri was the most important festival in the Vijayanagar Empire. Both the imperial and the provincial rulers celebrated it with great splendour. See Sewell's *Forg. Emps.* 86, 175 and 378, and *Modr. Mon.* III, 285. For stray accounts of the worship of Bhuvanēśvari see *Rais catal* II 437-55.

⁴² It is not known who these were. The *Hist. Carn. Governors* says they were feudal chieftains in the north, who withheld the tribute to be paid by them. One of the *Mirtarjya MSS* says they were the kings of Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kah-ga, Kāmanra, Nēpāla, etc. This is of course absurd. Taylor suggests that they were the princes of Kondavīḍu, Wārangal, Cuttack and the Bahmani Sultāns. See *O. H. MSS.* II, 143 and appendix I.

HATHAL PLATES¹ OF (PARAMARA) DHARAVARSHA

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1237 (1180 A. D.).

BY SĀHITYĀCHĀRYA PANDIT VISHWESHVAR NATH SHASTRI, JODHPUR.

This inscription was found in the Hāthal village in the Sirohi State about 3 miles North-West of Mount Ābū. It is engraved on two copper plates, each of which measures about 6½" broad by 5½" high and contains a ring hole but the ring has been lost.

Each plate is engraved on one side only. One of these plates contains 10 lines and the other 11. But the 11th line seems to be a post script, for the letters in this line differ widely from the others.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century. The language is very incorrect Sanskrit. This may be due to the fault of the engraver. It is written in prose throughout except the three imprecatory verses (lines 15 to 20 of the second plate). In respect of orthography the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*.

This inscription is dated Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Kārtika in the [Vikrama] year 1237, and refers to the reign of Dhāravarsha, who, in this inscription, is styled the descendant of Dharmajadeva, Rājā of Ābū who is described in the inscriptions of Ābū² and Girvar³ as the founder of the Paramara clan.⁴

The minister, at that time, was Kovidāsa. The day of the charter specified in the inscription is *Devottānī Ekādasi*; and it says the following with regard to the donee Bhaṭṭāraka Viśala Ugradamaka, *acharya* of *ivadharmā*: (1) That he be granted . . . in Sāhilaṣṭak. (2) That he be permitted to graze his cattle on the pasture grounds free of charge. (3) That a pasture land be granted him in Kumbhāranulī. (4) That he be granted an area of land which can be tilled with two ploughs in a day. (5) In the 11th line of the second plate, which is supposed to be a postscript it is mentioned that the pastures of Māgavaḍi and Hāthalaḍi villages also be granted to him.

Lines 5-10 of the second plate contain curses on those princes who would deprive him of these privileges.

Of the localities mentioned here Hāthalaḍi is obviously Hāthal where the plates were found. In the 15th century inscriptions, this village bears the name of Brahmassthāna. This

¹ The ink impressions of these plates were kindly given to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

² तत्राय मेवावस्थस्य सुव्यवस्थामिदं कृत्वा स्वरूपः प्रभावः ॥

मत्वा मुनीन्द्रः परमारपक्षं स व्याहरत् परमारसंज्ञा ॥ ११ ॥

पुरा तत्त्वान्वये राजा धूमराजाम्बो मवत् ॥

अन धूमराजनेव वग्वा संज्ञाः क्षमाश्रुताम् ॥ १२ ॥

(Unpublished Inscription in the Achalesvara temple at Ābū).

³ अथानु निखिलतीर्थैः संप्रमाणस्वमन्त्रान्मुनिसुरपुरपञ्चीसुदेवैर्गुह्यैः ।

विलसदलरगोदहृतं श्रीवशिष्ठः कमपि मुनयेकं सुहृद्वान् यच्च मनेः ॥ ३ ॥

आमीतधेनवे परनिर्जयेन मुनिः स्वगीर्षं परमारजादिम् ।

तस्मै वहावकुमभिरिमाग्ने तं धूमराजं च चकार नात् ॥ ४ ॥

(Pāṇḍarāyap Inscription of Girvar). I shall edit this inscription also as soon as possible.

⁴ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं बभूव भुवास्यस्तत्र मरेन्द्रवधो ।

भूमीभूतो चः कृतवानभिज्ञानं पक्षद्वयोच्छेदनवेदनासु ॥

(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 210).

name must have been given to it either because it was granted to Brāhmanas by Paramāra princes, or because there was a temple of Brahmā near it which is now in ruins.

Text.

First Plate.

- १ ॐ^५ संवत् १२१० वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि ११ गुरौ वद्ये^६
 २ ह वाशापलं^७ ॥ समस्तवाजावलीसमलंकृत [त] श्रीमद्वैद्य^८
 ३ विपतिश्रीधुरराज^९ देवकुलकमलोद्यो (यो) सममाप्त ["] व
 ४ मा ["] बलिकेसुर^{१०} शंभुश्रीचारावर्षदेवकल्याणविज
 ५ जरावदे तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनमहं^{११} श्रीकाविदे^{१२} स
 ६ मस्तमुद्राभ्यापाराम ब (प) रिगंयवतीत्वेव^{१३} काले प्रवर्त्त-
 ७ माने स [र] समाप्तवापि लिख्यते^{१४} यथा। मद्य संज्ञा
 ८ त देवीछनीएकावस्त्रां^{१५} महापद्मीय^{१६} नलिनीदल
 ९ गतजललवतरलतरं जीवितव्यासिह^{१७} विधाज^{१८}
 १० परमदेवा^{१९} चार्चनहारकवीसलउपममके

Second Plate.

- ११ स्व^{२०} साहिलवाडामामे ... मुक्ति [:] ॥ तथा पतरीबध
 १२ केः^{२१} गोचरे चरणीया^{२२} तथा कुंभारमुलिमामे सुरमिम
 १३ वाशापवैत भूमी वत्त^{२३} हल २ हलद्वयभूमी^{२४} शासने
 १४ नोदकपूर्व [°] प्रवत्ताः^{२५} ॥ द्यूतेऽवमहं^{२६} श्रीकोविद से^{२७}
 १५ किं आल्लहणौ ॥ मते ॥ श्री ॥ वद्विनिर्ध्वंसुधा भुक्ता रा
 १६ जनिः सगरादिभिः अस्त्र अस्त्र यथा भूमी तत्त्व^{२८} तत्त्व व
 १७ हा फल ["] ॥ १ ॥ स्ववत्तां^{२९} परवत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुधरां^{३०} । पट्टि
 १८ वर्षसहस्राणि^{३१} वल्माजा ["]^{३२} जायते श्रुति [:] ॥ २ ॥ ममवत्त
 १९ कवे वीये^{३३} अन्वोदमृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्माहं करल
 २० मोक्षि^{३४} मम वत्तं न लोपयेत्^{३५} ॥ ३ ॥ शुभं भवतू^{३६} ॥ छ ॥
 २१ मागवाडीग्रामभासभूमी वत्ता^{३७} हातबलीग्रामभासभूमी वत्त^{३८} [र]

^५ Expressed by a sign.

^७ Read वाशापलं

^९ Read धूमरा

^{११} Read जीवमहं

^{१३} Read पारामुपरिपन्थ्यामीत्वेव

^{१५} Read देवोत्पान्नेकावस्त्रां

^{१७} Read जीवितव्यासिहं

^{१९} Read मरीचा

^{२१} Read धेनवी

^{२३} Read परवत्ता भूमिर्हत्ता

^{२५} Read प्रवत्ता

^{२७} Read कोविदः

^{२९} Read स्ववत्तां

^{३१} Read पट्टि वर्ष सहस्राणि

^{३३} Read कावेजाये

^{३५} Read लोपयेत्

^{३७} Read भूमिर्हत्ता

^६ Read गुरावद्ये

^८ Read वैद्य

^{१०} Read का सुरसंभु

^{१२} Read कोविदः

^{१४} Read लिख्यं

^{१६} Read पद्मीय

^{१८} Read विधाज

^{२०} Read दमकाय

^{२२} Read चारणीया

^{२४} Read श्रुतिः सा

^{२६} Read द्यूतकोऽवाह

^{२८} Read श्रुतिस्तत्त्व

^{३०} Read हरेत् वसुधराम्

^{३२} Read विधाजां

^{३४} Read लमोस्ति

^{३६} Read मयसु

^{३८} Read भूमिर्हत्ता

MISCELLANEA.

"SHANDY" AND "SHINDY"

1. MORUSSE residents in Madras know from experience the weekly market at which provisions are purchased for the next week, and which is termed *sandai*. At Ootacamund it lasts till night and winds up with the merry songs of the inebriated Bajagas who are returning to their distant haunts. The word *sandai* is the Tamil form of Sanskrit *sandhā*, while *sandi* and *sandu* are derived from *sandhi*. I have noted the Anglo-Indian form *shandy* = Tamil *sandai* in the following amusing extract from the "Madras Mail" of May 1890, which professes to be a reply to a query that had been inserted by the then Collector of Kurnool

RABBITS AND GOVERNMENT.

Sir.—"To keep rabbits on the plains," send your boy to the local *shandy* for some string, adjust it in loops and pass them over the heads of the rabbits, draw up and fasten to the legs of a four poster bedstead. This is a most effectual way of keeping rabbits on the plains, and prevent them wandering to the hills. Can Mr. Kough kindly tell a fellow countryman the best means of keeping Government on the plains, especially in April and May."

Erm-Go-Bragh.

2. In the Slang Dictionary (1874) the word *shindy* is explained by 'a row, or noise.' I have found the following instances of its use.

(a) In chapter 36 of Thackeray's *Pendennis* (1845-50) the Major's valet Morgan remarks with reference to the French chef Mirobalant :—

"At a ball at Baymouth, sir, bless his impudence, he challenged Mr. Harthur to fight a jewel, sir, which Mr. Harthur was very near knocking him down, and pitchin' him out a winder, and serve him right; but Chevalier Strong, sir, came up and stopped the *shindy*—I beg pardon, the holtercation, sir."

(b) Flügel's Dictionary, 4th ed., (1891). "Did you and she have a *shindy* downstairs?" "She hated me as much as I did her, we used to have fearful *shindies*."

(c) Wright's English Dialect Dictionary (1905) "There did use to be some *shandies* [thus] a Plough Monday" (from Nottinghamshire).

That part of the great Oxford Dictionary which will contain the article 'shindy' is not yet out. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1911) says :—

"*shindy*, brawl, disturbance, row, noise; often 'to kick up a *shindy*;' perhaps from Scotch *shinny* or *shinty*, a kind of hockey."

The derivation suggested here is extremely doubtful, I suspect that *shindy* was originally a British soldier's expression and goes back to its synonym *sandai*, a word which every master and mistress of Tamil servants cannot help being familiar with. I remember to have heard frequently the phrase *sandai=ppidagudai*, he is kicking up a row. Perhaps some of your correspondents will be able to trace the word *shindy* in Anglo-Indian literature. Both *shandy* and *shindy* are missing in Hobson-Jobson.

R. HULTSCH.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE PURĀṆA TEXT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES edited by F. E. PARGUEER. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1913. XXIV, 97 pp. 5 sh.

The genealogy of old dynasties is one of the traditional topics of the Purāṇas, and the lists of ancient rulers contained in them were at an early date considered as authentic by the Brāhmaṇas. When the later dynasties started the practice of deriving their genealogies from the ancient kings of India, these lists were largely made use of,

and we can frequently trace their influence in inscriptions. No critical scholar would think of considering them as authenticated history. On the other hand, they are not merely poetical fictions, and critical scholars like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar have shown to what extent they can be utilised in reconstructing the ancient history of India.

One great difficulty, in making use of these lists, has hitherto been that they have had to be consulted in so many different works, and that these latter ones are not available in critical editions,

Mr. Pargiter, who has long devoted much time to the study of the Purāṇas, has now helped us out of this difficulty. In a handy volume he has brought together the accounts of the dynasties of the Kali Age contained in the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Garuḍa Purāṇas. In addition to the printed editions of these works he has compared a great number of manuscripts, so that it is now easy to see at a glance, in every particular case, how the different sources read.

It will be apparent even from a superficial perusal of Mr. Pargiter's book how much the various accounts agree, and we are forced to the conclusion that they are all derived from a common source. This source must, according to Mr. Pargiter, be the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, for we are often told that kings will be enumerated as they have been handed down (*kāṭhita* or *paṭhita*) in the Bhaviṣya. Now it is a curious fact that the account of the same dynasties actually occurring in the Bhaviṣya does not agree at all and is evidently very late. There are, as is well-known, two recensions of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, one of which even contains the Biblical history of Adam and Eve. On the other hand, a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa is mentioned in the Āpastambiyadharmasūtra, i. e., from a period previous to these dynasties. We thus know that there existed an old Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, which was added to and recast in the course of time. Mr. Pargiter has not taken up the question about the various recensions which are now available. On the whole, a critical study on the Purāṇas is a great desideratum, and will have to be taken in hand as soon as we get a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. I should think that Mr. Pargiter must have brought together much materials for such a study. It is to be hoped that he will some day make them available to the student.

Mr. Pargiter contends that the source of these accounts was written in Prakrit and probably in Kharoṣṭhī characters. The question about the original language of the Indian epic has often been discussed, and the arguments in favour of the Prakrit hypothesis have usually been the same, and never quite convincing. We cannot overlook the fact that the Indian epics have largely been handed down orally, and that their wording has not been safeguarded in the same way as in the case of the Vedas. Our manuscripts, which are all late, must therefore necessarily present many irregularities. In such circumstances we cannot wonder if we find several Prakritisms in the

Purāṇas. The same is, as is well known, the case in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions, and it does not prove that there was once a Prakrit original. The instances of wrong rhythm in the verses are just as little significant, if we remember how late our manuscripts are. We must also remember that the classical Prakrits are not very old forms of speech. If the Indian epics were not originally written in Sanskrit, they must have been written in some old vernacular and not in the Prakrit described in Pischel's grammar. If Mr. Pargiter is right in assuming that *aśṭadāsa* is occasionally misread instead of *abḍaśaśa*, it should be remembered that *abḍaśa* is Sanskrit and not Prakrit. Everything depends on what is understood under the terms, Sanskrit and Prakrit. If the word Sanskrit is used to denote only the classical Sanskrit of the grammarians and if every thing else is called Prakrit, then Mr. Pargiter may be right. But if we include the Vedic dialects and the epic language of the Mahābhārata in Sanskrit, then I do not think that we can agree. The Purāṇas are throughout Brahmanical, and the sacred language of Brahmanical literature was Sanskrit, in this wider sense of the word.

The theory that the oldest Puranic account of the dynasties of the Kali Age was written in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, is based on a still weaker foundation. That we occasionally find *y* for *i* and *l* for *i* in late manuscripts, does not prove anything whatever. If all the Puranic accounts, for instance, had *Ayoka* instead of *Aśoka*, we should have to account for it. But occasional mistakes of this kind do not make it even probable that the account of the Kali Age dynasties was originally written in Kharoṣṭhī. It is not the case that "Kharoṣṭhī is the oldest Indian script that we know of," and if the accounts of the dynasties of the Kali Age were drawn up or at least closed in the fourth century A. D., the Kharoṣṭhī theory becomes very unlikely indeed.

On the whole, I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Pargiter about several questions dealt with in the introduction and the notes. I also think that it would have added to the usefulness of the book if tables of the different dynasties had been added. As Mr. Pargiter's book is, however, it should be received with sincere gratitude. It bears testimony to prolonged and careful work, and the exhaustive critical notes added to the texts are an important feature of the book. A work of this kind has long been wanted, and we must be very thankful to Mr. Pargiter for making it as reliable and handy as he has done.

STEEN KONOW,

THE TRUE AND EXACT DAY OF BUDDHA'S DEATH.

BY DIWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L. (MADRAS); LL.B. (LOND.).

THE object of the subjoined chart is to show that the true date of Buddha's death — (Tuesday, 1 April, 478 B. C.), is deducible from the eight week-day dates cited in Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama* (*Trübner's Oriental Series*). The demonstration is accomplished by selecting 5 out of the many dates which have from time to time been associated with Buddha (see a long list of such dates at p. 165 of Vol. II of Prinsep's *Tables*) and testing the week-days of the several occurrences with reference to each of these dates. The dates selected were :—

(1) 1027 B. C., which is the most frequently occurring among the dates collected by Prinsep;

(2) 901 B. C., corresponding to 980 B. C. for the birth, and to 991 B. C., which is said to be quoted by Jacbrig from Pallas' Mongol Chronology (Prinsep, *loc. cit.*);

(3) 846 B. C., corresponding to 835 B. C., which is said by Prinsep to be the era adopted at Lhasa and founded on an average of 9 dates : 846 B. C. appears to be the date of "Buddha's appearance" alluded to in a well-known Tamil Buddhist poem of 8th cent. A. D. called "Maṣimēkhalai ;"

(4) 688 B. C., known as the Peguan date; and lastly,

(5) 478 B. C., Cunningham's second date, which, at p. 22 of *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, Dr. Fleet admits to be an alternative to his own date, 483 B. C., Kārttika śukla 8.

In selecting supposed dates for trial, I have endeavoured to limit myself to typical ones, i. e. to those which have at least some points in their favour. I made an exception in favour of 846 B. C., because, though wide of the mark, it is a curious date and seems to have been adopted by Tamil Buddhists of the 8th century A. D. [I have published a magazine article on this subject, a copy of which I shall be glad to send to any one genuinely interested in it]. Other dates, which might have been selected, had to be rejected *in limine*, because the week-days were obviously unsuitable. This remark applies to 544 B. C., which would give a *Sunday* (instead of Tuesday) as the day of Buddha's death, as well as to 543 B. C., in which the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* of Buddha's death concurred on a *Friday*. As

N.B.—The following abbreviations are used in this chart.

1. *su.* for *śukla*, the bright fortnight of a lunar month. *Bahula pakṣa* is not referred to even once in the chart.

2. *f. d. t.* and *f. d. n.* These symbols indicate respectively that a *tithi* or a *nakṣatra* ended on the following day after that cited as the day of the *tithi* or the day of the *nakṣatra*. Ordinarily a *tithi* or a *nakṣatra* is cited as belonging to the day on which it comes to end but occasionally, it is cited as belonging to the day when it only commences. "*F. d. t.*" and "*f. d. n.*" mean accordingly "*following day's tithi*" and "*following day's nakṣatra*."

3. The ending moments of *tithis* and *nakṣatras* are generally given correct to two decimal places of a day. The key to this system will be found in the author's Eye-table.

Thus .20 means 12 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise.

4. When both *tithi* and *nakṣatra* are cited, the ending moment of the *tithi* is given first, and then the ending moment of the *nakṣatra*.

5. The English calendar years cited in pairs run from 1 March to 0 March, (i. e. the last day of February). Thus 1096-95 A. C. is the period from 1 March 1096 to 28 February 1095. At the epoch we are considering, this period coincided very nearly with an Indian solar sidereal year.

6. The expression "preceded by an *adhika* month" draws attention to the circumstance that the lunar year under consideration was one of 13, not of 12, months.

Chart to show that the true and exact day of Buddha's death (1 April 478 B. C.; Tuesday)

8. Week-Day dates in Bhagavata's Life of Gaudama.	Supposed central date 1027 B. C.	Supposed central date 901 B. C.
1. Kaundā Era given up on Saturday 1st of the moon of Tabasong (=Phālg.). Reference: Vol. I, p. 14.	1096-93 B. C. Phālguna (preceded by adhika month) Sukla 1 was Wed. Jany. 30, 1096 B. C.; '39. N.B.—Abolition of last year of old Kaundā Era.	1060-49 B. C.; Phālguna (preceded by adhika month), Su 1 was Sat Feb. 1, 1049 B. C. Tithi ended at '31. N.B.—Abolition of last year of Kaundā Era Sat. was prob. Adī Chandrodāya.
2. Commencement of Kō- tana Era—Sunday, 1st of the waxing moon of Tagu (=Chaitra). Vol. I, p. 14. In Vol. II, p. 143, footnote, Bhagavata is in error, error as to this date: see para. (6) of explanatory note.	1095-94 B. C. Chaitra Sukla 1 = Friday, Mar. 1 '12, 1095 B. C. N.B.—Kōtana Era, year 0, marked by Phālguna Sukla 1 in 1096-93 B. C.	1049-48 B. C.; Chaitra Sukla 1 = Sunday, 1 Mar. 1049 B. C.; '71. N.B.—Monday was prob. Adī Chan- drodāya. Kōtana Era, year 0 marked by Phālguna Sukla 1 in 1049-48 B. C.
3. Birth of Buddha year- 66; Vaisākha Pūrṇimā; Nakshatra "Vishākha," Friday. Vol. I, p. 23, Vol. II, p. 71. Conception having taken place under Nak. "Utt. Ashāḍha" in Dvayama month and birth under "Vishākha," Vaisākha mo. 15 to the expired date of birth.	1027-26 B. C. Friday, April 11, 1027 B. C.; '34; '16. N.B.—Phālguna Sukla 1 in 1028-27 B. C. marked year 68, expired, of Kōtana Era, (1096 less 1028).	980-79 B. C.; Friday, April 1, 980 B. C.; '96, f. d. n. 45. N.B.—1. Nak. "Vishākha" was cur- rent on Friday and ended on Sat at 45. 2. Phālg. Sukla 1 in 981-80 B. C. marked Kōtana 68 expired (1049 less 981).
4. Buddha leaves Kapila- varṇa—year 86, Sunday, Ashāḍha Full Moon—Naksha- tra "Uttara Ashāḍha"; and enters into solitude next day, Monday. Vol. I, pp. 62-64 (year 97). Vol. II, p. 72 (year 96).	999-98 B. C. Tithi ended on Sunday June 29, 999 B. C. at '31 and Nak- shatra had ended on Sat. at '40. This was Śrāvāṇa full-moon. N.B.—1. Nak on Sund. was not, Uttara Ashāḍha. 2. Phālguna Sukla 1 in 1000-999 B. C. marked year 96, expired, of Kōtana Era (1096 less 1000) and 97 current.	952-51 B. C.; Sunday, 10 June, 952 B. C.; '88, '80. N.B.—1. This was Ashāḍha full- moon (preceded by adhika month). 2. Phālg. Sukla 1 in 953-52 B. C. marked Kōtana 96 expired (1049 less 953) and 97 current.
5. Attainment of perfect wisdom—year—103, Vaisākha full moon; Vishākha Naksha- tra; Wednesday. Vol. I, p. 97 "a little before the break of day." Vol. II, p. 74.	992-91 B. C.; Wednesday, April 14-17, 992 B. C. = Pūrṇimā; but nak- shatra Vishākha had ended on Tuesday at '77 of day. N.B.—1. Nak on Wed. was not Vishākha. 2. Phālguna Sukla 1 in 993-92 B. C. marked year 103 expired of Kōtana Era (1096 less 993).	943-42 B. C.; Wed. 4 April 945 B. C.; '61; '01. N.B.—Phālguna Sukla 1 in 946-45 B. C. marked Kōtana year 103 expired (1049 less 946).
6. Death of Buddha's father Buddhodana—year 107, full moon of Śrāvāṇa (=Śrāvāṇa); at sun rise on Saturday. Vol. I, p. 206.	988-87 B. C.; Friday, June 27 55, 988 B. C.; Śrāvāṇa full-moon. N.B.—Phālguna Sukla 1 in 989-88 B. C. marked Kōtana year 107 expired (1096 less 989).	941-40 B. C.; Sunday, July 17 90, 941 B. C.; full moon of Śrāvāṇa (pre- ceded by adhika month). N.B.—Phālguna Sukla 1 in 942-41 B. C. marked Kōtana, 107 expired (1049 less 942).
7. Death of Buddha—year 148; Vaisākha full-moon; Nak. "Vishākha" Tuesday; a little before day break. Vol. II, pp. 69, 72.	948-47 B. C.; Tuesday, 7 April, 948 B. C.; '84; '37. N.B.—Phālguna Sukla 1 in 949-48 B. C. marked Kōtana 148 current or Kōtana 147 expired.	901-00 B. C.; Wed. Mar. 29; 901 B. C.; '21; '99. N.B.—1. Nak "Vishākha" com- menced at 04 on Wpd. and was not current on Tuesday. 2. Phālg. Su. 1 in 902-01 B. C. marked Kōt. 148 current and 147 expired.
8. The New religious era commenced in the year of Buddha's death 148 on Mon- day, first of the moon of Tabasong (=Phālguna). Vol. II, p. 112. The week-day was possibly Sunday which appears in another version recorded by Bh- agavata: vide footnote to p. 143, Vol. II, and para. (6) of explanatory note.	949-48 B. C.; Phālg. Su. 2 = Mon- day, Jan. 26 84, 948 B. C. N.B.—This was the Phālguna before Buddha's death and marked new era, year 0. Phālguna Sukla 1 in 948-47 B. C. marked year 1 expired of new religious era.	902-01 B. C. Phālg. Su. 1 was Sun- day, Jany 18, 901 B. C.; '34; the same day was Adī Chandrodāya. N.B.—This was the Phālguna before Buddha's death and marked year 0 of the new religious era. Phālg. Sukla 1 in 901-00 B. C. marked year 1 expired of new religious era.

is deducible from the week-day dates cited in Bishop Bigandet's *LIFE OF GAUDAMA*.

Supposed central date 848 B. C.	Supposed central date 638 B. C.	Correct central date 478 B. C.
316-16 B. C.; Phalguna Sukla 1 was Monday, 20 Jany 915 B. C.; 71. N.B.—1 Sat was not Phalguna Sukla 1 or 2 2 Abolition of old Kaurda Era. 116-15 B. C.; Chaitra Su. 1=Wed. Feb. 19 10, 915. B. C. N.B.—Sunday was not Adi Chandrodaya. 2 Ketsana year 0 marked by Phalguna Sukla 1 in B. C. 915-14. 546-45 B. C.; Tuesday, April 20; 848 B. C.; 89; 21. N.B.—1 Solar and lunar year began at practically the same moment. The Tuesday was 14 Rishabha, Su. 14 ended on Tuesday at 08. 2 Phalguna Su. 1 in 847-46 B. C. marked Ketsana 98 (915 less 847). 818-17 B. C.; Wed 9 June, 818 B. C.; 48; f. d. n. 23. N.B.—This was Ashadha full moon but neither tithi nor nak. fell on Sunday. 5 Phalg. Su. 1. in 819-18 B. C. marked Ketsana 96 expired (915 less 819) and 97 current. 811-10 B. C.; Sat. 23 Mar; 811 B. C.; 19; f. d. n. 32. N.B.—Week day was not Wednesday. 7 Phalg. Su. 1 in 812-11 B. C. marked Ketsana 103 expired (915 less 812). 107-06 B. C.; Wed 7 July 807 B. C.; 17. N.B. Sravana full-moon, but week-day was not Sat. 2 Phalg. Su. 1 in 808-07 B. C. Ketsana marked 107 expired (915 less 807). 787-86 B. C.; Sund. 17 Ap. 787 B. C.; 14 Nak. "Vishakha" ended on Sat at 74. N.B.—Phalg. Su. 1 in 788-87 B. C. marked Ketsana 148 current and 147 expired (915 less 788). 787-86 B. C. Phalg. (preceded by adika month). Sukla 1 was Wed. 2 Feb., 90. N.B.—Phalg. Su. 1 in 788-87 B. C. marked year 0 of new religious era and Phalg. Su. 1 in 787-86 B. C. marked year 1 expired of new era.	637-36 B. C.; Phalguna Sukla 2 ended on Sat. Jan. 26 90 836. B. C. N.B.—Abolition of old Kaurda Era. 637-36. B. C.; Chaitra Sukla 1 ended on Sunday Feb. 24 57, 636 B. C. N.B.—Ketsana Era, year 0 began on Phalguna Su. 1 in 636-35. B. C. 567-66 B. C.; Thursday, March 26, 567 B. C.; 36; Nak. ended on Sat. at 17. N.B.—1 Friday was not Vishakha Su. 15. 2 Phalguna Su. 1 in 568-67 B. C. marked Ketsana year 68 expired (636 less 568). 539-38. B. C. Sravana full-moon ended on Monday, 13 July 539 B. C. at 44 and Nak. "Uttara Ashadha" had ended at 58 on Sunday. Ashadha full moon was Sat. Jun. 13 97 Nak. "Uttara Ashadha" in that month was Monday, June 15 28. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 540-39 B. C. marked Ketsana year 96 expired (636 less 540). 532-31 B. C.; Tuesday, 29 March 532 B. C.; 66; f. d. n. 77. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 533-32 B. C. marked Ketsana 103 expired, (636 less 533). 523-27 B. C.; Saturday 11 July, 523 B. C.; 53. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 523-22 B. C. marked Ketsana 107 expired (636 less 523). 488-87 B. C.; Wednesday, April 21, 97; 29. 12th day of Rishabha (Solar month). Note 1. Tuesday was not Vais. Su. 15. 2. Phalg. Su. 1 in 489-88 B. C. marked Ketsana 147 expired, 148 current (636 less 489). 489-88 B. C. Phalguna Sukla 1 (preceded by adika month) ended on Monday Feb. 8, 488 B. C. at 72. Note.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 489 B. C. marked year 0 of New Religious era Year 1 expired was marked by Phalg. Su. 1 in 488-87. B. C.	627-26 B. C.; Phalguna Su. 1, (preceded by adika month) ended on Sat. Feb. 4, 626 B. C. at 39. N.B.—Abolition of Kaurda Era. 626-25. B. C. New moon at the beginning of Chaitra month was Sat March 4 99, 626. B. C. Sukla 1 ended on Monday, March 6 at 05 and this was first Chandrodaya. Sukla 1 was current throughout Sunday. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 626-25 B. C. marks Ketsana year 0 (abt. 25 Jany. 626 B. C.) 557-56 B. C.; Friday, 4 Ap. 557 B. C.; 69; f. d. n. 31. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 558-57 B. C. marks Ketsana year 68 expired (626 less 558). 539-28 B. C.; Nija Ashadha Full Moon and Nakshatra "Uttara Ashadha" ended at 59 and 63 respectively of Sunday 22 June, 539. B. C. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 530-29 B. C. marks Ketsana 96 expired (626 less 530) and 97 current. 522-21 B. C.; Wednesday, 8 April. 522 B. C.; 38; 74. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 523-22 B. C. marks Ketsana 103 expired. (626 less 523). 518-17 B. C.; Full moon tithi of Sravana commenced on Sat. 20 July, 518 B. C. at 61 and ended on Sund. 21 July at 51 of day. Saturday, at sunrise of which Buddhodana died, was loosely called Full Moon, altho' this description was properly applicable to night between Sunday and Monday. N.B.—Phalg. Su. 1 in 519-18 B. C. marks Ketsana 107 expired (626 less 519). 478-77 B. C.; "Vishakha" nakshatra commenced at 87 on Tuesday, 1 Ap. 478 B. C. and ended at 89 on Wed.; Sukla 15 was current all Tuesday and ended on Wednesday about sunrise. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 479-78 B. C. marks Ketsana 147 expired, 148 current. 479-78. B. C. Phalguna Sukla 2=Monday Jany. 20 93, 478 B. C. Phalguna Sukla 1 ended on Sunday 19 Jany. 478 B. C. at 89 of the day. N.B.—Phalguna Su. 1 in 479-78 B. C. marks year 0 of new religious era Year 1 expired is therefore marked by Phalguna Su. 1 in 478-77 B. C.—Ketsana 148 expired (626 less 478).

regards 483 B. C., I must say, with reference to Bigandet's week-days, that a more improbable year would be difficult to find, since in that year Vaiśākha pūrṇimā ended on Saturday March 28-90, while Nak. "Viśākha" commenced on Sunday, March 29-02 and came to end on Sunday, March 29-98 : in other days, pūrṇimā and "Viśākha" Nak., did not concur in Vaiśākha month of that year for even one second of time. The year, 484 B. C. is a more probable year, because both Vaiśākha su. 15 and "Viśākha" Nak. ended in that year on a Tuesday.

An additional reason for selecting (2) 901 B. C., was that if any year was likely to yield week-days identical with those yielded by 478 B. C., it was 901 B. C., on account of a well-known principle in Indian Chronology that week-days, *tithis* and *nakshatras* generally repeat themselves on the same days of the Indian sidereal year once in 423 years. The year 901 B. C. does yield week-days closely similar to those yielded by 478 B. C., except that it fails at the most important point and brings out the week-day of Buddha's death as Wednesday instead of Tuesday.

It will be seen that the only year for Buddha's death which brings out all the week-days correctly is 478 B. C. The number of tests could be multiplied, but we may be fairly certain that the result would always go to confirm 478. B. C.

This being so, it becomes an important question when these week-days were first recorded. Evidently, not during Buddha's life time or shortly after his death, because the week-day, as a detail for ordinary citation was not known in Europe till the 3rd century A. D. and probably was not known in India till at least the 5th century A. D. : indeed, week-day citations are not *commonly* met with in India till the 8th century A. D.—[See on the whole subject of the Indian week-day, Dr. Fleet's valuable articles in Oct. issue of *J. R. A. S.* for 1912 pp. 1039-1052.]

The Burmese chronicle, translated by Bishop Bigandet, is called *Malla-linkara wouttoo* and was composed about A. D. 1773, but Prof. Rhys Davids testifies to the substantial, even verbal, identity of that chronicle with the Jātaka commentary current in Ceylon in 5th century A. D. (Prof. Rhys Davids, cited by Mr. Harry C. Norman in *J. R. A. S.* 1908 p. 15). We may, therefore, assume that the week-days in Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama* were calculated¹ retrospectively by some one between the 5th and the 8th century A. D. : but even so, we are led to infer that the true date of Buddha's death, though forgotten, as Dr. Fleet has shown, by 1,200 A. D. in Ceylon, had been preserved in the traditions of Buddhists for at least a thousand years after the death of Buddha.

There are certain points worthy of note in the calendar system disclosed by an investigation of these week-days :

(1) In this calendar there runs throughout an implied distinction between the commencement of an *era*, and the commencement of a *year*. The commencement of eras was shifted from time to time, it was *śukla* 1 of Chaitra of a particular year under the Eetsana Era, and under the New Religious Era, it was associated with the date of Buddha's death ; but what is clear is, that the commencement of the *year* was always the

¹ There is just a possibility (though it seems to me highly improbable,) that the author of *Malla-linkarawouttoo* may have himself calculated the week-days in accordance with the modern Burmese Calendar, which has been in use in Burma since 1738 A. D. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxxix (1910), Sir Alfred Irwin has given the elements of the Burmese calendar from A. D. 638 to A. D. 1752, but adds : "It is not certain what calendars were actually observed in Burma before the year 1,100 Burmese Era, = A. D. 1,738." I hope shortly to be able to verify and state in this Journal whether, according to the modern Burmese calendar, the week-days in Bigandet could be located anywhere else than in the years shown in the last column of my chart. Bigandet is certainly in error in supposing, in footnote to p. 133, Vol. II, and elsewhere, that they can be located with reference to 545 B. C. as the central date.

same, i. e., *śukla* 1 of *Tabasong* or *Phālguna*. As an analogous case, we may cite the era of the reformed English calendar which began on 14 Sep. A. D. 1752, though the commencement of the year was always the same as before, the 1st of January.

(2) Secondly, it is apparent, except in the case of the last date on the chart, that the commencement of the lunar month under this ancient calendar, was *śukla* 1 or (*pratipada*), as in the present day Indian calendar, and not the first heliacal rising of the moon, as in the Jewish and the Muhammadan calendar. In the excepted case I suspect, as observed in paragraph (6) of this note, a wrong reading in Bigandet's English Translation (Vol. II p. 113) of *Monday* for *Sunday*. On the other hand, the phrase *ādi chandrodāya dñé* quoted by Dr. Fleet from *Dipavamsa* (J. R. A. S. 1909), seems to refer, not necessarily to *śukla* 1, as assumed by him, but to the first day when the crescent was actually visible, and in 242 B. C., as shown below, this was actually *śukla* 2. The ordinary rule is, that if *śukla* 1, ends before 42 of a day, (25 *ghatikās* after sunrise) the crescent will rise the same evening and that if *śukla* 1 ends later than 58 of a day, (35 *ghatikās* after sunrise), the crescent will only appear next day. Between these limits, the day of the first appearance of the crescent is a matter of calculation.

Among other indications going to show that the "first of the moon" or "the first of the waxing moon" in Bishop Bigandet's translation is meant for *śukla* 1 is the following, which is also otherwise interesting. We are told at p. 107 of Vol. I that for 49 days from the attainment of perfect Buddhahip i. e. from *Vaiśākha pārṇimā*, Buddha did not taste food, and that on the 50th day which was the 5th of the moon of *Watsa* he was hungry. [Bigandet's translation in this place "5th after the full moon of *Watsa*" is an obvious mistake, since (1) 49 days from *Vaiśākha pārṇimā* can only take us to *śukla* 5 ($20\frac{1}{2} + 14\frac{1}{2} + 5 = 49$) in *Watsa* or *Āshādha*, and (2) we know from p. 118 of Vol. I that some days after the conclusion of the 49 days fast, Buddha preached a sermon at *exact* full moon and *exact* sunset; this we may identify as *Āshādha pārṇimā* or *Watsa* full moon — which tithi, in 522 B. C., ended on 6 June at 40 of the day or a little while before sunset.] The 50th day from *Vaiśākha pārṇimā* in 522 B. C. was Wednesday, 27 May — *Ashādha* (or *watsa*) *śukla* 5, which tithi ended at 78 of the day. In this case, *śukla* 1 was first moon rise, but as *śukla* 1 ended on May 24 18, the 5th tithi, if it had been counted from first moon rise, would have been *Thursday*, May 28, the 51st day, not Wednesday the 50th day counted from *Vaiśākha pārṇimā*. It is clear, therefore, that tithis in the text translated by Bigandet were calculated, as now, from new moon and not from the first moon-rise.

(3) On the relative merits of 483 B. C. and 478 B. C. as years of Buddha's death, Dr. Fleet remarked, at p. 22 of J. R. A. S. 1909: "For the latter occurrence" (the anointment of Devānampiya Tissa), "the mention of the *Āshādha nakshatra* indicates 247 B. C. or 242 B. C. The choice thus lies between 247+236 B. C.—483 and 242+236 B. C.=478 B. C. The earlier year is preferentially supported by a consideration of the circumstances which paved the way to the acquisition of sovereignty by Chandragupta."

It will be seen from the author's "Eye-Table" that *Nakshatra* *Pārva* *Āshādha* can coincide with *Mārgaśīra* *śukla* 1 or *śukla* 2 (on either of which days Devānampiya Tissa was anointed) only in a year in which some month previous to *Mārgaśīra* was *adhika*. This was the case with the years 247 B. C. and 242 B. C., and Dr. Fleet is, therefore, perfectly right in observing that the choice lies between these years. There is, however, this noteworthy difference between these two years. In 242 B. C., the year of anointment of Devānampiya Tissa, corresponding to 478 B. C. for Buddha's

death, Mārgaśīra śukla 2 ended on November 14, at 5½ ghatikas (in Lanka time,) after mean sunrise, and as śukla 1 had ended at the corresponding part of the previous day, it is clear, from the rule cited above, that śukla 2, Nov. 14, was *ādi chandrōdaya dina* or first moon rise in the month. *Nakshatra* Pūrva Āshāḍha was current all through Nov. 14 and came to end at 2½ ghatikas after mean sunrise next day. The case was very different in 247 B. C. Since, in that year, Mārgaśīra śukla 1 ended at 9 ghatikās after mean sunrise on 6 November, it is evident that that was *ādi chandrōdaya dina* or the day when the crescent first appeared. *Nakshatra* Pūrva Āshāḍha, however, commenced only at 50½ ghatikās after sunrise on the same day, i. e. 2 hours after midnight and was current for only about 9½ ghatikās at the very end of the day. The anointment could, of course, have been performed in what we should call the small hours of the morning of 7 November, 247 B. C. so as to bring the ceremony within the influence of Pūrva Āshāḍha, but generally speaking, such a day would not be called a day of Pūrva Āshāḍha, whereas 14 Nov. 242 B. C. was strictly a day when Pūrva Āshāḍha joined with the *ādi chandrōdaya dina* of Mārgaśīra. So far, the calculation of *nakshatras* appears to point to 242 B. C. rather than to 247 B. C. as the year of anointment of Devānāmpiya-Tissa; and consequentially, to 478 B. C. rather than to 483 B. C., as the year of Buddha's death. Dr. Fleet promised to exhibit in a separate article, the process of determining the *nakshatras*, but to the best of my belief he has not done so yet. The determination is very easy by the tables and method of my *Indian Chronology*.

(4) One of the reasons which led Dr. Fleet to adopt Kārttika śukla 8 rather than the traditional Vaiśākha śukla 15 as the day of Buddha's death, was that, on the latter assumption, it was not possible to place the two anointments of Devānāmpiya-Tissa 247 B. C. Mārgaśīra Śu. 1, and 246 B. C., Vaiśākha śukla 15, as well as the arrival of Mahindo in Ceylon (B. C. 247 Jyāishtha śukla 15) within the year designated by *Dipavamsa* as "236 years after the death of Buddha," i. e. after 483 B. C., Vaiśākha Śukla 15. He argued rightly that if each "Vaiśākha śukla 15" was the commencement of a new year, the arrival of Mahindo at any rate must belong to a year later than 236 expired of the Buddha era, which would be complete on Vaiśākha Śukla 15, 247 B. C. Now, if as I have shown above, the ancient Buddhist year always took its departure from śukla 1 of Phālgua, then it follows (a) that year 236 expired of the religious era would be marked by Phālgua śukla 1 in (479 B. C. less 236—) 243 B. C., and (b) that the second and third events, referred to above would both fall within the space designated by a single year, 236 expired, (running from 243 B. C. Phālgua Śukla 1 to 242 B. C. Māgha Amāvāsyā). Such being the case, the necessity for adopting Kārttika śukla 8 as the day of Buddha's death, in great measure, ceases. Dr. Fleet seems to think that both the anointments of Devānāmpiya-Tissa should be placed within the 237th year current after the death of Buddha. I do not know if the text of *Dipavamsa* requires this construction. The text, as quoted by him (*J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 11) makes two statements, (1) that Devānāmpiya-Tissa was anointed 236 years after the death of Buddha; (2) that he was twice anointed. It may be that the 1st anointment was in the 236th year current, towards its close, and the second in the 237th year current.

(5) It follows from an examination of these week-day dates that Buddha's age at the time of his death was 79 complete years, not 80 years, and that supposing he was born in the year 68 of the Hetzana Era, he could be said to have died in the year 148 of that era only in the sense that the year 148 was *varitāmāna* or current. See however, division (8) below of this note.

(6) Bishop Bigandet remarks in a footnote on p. 133 of Vol. II that the Kausda Era was abolished on a certain Saturday which was the new moon of Tabaong (March) and that the Eetzana Era commenced next day Sunday the first after the same new moon. This of course is not correct, since the old era was abolished with effect from Phālguna (Tābaong) śukla 1 (See Vol. I p. 18), while the new era was brought into force with effect from śukla 1 of the next month Chaitra (=Tagu).

On the other hand, while referring to the commencement of the New Religious Era (the era of Nirvāṇa), Bigandet has made a mistake just the converse of the above. He says (foot note on the same p. 133 of Vol. II): "In the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo (April), which fell on a Sunday, was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B. C." We need not concern ourselves with 543 B. C. (As a matter of fact, the first of the new moon of Chaitra or Tagoo in 543 B. C. was Wednesday, not Sunday.) But it will be seen from a comparison of this passage with those at p. 18 of Vol. I and p. 113 of Vol. II, (1) that where Bigandet affirms Phālguna Su. 1 to have been the beginning of the Kausda Era, he should have said this of Chaitra su. 1; and (2) that where he affirms Chaitra su. 1 to have been the beginning of the New Religious Era, he should have said this of Phālguna su. 1. So far, there may have been, on his part, a mere mistake of transposition of months, but in saying (in foot note to p. 133, Vol. II.) that *Sunday* was the beginning of the new religious era (Era of Buddha's death), he is backed by the calculations exhibited in my chart against the 8th date; and contradicted by his own statement in the text (p. 113 of Vol. II), that the New Religious Era began on a *Monday*. Should my conjecture that *Sunday* was the proper week-day in this case prove justified by a reference to the Burmese Manuscript used by Bigandet or to any other original text, then it will follow that "first of the waxing moon" throughout the chronicle translated by Bigandet means "*Śukla pratipada*," and not the first heliacal rising of the moon.

7) In one or two instances, details of dates, not explicitly affirmed by Bigandet, have had to be supplied from other circumstances stated by him. Thus, as regards the birth of Buddha, we are told, in the first place (Vol. I, p. 28), that he entered the womb of his mother Māyā at a full moon under the Constellation "Oottarathan" (= "Uttara Āshāḍha"). Reference to the Eye-Table appended to my "Indian Chronology" will show that this must have been the Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa. As Buddha was born 9 months later under the constellation "Withaka" ("Viśākha"), (Vol. II, p. 71), the birth, as may be seen from the same table, must have taken place at the Vaiśākha full moon, not 6 days after the same full moon, (as stated erroneously in the foot note to p. 47 Vol. I), when Nakshatra "Vaiśākha" would be an impossibility.

Similarly, when we are told (Vol. I. pp. 62-64) that Buddha, preparatory to embracing the life of an ascetic, left Kapilavastu "at the full moon of "July" under the constellation "Oottarathan," we may infer that it was the full moon of Āshāḍha month, because elsewhere Bigandet has rendered the Burmese "Watso" (= Āshāḍha month) by "July" (see, for instance, Vol. I, p. 200). July is no doubt the English equivalent of Āshāḍha at the present time; but it was not so in Buddha's time when the equivalent of Watso or Āshāḍha was May-June. The reader has to be reminded that English months, in 477 B. C. meant, in comparison with Indian months, a time of the sidereal year more than one month in advance of what they now mean. This result is due (1) to the forward movement of the Indian sidereal, as compared with the European tropical, year, and (2) to the dropping of 10 days in the Gregorian Calendar. In support of my statement that the departure from Kapilavastu took place on a *Sunday*. I may refer to Vol. II, p. 72 where the next day when he entered into solitude is given as *Monday*.

Lastly, the year when Buddha left his home to lead a hermit's life is given as "Eetazāna 97" in Vol. I, p. 62, and as "Eetazāna 96" in Vol. II, p. 72. This is not a discrepancy, because we may understand the former to be an *expired*, the latter a *current*, year. Similarly, the Eetazāna year of Buddha's death, 148, has, I believe, to be understood only as a *current* year, the equivalent of *expired* year 147.

(8) I have reserved for the last place the discussion of the important question, whether, admitting the correctness of the dates shown for Buddha's *life*, in the last column of the chart, the date of his *death* may not be 477 B. C., as conjectured, first by Cunningham, and more recently by Prof. Charpentier of Upsala in the July issue of this year's *Indian Antiquary*. I am bound to say that two sets of considerations are in favour of 477 B. C.: in the first place, this date would make him fully 80 years old when he died, which indeed is the commonly received age, attained by Buddha when he passed into *Nirvāṇa*; and in the second place, although the week day of Vaiśākha su. 15 and Nak. "Vaiśākha" in 477 B. C. was *Monday* (April 19; '90; '44), yet the next day was *Tuesday*, and as he is said to have died "on Tuesday, a little before day break," this may mean, though not strictly, "a little before the daybreak of Tuesday;" that is, in the early morning hours of what we should call Tuesday, (in the Indian Calendar, in the last hour or two of Monday).

The real difficulty, however, about 477 B. C. is in harmonizing with this date the statement that the new religious era began on the 1st of the waxing moon of Tabaṅg (Phālguna) "in the year of Buddha's death," the week-day being either Sunday, as stated in Bigandet's note on p. 133 of Vol. II, or Monday, as stated at p. 113 of Vol. II of his text. The following are all the relevant Phālgunas:—

Phālguna sukla 1 of 479-78 B.C. fell on Sunday, 19 Jany. 478, B.C. ending at '88 of day.

" " " 478-77 " " " fell on a Friday.

" " " 477-76 " " " Wednesday.

" " " 476-75 " " " Sunday (ending at '78 of day).

We cannot possibly adopt the Phālguna su. 1 of either 478-77 B. C. or 477-76 B.C. as the commencement of New Religious Era, because in neither case was the week-day Sunday or Monday. We are driven, therefore, to conclude that the 12 months beginning with Phālguna of 479-78 B. C. (19 January 478 B. C.) were the 12 months constituting "the year on which Buddha died", i.e., that he died on Vaiśākha su. 15 of 478 B.C., not on Vaiśākha su. 15 of 477 B.C.

(9) The Eetazāna Era is no doubt, as observed by Dr. Fleet in *J. R. A. S.* 1912, p. 239, "a late invention"; but it is, nevertheless, a true invention,

(a) because the dates expressed in that era are, *astronomically*, true dates; and

(b) because they include, by implication, one *historically* true date, the year, 478 B. C., of the death of Buddha.

The week-days, coupled with tithis and nakshatras, direct our attention, with almost absolute certainty, to one and *only one* series of years which, thanks to them, can be verified and identified with as much confidence as if they had been recorded in 478 B. C. Knowing, then, from other sources, the historical probability of the central year, 478 B. C., (that it is approximate, according to Dr. Fleet, within 5 years, does not detract much from its historical value), we need not be disturbed by the reflection that this and other surrounding dates must have been laboriously calculated, and for the first time fitted out with the full dress of *vāra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, by some astronomer in the 5th, 6th, 7th or a later century A. D. The later the century, the more genuinely do the historian, the chronologist and the critic become interested in the discovery that, for a thousand years, if not more, after Buddha's death, the true *year* of its occurrence was, notwithstanding many contradictory traditions, faithfully preserved somewhere in Buddhistic sacred lore.

JAINA SAKATAYANA, CONTEMPORARY WITH AMOGHAVARSHA I

BY PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B. A.; POONA

THE *Amoghavarṣi* is the oldest commentary on the *sūtras* of the Jaina grammarian Śakāṭyana. Prof. Kielhorn¹ thought that the *Amoghavarṣi* was later than the *Chintamani*, a different and smaller commentary on the same *sūtras* by Yakshavarman. That this view not correct will be obvious to Sanskrit scholars who will carefully study the introductory *prastāva* in both, which I quote below.

श्रीमत्सर्वगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीश्रीराममूर्तं कबोतिर्नित्वाहिं सर्वदेवतां ॥ सञ्ज्ञानुशासनस्यैवममोपा वृत्तिरुच्यते ॥ १ ॥
अविज्ञानप्रसिद्धिः (अवि) यै मंगलमाचक्षते ॥

नमः श्रीवर्द्धमानाभ प्रबुद्धाद्यौषवस्तथै ।

येन स्रष्टार्यसंबन्धाः सार्वेण सुनिरूपिताः ॥

स्रष्टा वाचकः अर्थो वाच्यः तयोः संबन्धो बोद्धव्यः अथवा शब्द आगतः । अर्थः प्रबोद्धनं । अभ्युदयो निः[ः]
श्रेयसं च तयोः संबन्धः (धाः) उपायोपेक्षभावः (वाः) ते येन सर्वसत्त्वहितेन सता तत्त्वतः प्रज्ञापिता [ः] । तस्मै परमा-
हैत्वनहिता विराजमानाभ भगवते वर्द्धमानाभ पश्यि प्रख्यापि अशेषाणि अनंतपञ्चैकरूपाणि साक्षात्कृत्ये
नमस्तुते इत्युपस्कारः । एवं कृतमंगलरक्षाविधानः परिपूर्णमल्पमर्थं लघूपायं सञ्ज्ञानुशासनं शास्त्रमिदं महाश्रमणसं-
घाद्विनिर्भगवानाचार्यः साकदाजनः प्रारभते । शब्दार्थज्ञानपूर्वकं च सन्मार्गमुद्घातं ॥ अ इ उ ए ॥ अ क ॥ ए ओ-
ह । हल ॥ ११ इति वर्णसमाज्ञाः क्रमानुबोधोपादानः प्रत्याहारवज्
शास्त्रस्य त्ववधार्यः ॥ सामान्याश्रयणादीर्घादुदात्तादिकानां ग्रहणं ।

Amoghavarṣi.

नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ शिबं क्रियाद्यः सर्वज्ञज्ञानकबोतिरनन्तरं । विन्धं प्रकाशयतिज्ञाननिर्घितार्थसाधनः ॥ १ ॥

नमस्तमःप्रभावाभिभूतमुद्योतहेतवे ।

लौकीककारिणि (ने) स्रष्टार्य (ह) ये द्वावशास्त्रमे ॥ २ ॥

त्वस्तिभीसकलज्ञानसामान्यपदमाप्तवान् ।

महाश्रमणसंघाद्विनिर्भः साकदाजनः ॥ ३ ॥

एकः शब्दांशुधिं बुद्धिमन्तरेण प्रमथ्य नः ।

सबन्धाभी (त्रि) समुद्भूते विन्धं प्रकाशयामूर्तं ॥ ४ ॥

स्वल्पमर्थं सुखोपायं संपूर्णं वदुपक्रमं ।

सञ्ज्ञानुशासनं सार्वमहैकशासनम (व) स्वरं ॥ ५ ॥

इतिर्ज्ञेया न वक्तव्यं वक्तव्यं सूचतः पृथक् ।

संज्ञातं नोपसंज्ञानं बन्धु शब्दानुशासने ॥ ६ ॥

तत्त्वातिमहती (सी) वृत्तिं संज्ञत्वेनं लपि (पी) भासि (सी) ।

संपूर्णलक्षणा वृत्तिर्वैज्ञते ब्रह्मवर्मणा ॥ ७ ॥

प्रत्यविस्तरभीरुणां सुकुमारविज्ञानम् ।

सुसुपादियुपायकतै साक्षे संहरणोद्यमः ॥ ८ ॥

सञ्ज्ञानुशासनस्यान्वयोपाधितानि (ने) प्रिदं ।

वृत्तैर्म (मे) यप्रमाणं [—] वस्तुहजं निरूपितं ॥ ९ ॥

इन्द्रादिनिर्दिष्टादीर्घादुदात्तं शास्त्रलक्षणं ।

तदिहास्ति समस्तं च ब्रह्महास्ति न वक्तव्यम् ॥ १० ॥

गणधानुपाठबोर्गणधान् लिङ्गानुशासने लिङ्गगतं ।

नौपादिकानुपादौ संप्र निःस्येपमव वृत्तौ विदध्यात् ॥ ११ ॥

वाक्ताबलाजनीयत्वा वृत्तैरभ्यासवृत्तितः ।

समस्तं वागमयं वेति वर्णयेकेन निश्चयात् ॥

तत्र सूत्रस्याहाराय मयस्यलोकः ॥ नमः श्रीवर्धमानादेत्यादि ॥ शक्यार्थसंबन्धः वाच्य इत्यादिबोधयत्वा ।
अथवा भागममकीर्तनीपादोपेक्षमात्राः ते येन सर्वसम्पत्तिरिति तत्प्रवृत्तः प्रज्ञाविताः ॥ तस्मै श्रीनरे महावीर्य
साक्षात्कृतसकलप्रज्ञाय नमस्करोमि (मी) एवम्भाहारः । विप्रप्रसन्नार्थमहैवितानमत्कारं परममयलमारम्भ
मगवानाचार्यः साकदात्मनः शक्यानुशासनं सास्त्रमिदं प्रारभते ।

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु तत्त्वार्थावगातिर्भवतः ।

शक्यार्थज्ञानपूर्वैति शेषं व्याकरणं भुविः ॥

अ इ उ ए ऋ ॥ ए ओ ऋ

हत् इति वर्णसमाप्तायः ॥ ज्ञानानुबोधोपादानः प्रवृत्ताहारवत् सास्त्रत्वं तावदार्थः । सामान्यमहपादी (री) धेनु-
सानुनासिकमहत्त्वं ।

Chintāmaṇi.

Yakshavarman, the author of the *Chintāmaṇi*, tells us, in verse 7 quoted above, that his work is a smaller commentary (सूचीवती वृत्ति). He lays claim to no originality, but admits that his *Chintāmaṇi* is an abridgment of a very extensive commentary (अतिमहती वृत्ति). This very extensive commentary is no other than the *Amoghavarīti* itself, since the concluding passage of the two *prafastis* given above, beginning with the words इति वर्णसमान्मयः is the same except that Yakshavarman substitutes सामान्यमहपात् for the सामान्यामहपात् of the *Amoghavarīti*. Then again Yakshavarman gives only the *prafika* नमः श्रीवर्धमानादेत्यादि of the मंगलश्लोक, which occurs entirely in the *Amoghavarīti*. Moreover, he borrows the two alternate explanations of the second half of this मंगलश्लोक almost in the very words of the *Amoghavarīti*. These facts will suffice to convince Sanskrit scholars that the *Chintāmaṇi* is an abridgment of the *Amoghavarīti*, and is, therefore, a later work.

As I have remarked above, Yakshavarman lays no claim to originality, but copies the *Amoghavarīti* with slight alterations, omitting the less important words thus :—

नाम हुः 1, 1, 17 (*Sākaśāyana-sūtra*)

जन्मानधैवं संभववहाराय हठाभिमुखवते देवदत्तादि तदुत्तमं भवति वा । देवदत्तीयाः । देवदत्ताः । पण्णव्यानाहः
सिद्धसेनीयाः । सिद्धसेनाः ॥

Amoghavarīti.

जन्मानधैवं संभववहाराय हठाभिमुखवते देवदत्तादि तदुत्तमं वा भवति । देवदत्तीयाः । देवदत्ताः ॥

Chintāmaṇi.

Sometimes Yakshavarman entirely copies the *Amoghavarīti* thus :—

ज्वाते इहमे *Sākaśāyana sūtra* IV, 3, 207.

भूतेनयतने ज्वाते लोकविज्ञाते इहमे प्रबोक्तुः शक्यवर्धने वर्तमानाज्ञापो ल (ले) म् (म्) इ (म्) प्रबो नवति
लिङ्गपत्राहः । अरुणदेवः वा (पां) इहम् । अरुणदेवीयवर्पा (पौ) रातीन् । ज्वात इति किम् । चकार कर्त्त देवदत्तः ।
इहमे इति किम् । ज्वात कर्त्त किं वासुदेवः । अनयतन इति किम् [1] उद्गासादित्वः [2]

Amoghavarīti.

भूतेनयतने ज्वाते लोकविज्ञाते इहमे प्रबोक्तुः शक्यवर्धने वर्तमानाज्ञा (ज्ञा) तीर्तु (ले) इ भवति । लिङ्गपत्राहः ।
अरुणदे (दे) वाः पाण्ड्यं । अरुण (र) ती । ज्वात इति किं । चकार कर्त्त देवदत्तः । इहमे इति
किं । ज्वात कर्त्त किं वासुदेवः । अनयतन इति किं । उद्गासादित्वः ॥

Chintāmaṇi.

In the preceding passage the only alteration which Yakshavarman makes is to use the word लङ् instead of the लङ् प्रत्यय of the *Amoghavarīti*. I have already proved by ample evidence that the *Chintāmaṇi* is later than the *Amoghavarīti*. It is thus clear that the illustration mentioning Amoghavarsha, the great patron of Digambara Jaina literature, fixes the date of the *Amoghavarīti*, which is obviously so named in honour of that king

² Omit this mark of punctuation.

⁴ Read उद्गासादित्वः.

It is interesting to note that the achievement attributed to Amoghavarsha I, namely, that he burnt his enemies *महद्वन्द्वोपशान्ति*, is actually mentioned in a Rāshtrakūṭa inscription, dated Saka 832 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 54) where the passage relating to Vallabha Amoghavarsha, is thus read by Prof. Hultzsch *मृपालात्करकानि सपदि विपदितान्मैद्व(वि)त्वा ददाह*. It is proposed to read the first two words as *मृपालान् कंटकानान्*. And the passage means that Amoghavarsha I, surrounded the kings who had suddenly turned disaffected, and burnt them. In this inscription the form *ददाह*, which is *दिह*, is correct, because the writer of it could not have witnessed the event which was *सप्तवर्षेण* to the author of the *Amoghavarṣi*, who deliberately uses the form *महद्वन्* which is *द्वन्*. But the constant warfare between Amoghavarsha I and his kinsmen of Gujarat is also alluded to in an earlier grant of the time of Amoghavarsha I himself, namely, the Bagumrā grant⁵ of Saka 780, in which we are told that "Dhruva died on the battle field, covered with wounds, while routing the army of Vallabha-Amoghavarsha." It is thus manifest that the event alluded to in the illustration, which we have been discussing, must have occurred shortly before Saka 780. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the *Amoghavarṣi* was composed between Saka 786 and 789. Yakshavarman is certainly entitled to our gratitude for preserving the text of the historical illustration, which he quotes from the *Amoghavarṣi*. He has conferred upon us yet another favour by communicating to posterity a very important fact about the authorship of these *Sākāṭyana-sūtras*. In verses 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of his opening *prastā* quoted above, he says :—

Hail! Sākāṭyana, the eminent lord of the great community of Sramanas, who attained to glorious universal sovereignty over all knowledge. 3.

Who, (like Viṣṇu) single-handed, lifted up all nectar-like grammar, together with fame resembling the goddess Lakṣmī, by churning the Ocean of words, with [his] intellect resembling Mount Mandara. 4.

Whose original science of grammar, of limited extent, attainable by easy means, and withal very complete, is beneficial to all like the religion of Arhat. 5.

In whose science of grammar, there is neither *इति* nor are there words used, such as *न वक्तव्यं वक्तव्यं*, nor *उपसंख्यान* laid down, apart from the *sūtras*, [as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*]. 6

By abridging the very extensive commentary [called *Amoghavarṣi*] of him [Sākāṭyana just described] this smaller commentary [Chintāmaṇi] endowed with all good features will be composed by Yakshavarman. 7

I have offered a literal rendering of these verses. This is all the more necessary as the sense intended by Yakshavarman, as well as the historical illustration, has failed to arrest the notice of Dr. Burnell, Prof. Bühler and Prof. Kielhorn, who have published valuable contributions to the study of this Sākāṭyana grammar. The first four verses translated above contain adjective clauses descriptive of Sākāṭyana. They are introduced by the relatives *यः* (in verses 3 & 4) *यत्* in *बहुपदम्* (verse 5), and *यस्य* (verse 6). These relatives are correlative to the demonstrative *तस्य* in *तस्य महतीं प्रति* where *तस्य* is *कर्तारि पक्षी* and is part of the principal sentence in verse 7. The construction is *बहुपदम् सत्त्वापुष्पासनं सार्धं तस्य महतीं प्रति सहस्रं इव लघीवसी प्रतिपद्यते वक्तव्यमेवा*. This smaller commentary will be composed by Yakshavarman by abridging the very extensive commentary of him whose original production called *Sabdānuśaṅga* is beneficial to all. The conclusion to which we come is that the Jaina Sākāṭyana wrote both the text and the commentary in the *Amoghavarṣi* and lived between Saka 786-789.

The identity of the author of the *sūtras* with that of the *Amoghavṛtti* seems to have been widely known. Mr. Rice says: "Śākaṭāyana not only wrote the grammar but also a gloss thereon called *Amoghavṛtti*." In support of this statement Mr. Rice quotes the *Mānīkāśābhyudaya*, written in the reign of Chikkadeva Rājā of Mysore (1672 to 1704), by Ohidānanda-kavi, who afterwards became the pontiff of Sravaṇa Belgol under the usual title of Chārūkīrti Paṇḍita Deva.

A muni nija-buddhi-Mandaradim śrutada mahāśrddhiya mathisi |
Prēma-yako-Lakshmi rerasu vyākaraṇa-mahāmṛitoddhārav esegida ||
Vara-Śabdānuśāsanava rachisi y-adak wru-Śākaṭāyana-resara- |
Voredan Amogha-vṛttiya padinenṭu-sāvirada-grantha-saikhyaṇu ||
Lōka-rikhyātan ā Śākaṭāyana-muni vyākaraṇada sūtraraṇu |
Śākaṭāyana-vṛtti-samānta rachisi y-aneka-puṇyaran arjjisidanu ||
Mandara-dhṛan Aviddha-karṇa Padmanandi-siddhānti-chakrēsa |
and ātma-padarīya Śākaṭāyana-muni-vṛndārakanig ittan olidu ||

I adopt Mr. Rice's translation:—

"That muni, churning the great ocean of the śrutā (or revealed truth) with the Mandara mountain of his own understanding, began to uplift (or restore therefrom), along with the loved Lakshmi of fame, the best nectar of grammar. Having composed the excellent Śabdānuśāsanum, to it (is) the name of the great Śākaṭāyana, he declared the *Amoghavṛtti*, 18,000 verses in extent. That world-famed Śākaṭāyana-muni, having composed the *sūtras* of the grammar, together with the complete *vṛtti*, acquired a variety of merit. Then Aviddha-karṇa Padmanandi siddhānti-chakrēsa, firm as Mount Mandara, approving of him, gave his own rank (or office, as head of the gaṇa) to Śākaṭāyana, the revered among munis." Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana, Intro. p. 2

From the passages quoted above it is evident that in the opinion of Yakshavarman and Ohidānanda, the *Śākaṭāyana-sūtras* and the *Amoghavṛtti* were composed by one and the same author who calls himself Śākaṭāyana. I have proved above that this Jain author lived in the time of Amoghavarsha I, that he wrote his work about Śaka 789, and that the *Amoghavṛtti* was so named in honour of this illustrious Rashtrakūṭa king. The fact that this Śākaṭāyana wrote the *Amoghavṛtti* as well as the *sūtras* was well-known even to Brahman authors. Vardhamāna, the author of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, who composed his work only about 273 years later, frequently attributes statements which are found only in the *Amoghavṛtti* but not in the *sūtras* to Śākaṭāyana himself.

शाकटायनस्तु कर्णे द्विविधेः कर्णे चुरुचुरुत्वाह.
Gaṇaratnamahodadhī. } Amoghavṛtti. II, 1, 57.
 Benares ed. p. 82.

शाकटायनस्तु । भय पञ्चमी । भय द्विविधेत्वाह.
Gaṇaratnamahodadhī. } Amoghavṛtti II, 1, 79.
 Benares ed. p. 90.

Vardhamāna also assures us that this Śākaṭāyana was not a Digambara but a Svetāmbara writer:—

सालाहुरीयसकयज्ञ-जन्मगोमि-
 विष्णुसमर्पहरिवामननीजमुखाः ।

Vardhamāna tells us that he restricts the term विष्णु Digambara to Devanandin the author of the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*. From this we are to infer that the other Jain grammarian शाकटायन Śākaṭāyana mentioned in the above verse was a Svetāmbara.

Vardhamāna's view that Śākaṭāyana was a Svetāmbara is amply borne out by numerous passages in the *Amoghavṛtti*.

भयो क्षमाभयपेते ज्ञानं दीयते
 भयो क्षमाभयपेते ज्ञानं दीयते

Amoghavṛtti. I, 2, 201.
 „ „ „ I, 2, 202.

एतकमावद्वक्तमध्यापय मयी एनं जयाकर्म सुखं ।
इममावद्वक्तमध्यापय । मयी एनं जयाकर्म सुखं ।

Amogh. I, 2, 203, 204.

मयता कसु छेवसुनं कीदृश्यं ।
मिहूकीरपीष्य ।
मिहूकीरपीषी ।

Amogh. IV, 4, 133, and 140.

उप सर्वगुप्तं ध्यायन्नातारः । उप विदीपयानि कवयः ।

Amogh. I, 3, 104.

कालिकासूत्रस्यानध्यायदेशकालाः पठिताः

Amogh. III, 2, 74.

The mention in the foregoing passages of Svetāmbara authors and works and the fact that the study of the *Amoghyaka* and the *Niryuktī* is enjoined upon the readers leaves no room for doubt that Sākatāyana was a Svetāmbara, and not a Digāmbara Jain. That he has been unjustly superseded among the Svetāmbara Jain community by the later and more well-known Svetāmbara grammarian Hemachandra is evident from the following passages in which the latter makes no secret of his desire to copy Sākatāyana:—

न नृपूजार्थध्वजपिणे III, 3, 34 (Sākatāyana).

नरि मनुष्ये पूजार्थं ध्वजे पिणे च विचकर्मणि चामिधेये कर्मस्त्वबो न भवति । तत्र सीबमित्येवानिर्वाच्यः । संज्ञाप्रतिष्ठाप्योरिति जयासंभवं प्राप्तिः । नरि । चंचासुतुषः चंचामनुष्यः । वप्रिका । खरकुटीवास(सी) । पूजार्थं । अर्हेन् धिव । स्तम्भः । पूजार्थाः प्रतिकृतयः । उप(ध्व)जे गरुडः । सिन्धः(इः) । तालो ध्वजः । विचकर्मणि । बुद्धोपनः । भीमसेनः ।

Amogh. III, 3, 34.

Hemachandra says:—

न नृपूजार्थध्वजपिणे (Hemachandra).

नरि मनुष्ये पूजार्थं ध्वजे पिणे च विचकर्मणि अनिधेये कः प्रस्त्वबो न भवति । तत्र सीबमित्येवानिर्वाच्यः । संज्ञाप्रतिष्ठाप्योरिति जयासंभवं प्राप्ते प्रत्येकीकृतम् । नृ, चञ्चामनुष्यः पुरुषः । वः शेषरक्षणाय कियते । चञ्चामनुष्यः पुरुषः चञ्चाम् । एवं वप्रिका । खरकुटी । पूजार्थं अर्हेन् । धिव । स्तम्भः । पूजार्थाः प(ति)कृतय उच्यन्ते । ध्वज(जे) गरुडः सिंहः तालो ध्वजः । विच(के) बुद्धोपनः । भीमसेनः ॥

Hemachandra's *Bṛihadarīti*, VII, 1, 109. The *sūtra* just quoted appears to be based on the remarks in the *Kāśikādarīti* on Pāṇini (V, 3, 100).

प्रभवति III, 1, 166 (Sākatāyana),

इतिरेति वर्तते इत्स् इति पञ्चम्बन्तात्प्रभवति [प्रयमं] प्रकाशमाने जयाविहितं प्रस्त्वबो भवति । प्रयमत उपलभ्यमानता प्रभवः । अन्वे प्रभवति आबमाने इत्याह । जात इति भूते सप्तम्बन्तात्प्रभवः अन्वं तु पञ्चम्बन्तात्प्रभवति ।

Amoghavarīti, III, 1, 166.

प्रभवति VI, 3, 157 (Hemachandra).

तत इति वर्तते तत इति पञ्चम्बन्तात्प्रभवति प्रयमं प्रकाशमानेऽर्थे जयाविहितं प्रस्त्वबो भवति । प्रयममुपलभ्यमानता प्रभवः । अन्वे प्रभवति आबमाने इत्याह । जाति (१-३-१७) इति भूते सप्तम्बन्तात्प्रभवः अन्वं तु पञ्चम्बन्तात्प्रभवति इति विशेषः ।

Hemachandra, *Bṛihadarīti*, VI, 3, 157

वैदूर्यः III, 1, 168 (Sākatāyana).

वैदूर्य इति विदूरवाच्यात् इतिः प्रभवति उच्चप्रस्त्वबो निपात्यते । विदूरवात्यभवति वैदूर्यो मणिः । विदूर्ये माने द्यव संस्क्रियमाणो मणिः (पि) तत्रा ततः प्रभवति बालवाचास्तु पर्वतात्प्रभवन्नसौ [न] मणिः किल तु (किंतु) पाषाणः

Amogha. III, 1, 168.

वैदूर्यः VI, 3, 158 (Hemachandra).

विदूर वाच्यात्पञ्चम्बन्तात्प्रभवत्यर्थः उच्चः प्रस्त्वबो निपात्यते । विदूरवात्यभवति वैदूर्यो मणिः । विदूर्ये माने द्यव संस्क्रियमाणो मणितत्रा ततः प्रयमं प्रभवति । बालवाचास्तु पर्वतात्प्रभवन्नसौ न मणिः किंतु पाषाणः ।

Hemachandra, *Bṛihadarīti*, VI, 3, 158.

These passages show that Hemachandra copies the *Amoghavarīti* to such an extent that no claims to originality can be put forward on his behalf, though it is easy to admit that on this very ground Hemachandra's *Bṛihadarīti* will prove most helpful in bringing out a correct edition of Sākatāyana's *sūtras* and his *Amoghavarīti*. On the other hand,

Sākaśyana never copies the *Kāśikā* in the way in which Hemachandra copies the *Amoghavṛtti*. The title *Amoghavṛtti* must have been selected, as I have already remarked, to commemorate the reigning sovereign Amoghavaraha I. But it must have been also suggested by a desire on the part of Sākaśyana to show the superiority of his own work to the *Kāśikā*. As might be naturally expected, Sākaśyana frequently refers to the authors of the *Kāśikā* thus :—

वदितुं जानातीत्येके

Amogh. I, 4, 50. *Kāśikā*. I, 3, 47.

स्वीततामन्वे सावनमाहः

Amogh. I, 4, 23. *Kāśikā*. I, 3, 38.

Sākaśyana sometimes borrows his illustrations from the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā* and the *Nyāsa* :—

कालः पचति मृतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।

Amogh. IV, 4, 131. P. III, 3, 167 (*Mahābhāṣya*).

संस्पृज्य कर्पादिषु तिष्ठते वा (*Bhāṣya* III, 14.)

Amogh. I, 4, 37. *Kāśikā*. I, 3, 23.

कांतो हरिश्चंद्र इव प्रजानां

Amogh. I, 3, 167. *Nyāsa*. II, 3, 87.

It is very interesting to note that Sākaśyana quotes the two following passages from the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya.

अंचरीयश्च नामागो बुभुक्षाते चिरं मर्षी ।

Amogh. I, 4, 12. Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (Mysore ed.) p. 12.

वृद्धस्तु स्वापिती वा राजा मादृक्पुत्रुः (तु) पञ्चगुणः (न) वस्स (स्ता) मंतानामन्वतयेन सेवे बाधमुत्पादयेत्

Amogh. III, 4, 107. Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (Mysore ed.) p. 35.

It may be incidentally remarked here that Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* is also quoted by Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāyabhāṣya* Chap. I. and in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 24.

Some of Sākaśyana's *sūtras* resemble those of the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*. They must have been borrowed from Pūjyapāda, who can be easily proved to have lived prior to Sākaśyana. The *Jainendra sūtra* (II, 3, 36) हस्तादिष्वनुद्यते ये चेः was known to the authors of the *Kāśikā*, who remark :

उच्चयस्व प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Kāśikā, III, 3, 40.

This is not a *vārttika* as Pāṇini's *sūtra* III, 3, 40 हस्तादाने चरस्तेष्व is not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is, therefore, clear that Sākaśyana's *sūtra* (IV, 4, 45) हस्तादिष्वेतेष्वनुद्यतेः is based on the *Jainendra sūtra* quoted above.

The following three *Jainendra sūtras* :—

वस्तेर्हम् IV, 1, 207.

शिलाया " " 208.

उ च " " 209.

are thus alluded to in the *Kāśikā* :

केचिद्वच इममपीच्छन्ति तदर्थं बोधविभागः कर्तव्यः शिलाया इत्यप्रत्ययो भवति । सेलेजम् । ततो हः सिसेजम् ।

Kāśikā V, 3, 102.

The *Jainendra sūtra* (I, 1, 61) दिवादि. corresponding to Sākaśyana (I, 1, 52) is quoted by Akalanakadeva, who was contemporary with Sāhasatunga-Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakūṭa king.

कविद्वयने दिवादिपिति

तत्पार्यराजवार्तिक I, 5, 1 Benares ed. p. 37.

Jinasena, in the opening *prāśasti* of his *Harivaṃśa* (Saka 706) mentions the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*. These facts suffice to prove the priority of Pūjyapāda to Sākaśyana.

Pāṇini's *sūtra* (IV, 1, 102) is सरहच्युनकवर्माद् मृगुवत्सामाजयेषु while *Jainendra sūtra* (III, 3, 134) reads सरहच्युनकवर्मादिधर्मकृष्णरत्नात् मृगुवत्सामाजयपृथगणनाज्ञापयसिष्टे. The latter *sūtra* is thus borrowed by Sākaśyana II, 4, 36.

सरहच्युनका (क) रत्नादिधर्मकृष्णवर्माद् मृगुवत्सवसिष्ट (ह) पृथगणनाज्ञापयामाजये.

* Mysore ed. pp. 7 and 11; Nyāyabh. Benares ed. p. 7.

† Chandra (II, 4, 38) copies Pāṇini.

Amoghavarṣi explains :—

माभिसर्गार्थो वार्धगण्यः । माभिसर्गः ।

This explanation about Vārshaganya being Āgnisarmāyana is copied by Hemachandra in his *Bṛihadarīṭi* (VI, 1, 57). Now Vārshaganya was the name of Īvarakṛishṇa, the author of the *Sākhya-kārikās*, who is assigned by Dr. Takakusu to A. D. 450. Another Jainendra *sūtra* (III, 2, 5) गुरुवार्धगण्योक्तोऽयः (इ) is borrowed by Sakaṭayana and Hemachandra.

गुरुवार्धगण्योक्तोऽयः Sakaṭayana II, 4, 224.

इ इति वर्तते गुरुवार्धगण्योक्तोऽयः अस्मिन् भे नक्षत्रे वारणाविद्ये तदाचिनः इ इति वरीवांवापुक्तोऽयः अया विदितं प्रत्यक्षो भवति । सोऽयं युक्तोऽयः स चोक्तोऽयः वर्षे संवत्सरः स्वात् । पुन्येण गुरुवार्धगण्येन युक्तं वर्षे पोष । पोषः संवत्सरः । फाल्गुनं वर्षे । फाल्गुनः संवत्सरः । गुरुवार्धगण्येन युक्तं वर्षे । गुरुवार्धगण्येन युक्तं वर्षे । अथ न भवति ॥ भाविते किं । गुरुवार्धगण्येन पूर्वरात्रेण युक्तं वर्षे । अथ इति किं । मासे विषये वा न भवति

Amogha. II, 4, 224.

Hemachandra reads the *sūtra* as

वदितसुरोर्मापुक्तोऽयः

Bṛihadarīṭi VI, 2, 5.

and copies the *Amoghavarṣi* in explaining it. It is needless to state that Yakshavarman has this *sūtra* in his *Chintāmaṇi*. The authors who have this *sūtra* are :—

Pāṇyapāda in his Jainendra.

Sakaṭayana.

Yakshavarman.

Hemachandra.

This *sūtra* is most important as it alludes to the twelve year Cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal rising system. This system was in vogue in the time of the Early Kadamba kings and their contemporaries, the Early Gupta kings. Expressions like लौकसंवत्सर occur in the epigraphic records of that period. The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has contributed a very interesting paper on this subject to Dr. Fleet's Gupta volume and has also independently dealt with it in his monumental *Mardāhi* work on the history of Indian Astronomy. The four Jaina authors, whom I have mentioned as alluding to this system, are in addition to the eleven authorities quoted by Dikshit. The last two *sūtras* which I have discussed above enable us to assign the *Jainendra-ryākaraṇa* to the latter part of the fifth century A. D. But no inference as to the age of the other three authors can be drawn as they have copied these *sūtras* from Pāṇyapāda.

In the *Amoghavarṣi* on *sūtra* III, 4, 50 we read :

सपञ्चाक्षरीत्वविप्रेयसमिप्रायेण वृक्षस्य निष्पञ्चाकरणमेवास्माकमे । अया दीपो नदतीति विप्रसः । though this remark is copied by Hemachandra in his *Bṛihadarīṭi* (VII, 2, 138) I am tempted to think that Sakaṭayana was influenced in making this remark by his knowledge of the Kannaḍa root *nandu*, to go out, to be extinguished (as a light).

Under the *sūtra* (II, 1, 79) गुरुवार्धगण्योक्तोऽयः Sakaṭayana says :—

हि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ।

अहिजोडमित्यभीक्ष्णमाह अहिजोडः ।

Under the corresponding

Pāṇini's *sūtra* (II, 1, 72) the authors of the *Kāśikā* say :—

अहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ।

अहिजोडः ।

The rule beginning with अहि instead of हि

is also found in the *Gasapāṭha* of Pāṇini and the *Mahābhāṣya*, Nirṇaya ed. Vol. II, p. 46. But Vardhamāna says.

कर्तारं च कृते हि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये ॥ १२१ ॥

अस्मत् किञ्चाप्यं कर्मणाः । अस्मत्स्वैवास्मिन् बहुलं सप्तस्वते भाभीक्ष्ण्ये सम्भवाते । स च समासः कर्तारमाचष्टे । अहिजोडः ऐवम् । अया वक्तव्येन सावत्येन ज्ञायति स वक्ता अहिजोडः ।

Gasaratna, Benares ed. p. 80.

Let us now turn to Hemachandra, who in his *Bṛihadvittī* (III, 1, 116) says :

“ह्यस्तं स्वकर्मणा बहलमानीदं कर्तारि समासाभिधेये” ।

अहि जोडमिस्वमीदं न आह स उच्यते अहिजोडः ।

And the commentary called *Laghunyāsa* on the *Bṛihadvittī* explains :—

सुदृग् प्रेरणे इत्यतोऽपि जोडो वाचः ।

And remarks :

ह्यस्तं स्वकर्मणेत्वाहि पाविनीयं सूत्रमेव ।

It is thus clear that *अहिजोड* is an irregular compound, applied as an epithet to a person who frequently says, “kill the slave, kill the slave.” According to Vardhamāna and the Jaina authorities quoted above, not only *अहि*, 2nd pers. sing. imper., of *हन्*, but forms of other verbs ending in *हि* may be used in forming such compounds, as is evident from the following verse.

श्रीमन्मत्स्यवचनोत्तरकवचके वाग्वधूजस्तभूमौ
निष्काण्डं विण्ममः पर्ययति पटुरो वारिराजस्व विष्णोः ।

अथ यथापरो अहिहिमकतामर्षमूला अहाहि—

आहारेणो अहिहिस्सुदृग्पुनश्चरन्मयावलेपः ॥

Bravya Belgol Inscription No. 54.

Here the words beginning with *अहि*, *अहिहि*, *अहाहि*, and *अहीहि* are compounds used as adjectives qualifying *विण्ममः*. The last three are the 2nd pers. sing. imper. forms of the root *हृ* to abandon. The verse may be translated thus :—“In the victorious camp of the prosperous Chālukya-emperor, which is the birth-place of Sarasvatī, there suddenly wanders forth in all directions the loud sounding drum of Vādirāja desirous of vanquishing [disputants], which frequently says “kill rising conceit in disputation, give up abundant pride in learning, lay aside envy in oratory, abandon vanity as regards poetry lucid, soft, sweet and pleasing to the ear.”

The considerations set forth above naturally lead to the conclusion that the correct reading not only in Śākaśyana but also in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha* should be not *अहि कर्मणा* but *हि कर्मणा*.

The mention of Vādirāja and the Chālukya emperor, who, as we shall see presently, was Jayasinha II, is most important as it enables us to fix the date of the *Rāpasiddhi*, a *prakriyā* by Dayāpāla on Śākaśyana's *Sabdānuśāna*. A Kanarese inscription,⁸ dated Śaka 999, refers to Dayāpāla thus :—

Sabdānuśānanakke Prakriy endu Rāpasiddhiyam māḍida Dayāpāla

In another inscription⁹ we read :

यथापुत्रासनस्तोत्रैर्कपसिद्धिर्नशात्मना ।

कृता येन स बाभावि द्वापालो मुनीन्द्रः ॥

This author Dayāpāla was the pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja.

हितैषिणी बन्धु नृपामुदासवाचा निबद्धा हितकपसिद्धिः ।

बन्धो द्वापालमुनिः स वाचा सिद्धः सतां सुखेनि यः प्रभाषैः ॥

बन्धु श्रीमत्सिमागरी गुरुरसौ च श्रुत्यसम्पन्नसूः

श्रीमाम्बस्व स वारिराजगणभृत् सन्नद्धाचारी विनीः ।

एकीतीव कृती स एव हि द्वापालव्रती बन्धन—

स्वास्तामन्त्रपरिमहकथा स्वे विमहे निमहः ॥

Bravya Belgol Inscr. 54.

In the concluding *prāstā* of his *Pārinandhacharita*,¹⁰ after telling us that he was a bee on the lotus-like feet of Matisāgara, Vādirāja says :—

आकाशे नगवाधिरम्भगणने संवत्सरे नोषणे

नासे कार्तिकनाभिं सुस्निग्धे सुखे वरीवारिणे ।

सिंहे पाति अवारिके वसुमतीं जैनी कथेनं नवा

निष्पत्तिं गमिता सती नवतु वः कल्याणनिष्पत्तये ॥

From this verse it may be safely concluded that Dayāpāla composed his *Rāpasiddhi* in the time of the Chālukya king Jayasinha II, who was reigning in Śaka 947.

⁸ Ep. Carn. Shimoga Vol. II, Nagar 35.

¹⁰ Ms. of the Jaina Maṅga at Kolhapur.

⁹ Nagar 39.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 186.)

It will be observed that all the genitives above are from consonantal bases. That *-ha* should have survived only in the latter case is quite reasonable, inasmuch as, when suffixed to vocal bases, it could not so easily avoid contraction. Thus a form like **be/āha*, from Apabhramça *biṭṭaaka*, was soon contracted into *beṭṭa*. It is only after bases in °i, °ā that *-ha* has left some traces. Masculine and neuter bases in °i, °ā, which, as it has been shown § 57, may optionally take *-u* in the nominative singular and thereby become practically equal to bases in °ia, °āa, make their genitive in °ā, °iā (from **ia-ha*) and °āā (from **āa-ha*). Thus:

bādhāyā hādhāyā-nī parī "Like a bound elephant" (Daç. x),

sooai tālāā -nu rasa āpaia-nu "Drice up his palate" (Indr. 34)²⁵

Feminines in °i, °ā, which seem to have likewise been taking *-ha* in the genitive, have completely lost the latter termination, except in poetry, where occasionally forms occur, that may be taken for old genitives. Examples are:

devia pāya "The Goddess's feet" (Rç. I),

rāia-sāhi "Together with the queen" (Rç. 26),

vahua-sahita "Together with the bride" (Rç. 132),

Mṛgāikalekhā-satia caritra "The story of the virtuous Mṛgāikalekhā" (F 728, I).

For some of such genitives in °ia, however, it is doubtful whether *-a* is from *-ha* or is a mere euphonic appendage identical with that that in poetry is very frequently added to terminal °i (see § 2, (6)). Thus in the same R. quoted above, we have *rāia* for *rāi* (nominative, 30), *mūia-nai* for *mūi-nai* (63), etc.

63. **Genitive plural.** The case of the genitive plural is very similar to that of the singular, the chief difference being in that the former is nasalized. Apabhramça had for the genitive plural the termination *-hā*, before which a terminal °a in the base could optionally be lengthened. Apabhramça bases in °a had therefore two endings in the genitive plural, to wit: °ahā and °āhā. Old Western Rajasthani generally drops *-hā* after consonantal bases and contracts °ahā or °āhā into *-ā* after bases ending in a vowel. Examples of the latter case are:

karahā-karāhi "On the neck of camels" (P. 582),

vāhā -nā viyoga "Separations from dear ones" (Ādi. 22),

pagahā -āpari "Upon his foot-stamps" (Ādi C.),

cārihiyā -nā mana "The hearts of men of good conduct" (Indr. 42).

Feminine bases remain unchanged. The only instance I have noted of a feminine inflected in the genitive plural is *nāryā sahāpānā* "In the company of women" (Ādi. 47). In the MS. Vi. (45) two instances have perhaps survived of the old termination °āhā of the Apabhramça, viz. *gayāhā* and *nayāhā* (see § 49). Another instance would be *syāhā-nā* *arhi*, which occurs in the MS. F 583, if the reading is correct. Vi. 93 we have *karahā*, from the pronominal base *ku-a-* (See § 91).

²⁵ Cf. *patthud* (=Sanskrit *paṭṭhava*) occurring Piṅgala I, 114.

§ 64. **Locative Singular.** There were two ways of forming this case in Apabhraṃṣa i. e., by suffixing *-āi* (*-āi*) < Pkt. *-māi* < Skt. *-smān* to the base, or, in the particular case of bases in °a, by inflecting the latter vowel into °ā, °āi, °i. Both terminations have passed into the Old Western Rājasthānī and, though they are often no longer distinguishable from one another—both having given *-i* (*-i*)—, it is clear that they continue to be employed in the same way as in Apabhraṃṣa, namely the former chiefly after vocal bases in °ā, °i (°i), °ā (°u), and the latter only after bases in °a. Examples are :

(a) from the Apabhraṃṣa locative in *-āi* (*-āi*) : *vidyāi* Pr. 18, *gibikāi* Ādi C., *rāp'i* (adjective) Kal. 35, *rātrāi* Ādi C., *bāhūi* (from *bāhu*) Daç. iv.

(b) from the Apabhraṃṣa locative in °ā, °āi, °i : *gharī* P. 295, *sārī* Rq. 182, *godāi* Kal. 9, *pe'i majhārī* Çāl. 33, *sāryi āgīi* Kal. 19, *samāi* Ādi. 33, P. 96, *vikhāi* Bh., Indr., Yog., Kal., etc., *kāi* Yog. iv, 48, *rāi* P. 139, *hīi* Kal. 10.

As in the instrumental singular, masculine bases in °ā, °i, °ā may optionally take *-āi*, *-āi* instead of *-i*, *-i*, Ex. : *nagarīai* Ādi C., *nagarīyāi* Dd. 6, *gocariyāi* Daç. v.

Of the old form *-āi* I have found a remnant in *manāhī* "In the heart", which occurs R. 11, 29. In *Daç.*, there are many instances of locatives in °i (as *rakīi*, iii, *pahīi* *pūharīi* xi, etc.), but from these we are by no means authorized to postulate a termination* °iāi, for they have quite probably arisen from the common habit of assimilating *āi* to *ii* (see § 10, (2)), and possibly are also due to the influence of the analogous termination of the instrumental singular.

§ 65. **Locative plural.**—The termination for this case being identical with that for the instrumental plural, I need not go over here again on what I have already said when dealing with the latter. Let me only add, in explanation of the identity of the two case-terminations, that in Apabhraṃṣa the same suffix *-āi* was employed both for the instrumental plural and for the locative singular and plural. If I have succeeded in showing that Old Western Rājasthānī *-ē*, the termination of the instrumental plural, is from Apabhraṃṣa *-āi*, the same explanation applies to the *-ē* of the locative plural. The fact that in the locative singular, which possessed also the termination *-āi*, we have not *-ē*, but *-i*, *-i* cannot be used as an argument against my derivation, for there is plenty of evidence pointing out that in Old Western Rājasthānī bases in °a generally formed their locative singular by inflecting their terminal vowel into °i, and only exceptionally by adding *-āi*. The latter suffix was chiefly confined to bases in °ā, °i, °ā. Examples of the locative plural are :

gravaṇe Çāl. 65, *kāne* P. 340, *taruvara-ne phālade* F 562, i, 3, *pāe* Rq. passim, *sare divasi* (shortened for *divase*) Kānh. 9, *gharī dese* Kānh. 19, *sagale-hi yuddhe* Ādi C.

Before leaving the present subject, it is important to remark that in Old Western Rājasthānī the locative has assumed also the meaning of the dative. This remark will prove of use when we shall take to consider the so-called postpositions for the dative, which are all nouns in the locative. The passing of meaning from the locative to the dative can be easily explained as having been effected through the intermediate meaning of the locative of direction. Examples of locative-datives are :

āpaṣapaṣ sarasa āhāra līi "Takes succulent food for himself" (Çrā.).

te manu ya-rahaṭ te nāga ahīta-naṭ kārāṣāṭ hūi "tasya sa nāgo hitāya syāt" (Daç. viii).

Observe that locative-datives are generally nasalized.

§ 66. **Vocative singular.** It is a well known fact that in most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars this case is identical with the so-called oblique singular and with the nominative plural (see Hoernle's, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, § 369, 6). So also in Modern

Gujarātī and Mārāvāṛī and possibly also in Old Western Rājasthānī. The consequence then is that, to account for the apparent identity of the vocative with the genitive singular, we ought to postulate that in later Apabhraṃṣa the vocative singular was made by the addition of the same suffix as the genitive. In standard Apabhraṃṣa this was already the case with the suffix *-āe* of the feminine and with the suffix *-āo*, which was used for both the genitive singular and vocative plural of all nouns. In Old Western Rājasthānī the genitive (oblique) being in most cases identical with the base- and nominative- form of nouns, the vocative too is practically identical with the latter. The chief exception is formed by bases in °*aa*, which have a nominative in °*aā*, quite distinguishable from the vocative, which ends in °*ā* as the genitive. The identity of the two latter cases would be better shown by the evidence of bases in °*i*, °*ū*, which optionally make their genitive in °*iā*, °*ūā* and so ought to do in the vocative, but I have noted no instances of the latter case. In Braja, however, singular vocatives in °*iā* from bases in °*i*, are common enough (see Kellogg's *Hindī Grammar*, § 168).

Old Western Rājasthānī examples for this case are : *re Gorambhā* P. 253, *māmā* P. 379, 380, 383, etc., *bāpadā* P. 390, *karakā* P. 576, *re jiva pāpiā* Up. 194.

§ 67. **Vocative plural.**—The termination for this case is °*ō*, which is derived by contracting the suffix *-āo* of the Apabhraṃṣa with the final vowel of bases in °*a*. The intermediate step was °*a-hu*, whence °*aū* > °*o*. The suffix *-hu* has survived in the Old Baiswāṛī, as in the example :

disi-kujjarahū "O elephants of the quarters!" (*Rāmacaritamānasa*, i, 260).

In the Old Western Rājasthānī I have noted the instances following :

loko P. 291, *aho jīvo* Ṣaṣṭ. 93, *he sādho* Daṣ. v.

From the last example it is clear that Old Western Rājasthānī, to form the vocative plural, inflected into °*ō* all bases alike. In the following an exceptional instance occurs of a plural vocative in °*ō* :

śbhalajyo nare nāra "Hear, oh men and women!" (F 591, 8).

§ 68. The **Periphrastic declension** is made up by combining the inflectional forms of the nouns with **postpositions**. These are either nouns in the locative, instrumental or ablative case, or adjectives and participles. They always go after the noun, with which they are construed and they require the latter to be inflected either in the genitive or, more rarely, in the locative or instrumental case. Two of them only, *vis. prati* and *siū*, are indeclinables by origin.

Postpositions are very numerous in Old Western Rājasthānī. Some of them being employed for more than one case, and others having not a definite meaning and being capable of quite different constructions, it is not possible to divide them so as to assign each to one particular case. The following is an attempt to classify them according to cases :

Accusative : *naī*, *prati*, *rahaī*,

Instrumental : *kari*, *naī*, *pāhi*, *sāhi*, *siū*,

Dative : *kanhaī*, *naī*, *prati*, *bhāni*, *māṭai*, *rahaī*, *raī*,

Ablative : *kanhaī*, *taī*, *thāī*, *thakāī*, *thakī*, *thi*, *pāsaī*, *pāhi*, *lagāī*, *lagī*, *hātaī*, *hāti*,

Genitive : (*kaī*), *keraī*, (*caī*), *taṇaī*, *naī*, *raī*, *rahaī*,

Locative : *kanhaī*, *thi*, *pāsaī*, *majhāri*, *mājhi*, *mā*, *māhi*.

It will be observed that the postpositions that are adjectives or participles are confined to the ablative and genitive cases. They are, of course, subject to inflection like all other adjectives (see § 76).

I shall now proceed to deal with each postposition separately. Whenever no special remark is made, it should be understood that the postposition in question governs the genitive (oblique) case.

§ 69. The Postpositions of the accusative are but postpositions of the dative, that are employed simply to denote the direct object of the verb. The use of the same postpositions for both the dative and the accusative is common to most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars. In the Old Western Rājasthānī the dative postpositions that may be used for the accusative are : *naī*, *prati* and *rahaī*. I shall explain the origin of these when dealing with the postpositions of the dative. Here it will be sufficient to quote a few examples, where they are employed to give the meaning of the accusative.

(1) *naī* is the most common of the three in the accusative sense. Ex. :

bālaka-naī te lei oḍiyāī "He went taking the child with him" (F 783, 60),

rājā-naī mārāvā-ni pratijñā kīdhi "He made the promise of murdering the king" (Dd. 2),

loka-naī samudra-aṭavi-māhi pādai "Causes men to fall into the forest of worldly existence" (Indr. 93).

Modern Gujarātī has *nē* and Mārwarī *naī*, *naī*.

(2) *prati* is not very largely used, except in *bālābodhas* or commentaries, where it is often introduced to render the Sanskrit or Prakrit accusative. Ex. :

parastī-prataī kima sevai "paradārān katham vrajet" (Yog. ii, 98),

puṭaiṁ naraga-prati "prāpe narakam" (Yog. ii, 99).

(3) *rahaī* is used in the accusative meaning in the following :

patihka-jāma-rahaī priṇai "Delights the travellers" (Kal. 7),

mārkha-rahaī rākhāī chāī "Thou savest the ignorants" (Kal. 30),

majha-rahaī rākhī "Save me!" (Kal. 41),

majha-rahaī sikhovai "They instruct me" (Daṣ. ix),

majha-rahaī koi na jānai "No one knows me" (Daṣ. v).

It is to *rahaī* that Modern Mārwarī *rai* is to be traced (see § 71, (7)).

* In the following passage *lēi*, the conjunctive Participle of *levai* "To take," is used as an accusative postposition :

koṭara-lei tēai tīṇi bhariṁ "He filled the hollow [of the tree] up with grass" (P. 629).

§ 70. Under the term of Postpositions of the Instrumental, I include not only postpositions denoting the instrument or the means proper, but also postpositions denoting agency and companionship. Be it remembered that in Sanskrit all prepositions having the general sense of companionship govern the instrumental case. Under the present head fall the four postpositions following :

(1) *kari*. This is not a postposition properly, but a mere appendage, which is added to nouns in the instrumental, simply to give more force. It is itself an instrumental, it being contracted from **kariṁ*, the instrumental form of the past participle *kariṁ* "Done." How it came to be pleonastically appended to nouns in the instrumental, is well illustrated by the following phrase from *Daṣ.* :

kisai karami kari majha-rahaī e phala kēyā "Owing to which deed performed [by me] > owing to which deed [of mine] did I reap this result ?"

Other examples are :

buhari kari jūgha anapharasatai "Without touching the legs with the elbows" (Grā.),

aṭhāra guṇe kari sahita "Endowed with the eighteen virtues" (F 644),

tīṇi kari rahita "Deprived of that" (Saṣ. 46),

mantra-prabhāva kari "By the power of the spell" (P. 188).

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 192).

The Battle of the Tāmbraparai and its significance.

Such were the imperial Generals who led the campaign of 1532. Achyuta Raya combined, we are told, the activity of a soldier with the piety of a pilgrim. In the course of his expedition he visited the sacred shrines of Tirupati, Chidambaram, etc. and reached Srīraṅgam. There the sanctity of the place arrested his march and induced his stay, and made him despatch his brother-in-law to the south, whither Śāluva Nāik had fled. Mārtaṇḍavarma had in the meanwhile advanced to the Tāmbraparai banks. There the two forces met. The engagement was one of high political importance. On one side were ranged the resources of the empire and of its Pāṇḍyan vassal, and on the other the gallant Nāyars of Travancore. The Nāyars, in those days, were a "peculiarly military" race trained in the exercise of war from their earliest youth⁴⁹. A writer of the first decade of the 17th century speaks of them in language of admiration and praise. "It is strange to see" he says, "how ready the souldiour of this country is at his weapons. They are all gentile men and tearmed Naires. At seven years of age they are put to school to learn the use of their weapons, where to make them nimble and active, their sinewes and joints are stretched by skilful fellows and annointed with the oyle sysamus; by this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will winde and turn their bodies as if they had no bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low even to the astonishment of the beholders. Their continual delight is in their weapon perswading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity⁵⁰." With such men the imperialists had to fight, and on the result of that fighting lay the position of the Pāṇḍya and the integrity of the Empire. The skill of Tirumalāiya and of his colleagues, however, was more than a match for Nāyar valour, and ultimately gained the day. The colours of Vijayanagar waved in triumph over the Tāmbraparai banks, and the vanquished king of Nānji hurried to come to terms. He took the victor to Trevāndrum, presented a number of elephants and horses⁵¹, and accompanying him to Srīraṅgam, made obeisance to the Emperor, and obtained pardon on promise of a faithful allegiance and regular tribute in future. At the same time he seems to have restored the territory of the Pāṇḍyan king, which he had unlawfully seized. The emperor gave a wise termination to the whole affair by cementing his alliance with the Pāṇḍyan and marrying his daughter. The fate of Śāluva Nāik is unknown.

⁴⁹ Capt. Drury compares "the effeminate disposition" and the incapacity "to bear transplantation from his native soil," which he attributes to the Nāyars of early 19th century, with the Nāyars of the 16th and 17th centuries, and gives the palm of superiority to the latter. See *Mad. Journ.* III (1853), 203—4.

⁵⁰ Johnson's *Relations of the most famous kingdom in the world*, 1611, quoted by Capt. Drury. 164d; see also Logan's *Malabar Manual* and Thurston and Rangachari's *Castes and Tribes*, V, p. 285-90 for other references to Nāyar valour, by various writers in the 17th and 18th centuries. The term Nāyar is held by some scholars to be derived from the same term as Nāik. The glossary of Yule and Burnell, in fact, says that "the Nāyars of Malabar are closely connected by origin with the Nāyakans of Vijayanagar." P. L. Moore in his *Malabar Law and Customs* maintains the same view. His reasons are quoted in *Castes and Tribes*, V, p. 202. Munro used the terms Nāik and Nāir interchangeably. It seems to me that there has been a general misapprehension among these writers and the confusion has been caused by a similarity of sound between the two words.

⁵¹ See *Trav. Arch. Series*, based on the *Achyutavijayaśāyam*, p. 55.

Achyuta's power felt throughout the Empire.

The imperial power was thus safely asserted throughout the south; and if we are to believe the inscriptions, Achyuta Dêva rounded off his conquest by the conquest of Ceylon also. From this time to his death in 1542 he maintained his power intact throughout the Empire. Ample epigraphical evidences prove this. In 1532, for instance, the very year of his Tinnevely campaign, he was at Tanjore, and gave a local chief Thattappa Nâik (son of Kôppappa Nâik) a tract of land as recorded in the Thoppil Pillayâr⁵³ temple there. In 1533 he was at Conjeevaram, where, in the temple of Varadarâja, he weighed himself against pearls, performed the great gift of *kâschana-mêru*, and otherwise celebrated his victory in the south. In 1535 he recorded a grant at Mahâbalipuram⁵⁴. In 1538 he was recognized as emperor in the province of Pindigal, as is clear from the inscription in the shrine of that fort⁵⁵. In 1539 an inscription of the Râjagôpâlasvâmi temple at Tanjore mentions that he was the founder⁵⁶ of it. In 1542 he gave a grant to the Chidambaram pagoda.⁵⁷ In 1533 his Viceroy⁵⁸ Bala-Dêva-Mahârâja Udayâr ruled at Coimbatore, and distinguished himself by his gifts and donations to temples.

SECTION III, The Viceroys of the South during Achyuta's Rule.

As to the viceroys of Vijayanagar,⁵⁹ during this decade, in the south, we learn from the *Pâṇḍya Chronicle* that one Aiyakara! Vaiyappa was ruling in Madura at the time of Achyuta Râya's expedition. Vaiyappa, if we are to believe the chronicle, ruled for two years after Achyuta's return to Vijayanagar. In 1535, we are told, he was succeeded in his exalted office by one Viśvanâtha Nâidu,⁶⁰ who held it during a continuous space of nine years. Now the question is, who was this Viśvanâtha Nâidu? Was he the son of Nâgama Nâik, whose early career and whose part in the recent campaign against Travancore we have already sketched? Is there again any epigraphical evidence to prove the identity? Both these questions have been answered by Mr. Krishna Sastri in the positive. Inscription 113 of 1908, he says,⁶¹ "supplies the interesting fact that Viśvanâtha Nâyaka, the son of Nâgama Nâyaka, was an officer of Achyuta in S. 1457, 1534-5 A. D." And how did Viśvanâtha come to occupy that position? Mr. Krishna Sastri surmises that Viśvanâtha followed Achyuta⁶² in the latter's campaign against the king of Travancore, and "taking an active part in the subjugation of the rebellious chiefs, Tumbiochi Nâyakkan and Sâjuva Nâyakkan of the Pâṇḍya country, found an opportunity to secure a footing there which he gradually strengthened." And in proof of this he cites another inscription,⁶³ which says that "Viśvanâtha conquered in battle the Tiruvaḍi, the Pâṇḍya king Vânaḍa Râya and other kings and annexed their dominions."

(To be Continued.)

⁵³ Insc. 39 of 1897. The deity is also called Alagôvara Pillayâr.

⁵⁴ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1890. ⁵⁵ Insc. 1 of 1894. ⁵⁶ Insc. 40 of 1897. ⁵⁷ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1888.

⁵⁸ Inscs. 21 and 28 of 1900. In the Agastya temple at Kângyam and in the Lingôvara temple at Avinâḍi, Bala Dêva's inscs. are found. See also Taylor's *Res. Mss.* III, 256-8 and 294.

⁵⁹ For an account of the numerous feudatories of Achyuta Râya see *Arah. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9 pp. 191 f., where Mr. Krishna Sastri compares Numis and epigraphical evidences. The name Vaiyappa is fairly frequent, and it is not improbable that a chief of that name was at this time in Madura. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1913, p. 123. ⁶⁰ *The Pâṇḍ. Chron.*

⁶¹ See *Ep. Rep.* 1909, p. 18. The insc. is at Tirupattâr, and records the gift of the village of Varagunapattâr by Achyuta Râya for the merit of Viśvanâtha Nâik.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 119. The version of the *Kôyilohu* that in S. 1420 Trichinopoly and Madura were under Viśvanâtha Nâik seems to be untenable. See *Ind. Ant.* 1911, p. 143. It says that one Narasimha Dêvika, the son of Vâdôla Dêvika, presented several gold vessels and three lakhs of gold pieces, to the temple, with the help of the Nâik.

⁶³ Copper plate 14, Appendix A, *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1905-6. It belongs to the reign of Mutta Krishnappa. The Vânaḍa-Râya, however, was not in reality conquered.

THE POEMS OF PRINCE KAMRAN.

BY MAULAVI 'ABDU'L WALLI, M.R.A.S. &c. &c.

THE dynasty of Chaghtāi Turks, commonly called Mughals, that was founded by Bābar in Hindustān, after he had defeated the Lōdī Monarch Ibrāhīm in the battle-field of Pānipat on April 21, 1526, ushered in a gifted family to India, that has bequeathed to the world a literature that stands unique in the annals of any single dynasty, ancient or modern. The autobiography of the founder is a standing monument of the nobility and charm of his character, the perspicuity and directness of his language.

The little work of his beloved daughter Gulbadan Bēgam (Lady Rosebud), recently published with translation and notes by Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, is a book that blazes throughout with touches of feminine grace and charming simplicity, and stands unique in the annals of colloquial Persian. While we admire so much the style of several European female writers, we might have foregone the same delight but for the appearance of this charming monograph by an Eastern princess.

It is very strange that till now the world has been unacquainted with the existence of another book composed by another member of the same illustrious family, Prince Kāmran. A notice of it, so far as I can recollect, appeared first in a Hindustānī periodical of Lucknow; but since then a detailed account of the *Diwān-i-Kāmran Mirzā* has been published in the catalogue of Persian Manuscripts of the Bankipore Public Library (Vol. II, prepared by M. 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir). This *Diwān*, like Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was once treasured in the Imperial Library of Delhi, and bears autographs of Emperors Jahangir and Shāhjahān, and other eminent persons, who once owned or examined it. The Sepoy revolt of 1857 did not give the rebels what they wanted; but it has unfortunately robbed India of her literary treasures.

Of the life and career of the Prince, I need say very little. The exact date of his birth cannot be determined. When he was a child, Bābar left the ladies of his family in Kābul under the nominal command of Kāmran. 'Askari, his younger full-brother was born in 922 H. (1516). Supposing Kāmran was older by two years, he would be about 12 in 1525, when Bābar had left him in Kābul and about 42 years old in 964 H. (!) 1556) when he died in Mecca. Dildār Bēgam was the mother of Prince Hindāl and the Lady Gulbadan Bēgam. Māham Bēgam was the mother of Humāyūn. Gulrukh Bēgam was the mother of Princes Kāmran and 'Askari.

This collection of Kāmran's poems consists of fragmentary pieces in Turki and Persian, as if the author had it copied in haste for presentation to, what appears to me, one Hazrat Khwāja, with a Turki epistle added at the end of the *Diwān*. The copyist Maḥmūd bin Ishāq of Herāt writes that he copied the book in haste. The *Diwān* as it has come down to us clearly shows that Kāmran composed the poems as an impulse to his poetic genius and not as a sustained effort to produce something for the general public. They are to my mind the work of an artist who is employed, for the time being, in doing some other duties not very congenial to his genius. His rebellions against his generous brother, and his military exploits and subterfuges to gain for himself the sole sovereignty of Hindustān must be dismissed as ill-planned and ill-executed and something beyond his ken. But the fine art, in the shape of short lyrics and ballads that Kāmran has left behind, and for which he probably did not much care in his lifetime, was indeed the work of a gifted poet and the worthy son of a worthy father. The inimitable style which Bābar

employed in writing his *Memoirs* was fully maintained by his descendants down to our own time. The elegance, the grace and the directness of the sentences of Bâbar may clearly be traced to the writings of Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, 'Alamgîr, as well as the unfortunate Bahâdur-Shâh Zafar, the last of the line, in his Urdû poetry.

Not being competent to pass an opinion on Turki poems, which are, however, longer and occupy a greater portion of the *Dîwân*, I give below a few Persian poems of the unfortunate Prince which, by the way, are nearly in *javâb*, or imitation, of well known pieces. It appears that Kâmrân Mirzâ was quite at home with Turki and Persian, using both indifferently as his mother speech.

The Bânkîpur Codex consists of 34 folios, comprising 58 *ghazals*, 6 *qay'as*, 30 *rubâ'iyât*, 18 *mathnavis*, of which 21, 3, 4, 4 respectively are in Persian. Of some 44 Distiches or *fards*, 23 are in Persian.

I have before me, as I write, a copy of the *Dîwân* made lately for the Bengal Asiatic Society and transcribed from the original copy now in the Bânkîpur Public Library.

The following facts, extracted from Princess Gulbadan Bégam's *Humâyûn-nâma* as translated by Mrs. Beveridge, will conclude this introduction.

As soon as Kâmrân had fled from Salim Shâh and gone as far as Bhîra and Khushâb, Âdam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagem, captured him and brought him to Humâyûn.

"All assembled Khâns and Sultâns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the rest, who all bore the mark of Mirzâ Kâmrân's hand, with one voice represented to His Majesty; 'Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment 'It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom' His Majesty answered; 'Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not.' All cried out: 'what has been set before your Majesty is the really advisable course' Even His Majesty was compelled to agree. When he drew near to Rohtâs, the Emperor gave an order to blind Mirzâ Kâmrân in both eyes."

غزلیات

منقول از دیوان کامران مرزا

چون بمقصود شد هیچکس رهبر ما	بعد ازین خاک در پیرمغان و سر ما
کار ما چون ز در بستن زاهد لکشره	بو کزین پس ز خرابات گشاید در ما
بارگی مست و شب نیره درهزن ز کمین	وای اگر هادلی لطف نشود رهبر ما
خو گرفتیم بدرد و غم عشق بفرست	دم بدم درد و غمی بردل غم پرور ما
ره که از شوق دلم می طپد و مضطربم	میروند مژده و صلی مگر از دلبر ما
کامران سوختم از آتش محراب کسی	که بکویش لوسد ذره خاکستر ما

وله

حسن تو دمیدم افزون بادا	طالع فرخ و میمون بادا
بر قیاری که ز راهت خیزد	کهل چشم من معزول بادا
خاک کو از ره لبلی خیزد	جاء او دیده معزول بادا
بند حلقه بگوش تو چو من	سه چو دارا و فریدون بادا
هر که گرد تو چو پروار لگشت	او ازین دایره بهرون بادا
کامران تا که جهانراست بقا	خسرو دهر همایون بادا

وله

بارقپیان همدم و همراز دیدم یار را :. یارب آسان کن بمن این حالت دشوار را
 وه چه باشد ببقرائرا دهه مبر و قرار :. آنکه می بخشد خرام آن سرو خوش رفتار را
 در تکلم لعل او زینسانکه میریزد گهر :. چون نگهدارم ز گریه چشم گوهر بار را
 فخر جانان در جهان چیزی نپدارد دگر :. هرکه بردارد زپیش این پردۀ پندار را
 کامران لایمه مرا جز دوست چیزی در نظر :. تا بکام خویش دیدم دولت دیدار را

وله

ای کافر میخورم بی باک خدا را :. رحمی بکن این سوخته بی سروپا را
 از اشک چو سیمم دل تو نرم نگردد :. سیمین ذقلا سنگ دلا لاله عذارا
 دارم طمع گوشۀ چشمی ز تو یعنی :. خوش کن بنگاهی دل غم پیور ما را
 شیرین پسرا لعل لبث آب حیات است :. بر تشنه لبان قطره زان آب خدا را

وله

چشم بر راه تو داریم و شد آیامی چند
 وقت آن شد که لبی جالب ما گامی چند
 آنکه هرگز نفرماید سوی ما پیغامی
 چه شود گر کندم شاد به شناسم چند
 تا کسی میل دلم را برخت پی لبود
 دولت وصل تو خواهم و دلارامی چند

وله

هرکه که جمال تو مرا در نظر آید :. صد لاله جانکاه زجانم بدر آید
 نالای تو چون لعل امید است عجب نیست :. از قه تو گر لعل امیدم ببر آید
 رخسار تو مجروح معنیست که حسنت :. هر لفظم بدو دگری در نظر آید

قطعات

رقم رقیب از درت کم شد الهوه من
 حمد خداوند را اذهب عنا الطرون
 باز زلیخای شب صوی سیه را گشاد
 زانکه بهاه او فغان بوسف گل پدرهن

وله

زهی بولف و رخت صد هزار زیبایی
 هزار شوق ز تو در دل تماغالی
 شکیب بی تو کسی چون کند که پیش لبث

بیاد رفته همه مایه شکیبائی
 دلم زدمت شد و زو خبر نمی یابم
 ربوده اند مگر دلبران بهمانی
 بهر طری گدوم جلو تو می یابم
 بهر چه می نگرم در نظر تو می آئی

وله

ای حسن تو در کمال خوبی .: قد تو در امتدال خوبی
 دال ست بطوبی جمالت .: رلف تو که هست دال خوبی
 رحسار تو لاله زار حسن ست .: چشم تو در و عزال خوبی
 شرمده شده گل از خطالت .: زانو دست در افعال خوبی
 بر تشنه لهار خود ببخشای .: ای لعل لب زلال خوبی
 دو آینه تو رو نموده .: آن شاهد بی مثال خوبی
 از خوبلی خط و زینت خال .: دادند ترا مثال خوبی
 چون نقطه بزیر لب فکاده .: در زیر لب نو خال خوبی
 بر حالت کامران ببخشای .: ای خسرو ملک و مال خوبی

رباعیات

ای باد بآن یار معمم برسان .: در خلوت وصل ار پیام برسان
 و صبح وصال و شام زلفش بگذر .: بعدی که دعای صبح و شام برسان

وله

یارب زکرم دری برویم بگشای .: زنگ غیر از دل حزینم بزهداری
 پیونده من از جمله ملایق بگسل .: از هردو جهان صری خودم راهنمای

مثنوی ساقی نامه

بیا ساقی آن می که جان پرورست .: که جان حزین مرادر خورست
 بمن ده که دوران بکین مست .: پلنی قصه جان حزین مست
 بیا ساقی آن جام گیتی نهای .: که مست زدالیت و مشرتقای
 بمن ده که گویم خروشان و مست .: که بیما آن عمر خواهد شکست

TRANSLATION.

Ghazals.

As no one guided us towards our destiny, let there be, hereafter, the dust of the Magi's door and our forehead.

As our affairs did not open (prosper) from the locked door of the pious, perhaps hereafter our door may be unlocked from the grogahop.

The steed is slow, the night dark, and the highwayman behind: oh, if the guide of your mercy will not direct us the way.

We are inured to pain and care of your love, so send every moment pain and care to our sorrow-nurtured mind.

Oh, with longing my heart beats and I am full of anguish, perhaps the glad tidings of union are coming from the captor of our hearts.

O Kamran, I have burnt myself by the fire of separation of a person, into whose lane never reaches a particle of our ashes.

May your beauty increase every moment, may your luck be happy and auspicious.

The dust that rises from your path, may it be the *summa* of my eyes, who am distressed.

The dust that rises from the way of Laila, may it rest on the eyes of Majnun.

Like me, hundreds as Darius and Faridun be your slaves. He who did not move round you like a compass, ought to be out of this circle.

Kamran so long as the world exists, may Humayun be the ruler of the universe.

I saw the beloved in full sympathy with my rivals, O God, make easy to me this difficult situation.

Would that He, who gives power of skipping to that gracefully walking Cypress, give the impatient patience.

In conversation, his rubies (lips) as if showers pearls: how shall I suppress weeping from my pearl-raining eyes.

He who lifts from his front the screen of egotism, will never think of another thing in this world except of the beloved.

O Kamran as naught came to my sight except the Friend, so I did look to my heart's content the treasure of the sight.

O Kafir, wine-bibbing, fearless, by God have mercy on this burnt-one, without head and foot.

Your heart is never melted by my suvery tears, You silver-cheeked, stony-hearted and tulip-faced.

I wish a corner of your eyes, that is to say, give consolation, with a look, to my sorrowful heart.

Sweet boy, your ruby-like lips are the water of life, a drop of that water upon the thirsty-lipped, by God.

I am having my eyes on your way, and so it has been since some time, it is time that you should put towards us a few steps.

He who never sends towards us any message, would that he had pleased me with a little abuse.

That no one may gauge my heart's longings towards your face, I want the treasure of your company and a few heart-comforts.

Whenever my eyes look to your beauty, a hundred life-wasting lamentations come out of my soul.

Since your body is the tree of hope, it is not strange that my tree of hope will bear fruit from your body.

Your face is full of meaning, hence it is that your beauty appears, every moment, in different forms.

Qit'as.

The rival has gone away from your threshold, my grief has decreased, God be thanked, who took away from us the sorrow.

Once again the Zulalkha-like night loosened her tresses, because the rose-coated Joseph went down the well.

How nice! Your looks and forehead show a hundred thousand beauties, a thousand wish of you in the mind of sightseers.

How can any one have patience without you, for before your lips the stock-in-trade of patience flies into wind.

My heart has gone out of my hands, and I cannot trace it, perhaps the Beloveds of Yaghma have stolen it.

Whither I repair, I see your splendour: whatever I see, you appear in my sight.

Oh, your beauty is in its perfection, your body in its happiest symmetry.

Your tresses are proof positive of your exuberant beauty, which are the *dāl*¹ of beauty.

Your face is the tulip-garden of beauty;

Your eyes in it are the gazelle of excellence.

The rose became ashamed of your beauty through modesty.

Hence there is beauty in being ashamed.

Do show mercy upon those who are thirsty of you: Oh, your ruby-lips are the fountain of excellence.

In your mirror (face) is reflected that Beloved of unrivalled excellence

Owing to the grace of your face and elegance of the mole, they have made you the beau-ideal of excellence.

Like a dot² under the lips (*be*) has fallen underneath your lips the mole of excellence.

Have mercy on the condition of Kāmran,

O the ruler of realm, and treasure of excellence!

Rubā'iyāt.

O Zephyr, give my greeting to that Friend,

Carry my message unto the seclusion of her union,

Pass on upon her morning-of-union, and the evening-of-looks,³

O God, out of your mercy open a door upon me, remove from my sad heart the taint (i. e., thoughts) of others, loosen my connection from all concerns, show me the way towards you from both the worlds.

Makhnāsi

(*Sâq i-nâm ā*).

Come, O Sâq, give me that wine which may nourish my soul and which may be appropriate to my afflicted soul, as the world is in enmity with me, and is contemplating to take away my life.

Come, O Sâq, give me that world-reflecting goblet, that removes the troubles and enhances the pleasures, so that I may say shouting and intoxicated that *the measure-glass of life will break*.

¹ The letter > in its curvature resembles the tresses.

² In Persian, the letter *be* has a dot below it and resembles the lower lip.

³ That is, convey to her my blessings of mornings and evenings.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 200.)

OBSERVE that *kari* is never appended to instrumentals, when these are used in the agentive meaning. (Cf. § 60). Not unfrequently *naī* is pleonastically added to *kari*. Cf. the use of *kara-ke* (from *kari-kai*) in Hindī (Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*, § 173, a). Occasionally *karatī* is employed in the same function as *kari*, as in the following from *Çrđ.* :

e pañca-paramesi-naī namaskāra karatī sarva pāpa-naī nāga hui "By paying homage to these five parames̥ṭins, all sins are destroyed."

The difference between *kari* and *karatī* is simply in that the former is passive and the latter active. In fact *karatī* is but an adverbial present participle, or, as will be explained § 124, a plural genitive absolute.

(2) *naī*. This postposition is identical with that for the dative, for which see § 71, (2). In Old Western Rājasthānī it is only exceptionally employed for the instrumental to give the meaning of the agentive. I have noted only the two instances following :

Ādiçvara-naī dīkṣā kīhī jānī "Having learned that Ādiçvara had taken the *dīkṣā*" (Ādi C.).

devatāe bhagavanta-naī kīdhaī te dekhi "The gods having seen what had been done by the Venerable One" (Ādi C.)

The use of *naī* as a postposition for the agentive seems to have been growing more and more frequent in the later form of the language. Nowadays it is common, not only to Gujarātī and to some dialects of Rājasthānī such as Mewātī and Mālvi, but also to Western Hindī, Nāipālī, Pañjābī and Marāṭhī.

(3) *pāhī*. This is properly a postposition of the ablative and is therefore explained under § 72. In connection with causals it is occasionally used for the instrumental, to govern the person by whom is performed the action that is caused to be done. Ex. :

anerī-pāhī kīdī bolāvū naī "I do not cause others to tell falsehood" (Daç. iv.),

anerī-pāhī himē ārambhāvā naī "He does not make others to commit offence" (*ibid*).

Cf. the use of *pāhī*, *pāhī*, *pai* in Hindī, to indicate the agent of the potential passive, as in the following passage from Tulasī Dāsa :

kahi na jāi mohī-pāhī "It cannot be told by me" (*Rāmacaritamānasa*, i, 233).

Cf. also Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*, § 796.

In the following passage from Dd., *pāsi* is used instead of *pāhī* :

samaṣṭa-loka-pāsi ājā māndvi "Caused all the people to obey his command" (Dd. 5).

(4) *sāthī* (*sāthī*, *sāthā*). This postposition may be explained either as a locative from Apabhramça *sāthī* < Skt. *sāthī*. "In the company of...." or, more probably, as an instrumental from Apabhramça *sāthī* < Skt. *sāthī*. Cf. the phrase *tasyāḥ sāthī* in Weber's *Caṇpakāṣeṣhikathānakam*, 219. Examples of the use of *sāthī* in Old Western Rājasthānī are :

Bharata-rāja Jina-sāthī bolai "The king Bharata speaks to the Jina" (F 722, 59),

amha-sāthā "Along with us" (P. 649),

mī-sāthī "Along with me" (Ādi C.).

When so used in connection with pronouns, *sāhi* may be optionally construed with the possessive pronominal adjectives instead than with the genitive. Ex :

māharai sāhi " Along with me " (P. 650).

māharai sāhai " Ditto " (Kānh. 26).

(5) *siū* (*syū*, *saū*, *sū*, *sū*). This postposition is from Apabhraṃṣa *saḥi* (Ho., iv, 419, 5) <Skt. *sāhām* (Pischel, § 206), with *i* for *a* according to § 2, (1). It governs the genitive generally, but occasionally instances are still found of its being construed with the instrumental as in Apabhraṃṣa and in Sanskrit. Ex. :

moḍā-naī moḍā-siū dosa / *mujha-siū kisīū karaī te dosa*°—" Who is great finds fault with the great ; how could he find fault with me ? " (P. 215),

tumha-siū mitrapanā-naī kōji " In order to make friendship with you " (P. 675),

choḍai hāthe-siū bādhāi " Unties the bindings with his hands " (P. 318),

kavi-saū na karaū vāda " I will not compete with poets " (P. 6),

kumara-siū " Along with the princes " (P. 35),

Kirāta-siū yuddha karaī " Fights with the Kirātas " (Ādi O).

Modern Mārwaṛī has *sū*, *ū* (<*saū*) and Modern Gujarātī *gū* (<*syū*), *sū*

§ 71. As already explained (see § 65), most of the Postpositions of the dative are by origin nouns in the locative. Some of them are still capable of being used in the original locative meaning, and by the subsequent development of the language they are also commonly used for the accusative, as we have seen above.

(1) *kanhai* (*kanhai*, *kanhi*, *kanhali*, *kai*) is from Apabhraṃṣa *kanhali* <Skt.* *karnaśmin* (=karnae), as already surmised by Mr. Trumpp, p. 401 of his *Sindhī Grammar*. It means " Near " generally, but in particular cases it may be understood either in the sense of the locative " Near to ", or of the accusative-dative " Towards, to ", or of the ablative " From near > from ". When used for the dative, *kanhai* mostly indicates motion towards and is connected with verbs meaning " To go, " such as *āvai*, *jāvai* etc. Ex. :

āvai rā-kanhi " They went to the king " (Çāl. 120),

āvai tihā-kaṇi " Goes there " (Bq. 158),

Himavanta-kanhai jāi " Having gone to the Himālaya " (Ādi O.),

striputrādika-kanhai jāi " Having resorted to wives, sons, etc. " (Ṣaṣṭ. 22).

It will be observed that in all the examples above *kanhai* is used in the function of an accusative of direction, rather than of a dative. In fact periphrastic dative and accusative have merged together in most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars and have practically become a unique case. In spite of this I have thought it convenient to make a distinction between postpositions of the accusative (direct object) and of the dative (indirect object), and accordingly I have included in the latter the postposition *kanhai*, which is never used for the direct object.

This postposition is found largely spread amongst the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and it is everywhere used in the general meaning of the accusative-dative. From Old Western Rājasthānī *kanhai* are derived Gujarātī *kane* and Mārwaṛī *kanai*, and from its equivalents **kanai*, *kaṇi* are derived Gujarātī *-kaṇe*, *-kaṇa*, which occur only as an appendage to adverbs, as in : *ahī-kaṇe*, *-kaṇa* (see Belsare's *Gujarati Dictionary*, p. 86), and Kumāonī *kaṇi*, which still finds a large employment as a postposition of the accusative-dative.

(2) *nai* (*nai*, *nī*, *nē*) is but a curtailment from *kanhai*, brought about by the dropping of the initial syllable. It has, therefore, nothing to do with the locative of the genitive post-

position *naṣ* and, though being probably cognate to the latter postposition, it has not derived from it. In my article *On the Origin of the Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarātī and Mār-wāri* (J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 553-587), I have collected many arguments in favour of the above-mentioned derivation of *naṣ* and I believe I have shown that *naṣ* and *kanhaṣ* are practically identical also in most of their meanings and constructions.²⁰ Examples of the use of *naṣ* are:

jima vāṭa bhālā -naṣ koi -eka vāṭa dekhādaṣ "As if one showed the way to him, who has lost his way" (Çrā.),

Svayambudha mantri teha-naṣ "He had a minister [by name] Svayambudha" (Rā. 7),

Damanaka Piṅgala-naṣ kahai "Damanaka says to Piṅgala" (P. 260),

te savihū -naṣ karaṣ paraṇāma "I bow to all them" (F 728, 406).

From *naṣ* are regularly derived Modern Gujarātī *nē* and Mār-wāri *nai*, *naṣ*.

(3) *prati* (*prati*, *prataṣ*, *pratiṣ*) is a *tatsama* identical with the preposition *prāti*, which in Sanskrit is also used in the manner of a postposition, i. e., after the noun it governs. In the Old Western Rājasthānī *prati* is chiefly employed in connection with verbs involving the general idea of "Speaking to" and "Saluting, bowing to", to indicate the indirect object. These verbs are construed with the dative or with the accusative with *prati* in Sanskrit also. Old Western Rājasthānī examples are :

rāya rāṇi-prati kahai "The king says to the queen" (P. 353),

mujha-prati te kahai chāi isū "He says to me this" (P. 226),

rāya-prataṣ te nara vinavāi "Those men relate [the fact] to the king" (P. 348),

ācārya-prataṣ māharu namaskāra hu "I bow to the ācāryas" (Çrā.),

sarva sādhu-prataṣ vāḍi-naṣ "After having saluted all sādhus" (F 644).

In the following, *prati* is used to form adverbs :

bhava-pratiṣ "pratiḥbhavam" (Kal. 33),

dina-prataṣ "Every day" (Yog. ii, 98).

(4) *bhaṇi* is the contracted form of the locative singular from *bhaṇi* "Said" and it is therefore identical in origin with the so-called conjunctive participle (See §131). The uncontracted form *bhaṇi* has been preserved P. 23. Formerly it was employed as a real past participle, in agreement with a preceding noun in the locative, in the absolute construction, but afterwards it was understood as a postposition and became capable of governing the genitive of the nouns with which it was connected. Instances of *bhaṇi* construed with the original locative are still occasionally met with in Old Western Rājasthānī texts. The general meaning of this postposition is "With a view, or with regard to, for", but in particular it may assume many shades of meaning as will be shown by the examples following :

teha - bhaṇi "Therefore" (Yog., Indr., Çrā., Ādi C. etc.),

syā-bhaṇi "Wherefore?" (P. 535, Ādi C.),

Devadatta-naṣ milavā-bhaṇi "In order to meet Devadatta" (P. 298),

rājā-nā pratibodha-nā-bhaṇi mūhataṣ gāthā kahai "In order to instruct the king, the minister recited a couplet" (Ādi C.),

gāstra-samudra taravā-bhaṇi | niti-buddhi chāi nāva | "Political wisdom is the boat for crossing over the sea of science" (P. 5.),

cālin vana-bhaṇi "He started for the forest" (P. 134),

āvin simha-bhaṇi "Went to the lion" (P. 97),

²⁰ Of the intermediate form *naṣā* we have a survival in the following : *teha-naṣā bhāi* "Her brother" (Up. 33).

te teḍi āvaḷi tujha-bhaṇi "Having called her, I will return to you" (P. 538),
caḷḍa vidyā-bhaṇi vidvāḷa hāu "He became learned in the fourteen sciences" (Dd. 2).
 Examples of *bhaṇi* construed with the locative are :

tiṣi bhaṇi "Therefore" (Ādi C.),

Mathurā nayari bhaṇi sūcaryā "They started for the city of Mathurā" (P. 52),

deṣuri bhaṇi . . . cālin "He went abroad" (P. 142),

bhaviṇṇa-jāṇa-nai hita bhaṇi "For the benefit of the righteous" (F 616, 1).

(5) *māṭai* (*māṭai*, *māṭi*), if I am right, is from *nimatta*! < Ap. *nimitta*! < Skt. **nimittatena*, by sphaeresis of the initial syllable and change of *t* to *ṭ*, analogously to the example of Modern Gujarātī *etalo* < O.W. Rājasthānī *etalaṣ* < Ap. *etulaṣ* (See § 24). This derivation is strongly supported by the consideration that *nimitta*!, mostly under the form *nimatta*!, is very commonly used as a postposition in Old Western Rājasthānī texts. Instances thereof are especially common in the MSS. Dd., F*585 and F*760, which is written in a somewhat old form of Jaipurī. In Old Western Rājasthānī *māṭai* and *nimitta*! are used exactly in the same meaning, viz., to indicate both purpose and consequence. Examples of the use of *māṭai* are :

etale-māṭi "For this" (F 555),

roi syā-māṭi "Wherefore doest thou cry?" (Çā. 131),

vatāgarā-māṭai navi haṇai "In consideration of [your being my] servant, I do not kill you" (P. 253)

Modern Gujarātī has *māṭi*.

(6) *rahaṭ* (*rahaṭ*, *rahi*) is from *arahaṭ* (see § 2, (4)), the locative of *arahaṭ* < *arahaṭ*, an adjective, which I derive from Sanskrit *apārā*, through Apabhraṃṣa **avāra* > **oraṭ* (See § 147). Its original meaning is "Near," whence "To". In some Old Western Rājasthānī texts this postposition has a very large employment and it is used not only for the dative and accusative, but even for the genitive. Most frequently, however, *rahaṭ* is used for the dative, whereof take the following illustrations :

teha-rahaṭ anumati na dāi "I will not give my assent to them" (Dag. iv),

kaha-rahi "Wherefore?" (Çā.),

namaskāra te subhāṭa-rahi hu "Let homage be paid to those heroes" (Çā. 36),

apakīraṭi-rahi "For the sake of infamy" (Kānh. 17),

maṣha-rahaṭ e phala hāyā "I have reaped this result" (Dag. v).

(7) *rai* (*hrai*) is identical with the foregoing postposition, from which it has derived by *h* being first thrown back to the beginning of the word, according to § 51, and then dropped. The intermediate form *hrai* has survived in the MSS. Çā., Up., Śaṭ., F*580. Ex. :

jima āḍhalā purusa -hrai koi ābhi dāi "As if one gave an eye to a blind man" (Çā.),

te-hā maṣha-hrai na gamai "Even him I do not like" (Up. 63),

te dhanya jaha-rai sādhaṭ guru milai "Those are fortunate, to whom a blameless preceptor falls in sort" (Śaṭ. 136).

This postposition has gone lost in Gujarātī, but has survived in Mārwaṭī under the form *rai*.

§ 72. The Postpositions of the ablative are partly nouns in the locative and partly participles. The latter are either inflected in agreement with the subject in the sentence, or used absolutely in the neuter, or in the locative singular.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 202.)

The Contemporary Indigenous Kings.

Both inscriptions and chronicles thus agree in saying that Viśvanātha Nāik was at Madura in 1535. Was there any indigenous ruler in Madura then? According to the chronicles there was one Chandra-Sēkhara, the 16th in descent from Sōma-Sēkhara, the object of Kampana Uḍayār's solicitude. But there are grave doubts, as I have already pointed out in the first chapter, in regard to the existence of this dynasty. It was the Vānadarāyas who were in possession of Madura in this age. The relation of Chandra-Sēkhara to these Vānadarāyas is very obscure. Was he after all a relation, an unfriendly relation, or member of the Vānadarāya line? However it was, there were, farther off, in Tinnevely, the Pāṇḍyans of Tenkāśi and their feudatories who continued, as of old, to be in power. As has been already pointed out, Āhava-Rāma was succeeded by Srivallabha in 1523, and acquitted himself with remarkable distinction for a space of ten years.

SECTION IV. SADASIIVA-RAYA 1542-65.

The Rise of the Āraṇḍu House.

It was under such circumstances that Achyuta Rāya died in 1542. On his death, the care and sceptre of the Empire devolved eventually on his nephew Sadāsīva Rāya⁶³, a man whose mild character and humility of temper unfitted him to meet the stress and storm which was soon to surround the state. The weak and yielding nature of the new sovereign made him the tool of ambitious nobles and intriguing ministers. All power was seized by the three brothers Rāma-Rāja⁶⁴, Tirumala and Vēnkaṭādri of the powerful house of Āraṇḍu—a house which, like those of the Sāḷuvās and the Salakas, had distinguished itself largely in the imperial service. The earliest of the race was one Tāta Pinnama, whose son Sōmidēva, it is said, was such a fine soldier that he took seven forts in a single day from an unknown enemy. His son Raghū Dēva and grandson Pinnama II, lord of the city of Āraṇḍu, were comparatively obscure figures. But Pinnama's son Bukka was a devoted servant of Sāḷuva Narasimha, and no doubt helped him in his usurpation. There can be no doubt that Bukka's son Rāma I. and grand-son Ranga I. played some part in the Tuluva usurpation and administration that followed. The Āraṇḍu chiefs seem to have been a line of capable men and, what was more, experts in diplomacy. At first the servants of the Sāḷuvās, they evidently changed sides when the Tuluvas came, and served Narasa Nāik, Vīra Narasimha, Kṛishṇa Dēva and Achyuta Rāya. So powerful and influential did they become that Ranga's sons, Rāma Rāya⁶⁵ (who married the daughter of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya), Tirumala,

⁶³ For a detailed account of the disputed succession after Achyuta's death, see Briggs' *Perishta* III 82-84; and *Forgotten Empires*, 181-183; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 184-185; *Ep. Rep.* 1906 paras 48 and 49. The whole is a very interesting question, but not germane to our purpose. Sadāsīva is, it is curious, wholly ignored by the chronicles.

⁶⁴ See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9 for a genealogy of this line and of its connection with the other contemporary feudatory chiefs. See also *Ep. Ind.* III (Kūṇiyūr plates of Venkaṭa II).

⁶⁵ Mr. Krishna Sāstri points out how, after Achyuta's death, the Salaka chief Tirumalaiya—the emperor's brother-in-law and the chief commander in the Tinnevely campaign—tried to place Achyuta's son, a young boy, on the throne. He succeeded, but the boy died in a few years. Tirumalaiya then tried to usurp the crown but a new-claimant arose in Sadāsīva Rāya, the son of Ranga Rāya, a uterine brother of Achyuta. Sadāsīva's strongest supporters, Rāma Rāja and Tirumala, then killed Salaka Timma, and placed Sadāsīva on the throne. See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 194-5. Here Mr. Krishna Sāstri summarises all literature—Correa, *Perishta*, etc.—about this question. The same is confirmed by the British Museum plates of Sadāsīva Rāya. *Ep. Ind.* IV, 1-22.

and Vāṅkaṭādri, a man of exceptional martial valour, became the most powerful and influential men in the Empire in the time of Sadāśiva Rāya. Powerful as those men were, they neither abused their power nor behaved like cowards. On the other hand, Rāma Rāya was one of the most aggressive statesmen of the age, one in whom the love of domination was the quintessence of life. His soaring ambition not only longed to wipe off the disgrace which Vijayanagar had sustained in the previous reign, but to extend its borders, at the expense of the Deccan Sultans, to the Vindhyas. As great in action as he was bold in design, Rāma Rāya proceeded to achieve his object with wisdom. A born diplomatist, he adopted the Machiavellian⁶⁶ scheme of playing off the Musalmān States against one another. The very next year after Sadāśiva's accession, he joined the Nizam Shāh of Ahmadnagar in an invasion of Bijāpur. In 1551, he again co-operated with Ahmadnagar against Bijāpur, and in the campaign which followed, recovered the whole of the Raichur Dāḥ. Four years later, he assisted Bijāpur, the very State whose humiliation he had so recently effected, in its endeavour to quell a rebel vassal and to check the Portuguese. With the aid of his new ally he then made war with his old ally Ahmadnagar, and in a series of campaigns, spread terror and devastation through that kingdom. The result of these skilful alliances and counter-alliances was that Vijayanagar was able to assume a sort of supremacy over the Bahmanī States. The Hindu Emperor beheld with pleasure the discord of the Musalmāns, and boldly despatched a Vijayanagar army to the Vindyan barriers, which he considered thereafter to be the northern confines of his Empire.

The Revival of the Travancore Aggressions in the South.

Never was the power of Vijayanagar so much felt, and never did fortune so invariably follow its standard. The Sultans were so completely eclipsed by the Hindu Emperor that they had to implore his protection and acknowledge his dominion in practice, if not in theory. While the foreign policy of Rāma Rāya was such a glorious success, his internal policy was not less glorious. A number⁶⁷ of inscriptions prove that the exercise of imperial authority in the south was a living and potent fact. An incident, which took place in the extreme south of the peninsula similar to that of the year 1532 illustrates this. In the year 1543 the great Śrī-Vallabha Pāṇḍya-Rājya-Sthāpanāśhārya died,⁶⁸ and was succeeded by his cousin Abhirāma Parākrama, who ruled for the next decade, till 1552.⁶⁹ The new king was apparently a feeble and incompetent man. At any rate, he seems to have been

⁶⁶ For details of his campaigns see *Ferishta*, Vol. III. They have been reproduced and compared with Portuguese authorities by Sewall in his *For. Emp.*, 188-195. For a full account of Rāmarāja's contests with the Muhammadans till the battle of Talikotta, see the *Umaria Kyfats*, Vol. IV of Col. Mackenzie. A very short and meagre review of it is in Taylor's *Rais. Catal.* III, p. 640. The most conspicuous Telugu literary work, *Narapaṭivijayamu*, also celebrates the glory of Rāmarāja. The *Varuḥaritra* is another important work throwing light on this period of Vijayanagar history.

⁶⁷ More than 15 insc. exist, shewing Sadāśiva's rule in the south. Insc. 129 of 1905 says that he was the conqueror of all countries and Ceylon, and that his viceroy was Viṭṭhala, who had an agent named Rāmappa Nāik at Kajakāḍu. Insc. 5 and 27 of 1906 recognize his power in the Konḡn Country, 476 of 1905 mentions him at Thiruvālaṅkāḍu, 256 of 1894 says that his brother Venkatādri was at Thiruvayār in 1559. Insc. 818 of 1905 says that Rāma Rāya remitted the tax on barbers in the Carnāta country in 1547. His subordinate in Gingee was Aahyutappa Nāik. Examples may be multiplied, but are unnecessary.

⁶⁸ *Trav. Arch. Series; Ep. Rep.* 1910-11, etc.

⁶⁹ *Ibid* p. 61 Mr. Gōpinatha Rao's version seems, in this case, to be preferable to Mr. Kṛṣṇa Sastrī's. (See *Trav. Arch. Series* p. 103). The whole question, however, is still unsettled.

far inferior in capacity to his brilliant predecessor. The reigning king of Travancore, Rāmavarma—he was the successor or, more probably, the co-regent of Ravivarma⁷⁰ who had succeeded Udaya-Mārtāṇḍa, the adversary of Achyuta Rāya—took advantage of this and embraced the resolution, in consistency with the policy of his ancestors, of committing inroads into Pāṇḍyan lands. So keen and aggressive was he that, by 1546, he was, as an inscription of the Nelliappa⁷¹ temple shews, at Tinnevely itself. We do not exactly know what the Pāṇḍyan did at this crisis; but we may be certain that he appealed against his greedy neighbour, as of old, to the Emperor. Sadāśiva, or rather Rāma Rāya, was hardly likely to ignore such an unscrupulous ambition in a feudatory vassal.

The invasion of Travancore by Viṭṭhala and his Viceroyalty.

He therefore ordered his cousin Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara⁷² Viṭṭhaladēva Mahā-Rāya to proceed to the south and restore the balance of power there. We do not know why Viśvanātha Nāik who, as we have already seen, was Viceroy in 1544, was not asked to settle the question. It is not improbable that he was asked to serve as a subordinate officer under Viṭṭhala Dēva. It seems that Viṭṭhala was a relation of his,—a cousin. For an inscription of S. 1554 says⁷³ that Nāgarāṣu of the solar race and Kāśyapa Gōtra, (i. e., the father of Viśvanātha Nāik) was the nephew of Rāmarāja Tirumalaiya-Dēva-Mahārāja of the lunar race and Ātrēya Gōtra, and this Tirumalaiya was Viṭṭhala's father. So Viśvanātha was a cousin of the new Viceroy, and no doubt accompanied him in his southward march, in 1544. The campaign of Viṭṭhala was in reality a repetition of the campaign of Achyuta Rāya—a second conquest of the south by “the Bādugas.” The Bādugas were, as may be imagined, victorious everywhere.⁷⁴ They recovered the Tinnevely province and were soon within the Tiruvaṇṇi's dominions. Two miles off Kōṭṭār⁷⁵, we are told, the two forces met. The exact date is unknown, but it is almost certain⁷⁶ that it took place in July or August 1544. The king of Travancore, according to Xavier, did not yield; but inscriptions prove that he did. We

⁷⁰ For an inscription of his, dated 1538, at Kallisantha shrine at Suchindram, see No. 79 of 1896. The Travancore *State Manual* says that Udayamrtaṇḍa, the contemporary of Achyuta Rāya, was succeeded by Bhūtalavira-Vira-Udaya-Ravivarma and Rāmavarma was his co-regent. Mr. S. Paramēśvara Aiyar in the *Christ. Col. Mag.* (1904) says Mirtāṇḍa Varma's successor was “Śrīvira Rāmavarma,” one of whose inscriptions is dated 1537 A. D. “It was the successor of this prince, Bhūtalavira Vira Sri Vira Kēraja Varma who was reigning in Travancore, at the period of the invasion of Viṭṭhala, Xavier calls him Iniquitribhram, which, considering the monstrous perversions of Indian names generally made by European authors, is not an altogether unfaithful reproduction of the name Uṇṇi Kēraja Varma.” (p. 188). He was a great friend of the Portuguese. Kēraja Varma “must have died” soon after the Bāduga invasion; for an insc. of Rāma Varma is found at Suchindram in 1546-7.

⁷¹ Inscription 120 of 1894.

⁷² See *Arah. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 195. The order seems to have been passed in 1544-5. Insc. 273 of 1901 at Kāllai says that Viṭṭhala was “granted the whole country” by Sadāśiva Rāya. Just before his arrival in the south he was at Penukonda, where, as insc. 340 of 1901 shews, he remitted certain taxes to barbers. Insc. 140 of 1895 records a gift by Viṭṭhala at Tiruvijaimarudūr (Tanjore Dist.) Viṭṭhala's relation to Rāma Rāya was long uncertain. He was considered by Nelson to be the same as Rāma Rāya and by Mr. Venkayyah to be his son. In reality he was his cousin. (*Sp. Rep.* 1911, p. 86); *Ibid.* 1912, p. 82 ff. See also *Balaḥḥagavatana* of Doṣṭri Konṭrukavi, *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 241, for references to Viṭṭhala. (See also *Christ. Col. Mag.* 1904-5, p. 187.)

⁷³ Inscription 161 of 1905, found in the Mārkapūr temple, dated S. 1554 (*Ananda*).

⁷⁴ Viṭṭhala's success ranged, says an inscription, from Anantāśayanam (Trevandram) in the south to Mudikal in the north. See *Sp. Rep.* 1900, para 80. Insc. 140 of 1895 says that a Brahmin served Viṭṭhala as a soldier throughout these wars, and was in consequence rewarded with two villages. For a detailed consideration of this campaign, see *Trav. Manu.* I, p. 297-9 and *Christ. Col. Mag.*, 1904-5, 187-90.

⁷⁵ See *ans.* Vol. XXVI, p. 144 for a history of this place.

⁷⁶ For Xavier's career see Chap. III. Mr. Nāgam Aiyar says that Ravivarma and Viṭṭhala arrived at a compromise by which the extreme south of the peninsula was to be part of Travancore dominion, and that Tiruvaṇṇi in return was to desist from future aggression. In Ravivarma's Suchindram grant, Mr. Nāgam Aiyar sees a proof of this ‘compromise.’ See *Trav. Manu.*, 295-300.

are informed, for instance¹⁷, that in 1546 he gave a piece of land to the Sthânâvara Temple at Suchindram for the merit of Viṭṭhala's Mahâ Râya on his birth-day,—a thing which he would hardly do if he was independent. From this time onward to the year 1557, i. e., for a space of eleven years, Râma Râya Viṭṭhala was the imperial viceroy of the south¹⁸. The indigenous chronicles of Madura are reticent about him; but the inscriptions are unanimous in describing him as a statesman enjoying the most honourable rank and the most affluent fortune in his day.

The Rise of a new trouble in the South: Chôla Aggressions against the Pândya.

Such is the history of Madura and the southern end of the peninsula till the year 1557, when certain important events happened, which directly led to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty. Unfortunately a most mysterious obscurity prevails in connection with the immediate circumstances which brought it about. According to the *Pâṇḍ. Chron.* there were three Nâik chieftains, Dimmappa, Sevappa and Paṭṭukôṭṭai Ravappa, during the three years which followed the end of Viṭṭhala's administration. Then in *Raudri Mâgaḷi* (1559), it continues, in consequence of the Râyer's orders, Kotṭiyam Nâgama Nâik came to Madura, and ruled till *Dundumi*, for a period of two years and four months. In other words, according to the *Pâṇḍ. Chron.* there was an interval of three years between Viṭṭhala and Viśvanâtha; and Viśvanâtha ruled for the space of two years. It is curious that it does not give the circumstances under which Viśvanâtha assumed the crown of Madura. This defect is supplied by the other chronicles. They indeed are hopelessly wrong in regard to the dates of the events which they describe (for they attribute Viśvanâtha to the third decade of the 15th century), but the facts they give are evidently true. They say that there ruled in Madura a very feeble and irresolute ruler, Chandra-Śekhara Pândya, the last of the Sôma-Śekhara line, that he was deprived of his crown and kingdom by an aggressive Chôla ruler of the day, Vira-Śekhara by name. Nothing substantial is known about these kings and rivals. Chandra-Śekhara was, as I have already pointed out, probably a chief distantly related to either the old Pândyan or the Vânadarâya line. Vira-Śekhara is described as the Chôla king of Tanjore, but the Chôlas had ceased to rule at Tanjore by the beginning of the 15th century. Even supposing that some scions of the old Chôla dynasty continued to live in Tanjore, we are practically certain that they could not have exercised any power; for the dynasty of Sevappa¹⁹ Nâik was by the year 1550 firmly seated there, and the exercise of authority by a prince of the indigenous dynasty would have been impossible. But if Vira-Śekhara did not rule at Tanjore, he might have lived and reigned at Trichinopoly, which was as much a Chôla capital as Tanjore. Indeed, one of the Polygar memoirs²⁰ distinctly says that his seat of government was Trichinopoly. It is not improbable that he was a relation and successor of the Chôlas, Channayya and Bôgayya, who, as we have already seen, ruled about 1530 at Turaiyûr, and who acknowledged Krishna Dêva Râya as their suzerain.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷ Inscription 64 of 1896. This king is also called Venru-mân-Koṇḍa-Bhṭṭajavira-Irâṇavanmar of Jētunganâḍu.

¹⁸ His head-quarters seem to be Trichinopoly. (See Insc. 273 of 1901). Insc. 557, 558 and 559 of 1911 record grants to Kôḍal Alagar temple at Madura by Timmappa Nâik, son of Basavana Nâik, for the merit of Viṭṭhala, whose subordinate officer he was. It is plain from all these that about 1551 A. D. there was a Governor at Madura named Timmappa Nâik who was subordinate to Viṭṭhala.

¹⁹ The exact date of Sevappa's accession to the Tanjore throne is unknown. In 1544 Tanjore was under Viṭṭhala. By 1549 it was under Sevappa, for an insc. of Rhusser Ali's tomb mentions him, though not as king. According to one account Sevappa took Tanjore "by his valour." According to another, he got it as a dowry of his wife Mûrti Ammal, a sister of Achyuta Râya's queen (Thirumalamba). The question is an interesting one for investigation, but is not possible here. Here it is enough that it be understood that by 1550 the Tanjore Nâik dynasty was firmly established. See T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's *Short History of the Tanjore Nâik Princes*, *Tanj. Gaz.*, 38-40, and the MS. history *Tanjore Varickarâra*, the summary of which is in *Tanj. Manual and Rate Catal.* III, 176 ff.

²⁰ Genealogy of Kadimalai Muttu Mâdar, Nâik of Demmapettai Pâlayam. Appendix VII.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADHVA ACHARYAS.

BY G. VENKOBA RAO, OOTACAMUND.

THE fourteenth century A. D. was a remarkable period in the history of Southern India. It was marked with the extinction of some of the most ancient and powerful kingdoms; it saw new dynasties, equally powerful, rising in the seats of old ones; it also witnessed the peace and happiness of the people overtaken by grief and consternation by a cruel foreign invasion. Just before the dawn of this century the political dominancy of the ancient race of the Chôlas came to an end and their kingdom passed into the hands of the rising Pāṇḍyas of Madura.¹ In the early part of the century another ancient family of kings, the Hoysaḷas of Dvārāsamudra, was subverted by Malik Kāfūr, the avaricious general of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī.² The virgin south suffered that molestation, which the unhappy north had long been accustomed to, from the vandalistic hands of the Musalmāns, headed by that low caste convert, Malik Kāfūr. Harrowing tales of woe suffered by Hindu temples during this period are found recorded in the inscriptions on their walls.³ This Muhammadan torrent left here and there puddles of Musalmāns, who snatched for themselves small tracts of country and began to rule over them. One such colony was established at Madura and swayed the destiny of the country round it for nearly half a century;⁴ the island of Srirāṅgam is said to have been occupied by another band of these men for an equally long period.⁵

The last remnants of the power of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri became extinct with Rāmachandra and his son-in-law Harapāla, who was slayed alive by Mubārīk, the ruthless son of 'Alāu'd-dīn. The mighty empire of Vijayanagara, which was going to play such an important part in protecting the south from further Muhammadan havoc, rose at the bidding of that sage, cyclopaedic scholar and statesman, Vidyāraṇya, from the ashes of the Hōysaḷa kingdom. With this intellectual giant at the helm of the State, the early sovereigns of Vijayanagara were able to conquer the whole of what is now known as the Madras Presidency, drive off all the Turushka hordes, and establish order and peace where there was rapine and slaughter.

The intellectual and philosophical activities were also in full swing; the Viśiṣṭhā, dvaita philosophy propounded by Rāmānujāchārya had already taken deep root. The new school of the Dvaita philosophy started by Madhvāchārya found many converts to his faith in the beginning of this same century. The Advaita school was represented by Vidyāraṇya, who was then head of the Sriṅgēri Maṭha. The schism in the Vi-śiṣṭhādvaita school was brought in by the teachings of Vedāntanāthārya, better known by the name of Vedāntadēśika. It is the purpose of this paper to trace as far as possible the history of the Mādḥva Achāryas, paying particular attention to the chronological side of it and leaving the philosophical part to abler hands than mine. For achieving this purpose, I have, for obvious reasons, chosen to take my stand upon epigraphical records, and to admit tradition wherever it does not militate against epigraphical facts.

¹ *Annual Report of the Government Epigraphist, Madras, for 1900, para. 20.*

² *Fleet's Kamorasa Dynasties, p. 509.*

³ Inscriptions recording the Musalmān invasion are found in Tirupukūṭi, Tiruvāntōṭṭur, Tiruppuṭōṭṭu (Madura), Tiruvogiyōṭṭu, Srirāṅgam, &c.

⁴ See Sewall's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 222-23.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 230.

There have been several attempts at the construction of a scientifically accurate history of the life of Madhvāchārya in the past three or four years. Mr. C. N. Krishnasami Ayyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College was the first, as far as we know, to attempt the solution of the question of the age of Madhvāchārya in his dissertation for the Master of Arts Degree examination. The same gentleman brought out quite recently a revised edition of his booklet,⁶ in which a certain amount of anxiety to deal with the subject in a most scientific manner is exhibited by him. However, we are sorry to remark he has not made use of all the available sources of information for the elucidation of the period under consideration, and it is no wonder that he has arrived at conclusions which, we fear, are not reconcilable with unshakably sure facts; we mean those that are given in inscriptions, both on stone and on copper. If he had only taken the trouble first to have gathered all available facts for the construction of the history of the period chosen by him for study, we have no doubt, he would have arrived at true results. His summary way of disposing of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri is, we consider, rather hasty. In fact there are several points in his essay which we feel are not acceptable to us.

The next serious attempt at fixing the age of the great Dvaita Āchārya was made by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., of the Archaeological Department.⁷ His paper was based upon an inscription discovered in the Srikārmam temple, belonging to the time of Narahari Tīrtha, one of the direct disciples of Madhvāchārya, and dated in the Saka year 1203. One thing came out of this paper. The Mādhva community was bestirred to reconsider the date of their Āchārya, as also the chronology of their hierarchy in general, and to adjust the dates to suit irrefutable facts of Epigraphy. At the Madhva-Siddhānta-Unnāhina Sabhā, which is annually held at Tiruchohānūr, near Tirupati, during the Christmas holidays, the question of the exact date of the birth of Madhvāchārya was taken up for discussion and, as might be expected from such an orthodox body as the Sabhā, a condemnation of the methods and results of Mr. Sastri was expressed.

The orthodox denunciation started at the meeting of the Sabha reached its climax in the writings of Mr. Subba Rao, M.A., of the Salem College. This gentleman in the introduction to his translation of the *Gītā-Bhāṣya* of Madhvāchārya,⁸ empties the vial of his wrath first on the epigraphical information gathered by the archaeologist, which he brands as "of impossible and inadmissible character"⁹ and later on by saying "supposing the above information is obtained on correct interpretation of the inscriptions"¹⁰ he insinuates that the people in the Archaeological Department cannot interpret inscriptions properly. Then again he inveighs against the impudence of the very inscriptions themselves in recording dates and facts which are contradictory to the lists maintained in the *mathās*. Truly, the plety of this Mādhva in believing that the *mathā* lists are infallible surpasses that of the orthodox Roman Catholic who holds firmly in the infallibility of the Pope. Regarding the inscriptions he writes: "It is not our business at present to investigate still further the erroneousness or correctness of the inscriptions themselves"¹¹ as though he could prove that a public stone record is likely to be more erroneous than a private list recorded on a palm-leaf or paper and preserved in the *mathā*. In making statements such

⁶ 'Madhvāchārya'—*A Short Historical Sketch*.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 260-68.

⁸ *The Bhagavad-Gītā*, printed at the Minerva Press, Madras.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. xi of the introduction.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. xii of the introduction.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. xvii of the introduction.

as these, our irate friend is guided only by a few extracts from the paper of Mr. Krishna Sastri, which he has read in the *Sabha Report*. He has certainly not seen or read the whole of Mr. Sastri's paper before passing his strong strictures on epigraphy and its methods.

Of quite a different stamp from Mr. Subba Rao, is Mr. C. M. Padmanābhāchārya, B.A., B.L., of the Coimbatore Bar.¹² With the feeling of a true Mādhva, he records first of all faithfully the events of the life of the greatest of the teachers of the Dvaita school of philosophy as obtained from tradition, and tries his best to reconcile them with the solid information derived from epigraphical sources. If some of his conclusions do not appeal to us it is not because his method is incorrect, but that the materials are not sufficiently numerous for him to work upon. The method of research adopted by him being excellent in every detail, we are sure he must have arrived at the same conclusions at which we would ourselves have arrived, had he only been in full possession of all the facts available from the epigraphical sources. A point which obviously strikes the reader throughout Mr. Padmanābhāchārya's book is his sentimentality, which exhibits itself rather markedly. But it is excusable in a devotee.

In our own humble way we shall try to contribute our mite to his literature with the same scientific spirit which actuated some of our predecessors. No one is more conscious than ourselves of the fact that many small errors might creep into our results and our only plea to appear in print is to induce better minds than ours to tackle the question with greater energy and resources than we are in possession of at present.

In the village of Pājaka near Uḍipi in the South Canara District, there lived a Brāhmaṇa named Madhyagāha (Tulu, Nandvantillāya, the middle-house man).¹³ A not very opulent person, moderately cultured, Madhyagāha was leading a quiet householder's life. Two male children were born to him, but they both died young. He had only a young daughter left. To a Hindu householder nothing is more painful than being sonless, and Madhyagāha was feeling intensely for a son. Happily his prayers were heard and he was blessed with a son, whom the father named Vāsudēva. The regular Brahmanical ceremonies, such as *śauḥa*, *upanayana*, etc., were celebrated in due course of time and the boy entered under the tuition of Achyutaprēkshāchārya, also known as Purushōttama Tīrtha. The boy Vāsudēva was strongly inclined to assume *sanyāsīrāma*, but was often prevented by his father from giving way to his desire. At last the father and son came to an agreement that as soon as another son was born to the former, Vāsudēva must be allowed to fulfil his wish of becoming a Sanyāsin, for the father was loth to lose his only son. After some time another boy was born to Madhyagāha, and young Vāsudēva was permitted by the father to assume the robes of a Sanyāsin. The holy orders were given to him by his *guru* Achyutaprēkshāchārya under the name of Pārāprajāña. Some years were spent by Pārāprajāña under his religious teacher in mastering the systems of philosophy then current, and in having a firm foundation in the *Vēdānta*. He began to reflect thereupon on the various interpretations given by the various commentators on the *Bhādarāyana Sūtras*. From the beginning Pārāprajāña's mind revolted against the tenets of the Advaita school; therefore he began to elaborate his own Dvaita explanation of the *Bhādarāyana Sūtras*.

¹² The *Life of Madhvacārya*, printed at the Progressive Press, Madras.

¹³ For a detailed life of Śrī-Madhvacārya, we refer the readers to the excellent book of Mr. Padmanābhāchārya.

Achyutaprākṣha was growing old, he therefore resolved upon making Pārāprajña his successor in the seat occupied by him. On the day appointed for installing his disciple in his own place, Achyutaprākṣha performed all the ceremonies and anointed Pārāprajña under the name of Ānanda Tīrtha. Thereafter Ānanda Tīrtha was brought into conflict now and then with leaders of different schools of thought, and in all these dialectic disputations he is represented to have come out victorious.

By this time Ānanda Tīrtha had already built up his system completely, and desired to start out on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to the south. With a number of disciples and admirers he visited Trivandram, Rāmāśvaram, Śrīraṅgam, Śrīmuṣṇam, etc. In the first of these places he had an encounter with the then head of the Śrīṅgeri-maṭha, Vidyāśankara who lived about A.D. 1228. The Mādhva chronicles state that Ānanda Tīrtha vanquished Vidyāśankara.¹⁴

At the end of his pilgrimage he returned to Uḍipi and spent some time there before he thought of undertaking a journey to the Badarikāśrama on the Himālayas, reputed to be the residence of the immortal Rishi Vyāsa the author of the *Vēdānta Sūtras*. Taking permission from his master and accompanied by his co-disciple, Satya Tīrtha, he left Uḍipi and after several months' journey reached the foot of the Himālayas. Finding Satya Tīrtha a drag on his progress, Pārāprajña ordered the former to stop behind and continued his journey up singly. He soon reached the hermitage of Vyāsa in Badari and placed himself directly under his tuition, and learned from his lips the meaning he had designed in his mind of the *Sūtras* when he wrote them. Thereupon, he began his commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtras* and several other works. He then took leave of the hoary sage Vēda-Vyāsa and reached the foot of the mountain, where he was rejoined by Satya Tīrtha. Both of them took an easterly direction and journeyed through the Vāṅga and Kāliṅga countries. In the Telugu country Ānanda Tīrtha entered into a hot discussion with a powerful Advaitin, named Śōbhana Bhaṭṭa. After a good deal of wrangling on both sides, Śōbhana Bhaṭṭa admitted his defeat and expressed his willingness to become the disciple of his vanquisher. Ānanda Tīrtha converted him to his faith, made him a *sanyāsin* and conferred upon him the name of Padmanābha Tīrtha.

The defeat and conversion of Śōbhana Bhaṭṭa induced another great man to vindicate the faith of his forefathers in a fresh discussion with the teacher of this new school of philosophy. Śāma Śāstrin was the name of this disputant. He occupied the great social dignity of the prime minister of the king of the Kāliṅga country and was a very learned man. His erudition had to give way before the extraordinary capabilities of Ānanda Tīrtha and Śāma Śāstrin, like Śōbhana Bhaṭṭa, urged upon his vanquisher to take him as his disciple and make him a *sanyāsin*. He preferred to give up his exalted social position, home and wealth to follow his Āchārya wherever he went. Pārāprajña ordained him a *sanyāsin* and gave him the name of Narahari Tīrtha.

Soon after the events detailed in the previous paragraph had taken place Ānanda Tīrtha returned to Uḍipi with his new disciples. One day, while he was sitting in *samādhi* on the sandy beach, he heard the distressed cry of the crew of a ship which was being tossed on a rough sea and was about to be drowned. With his unbounded grace, Ānanda Tīrtha made the ship reach the shore safely and it did so. The crew in gratitude offered the whole cargo of the ship to their deliverer, but he would have none of it. When he found

¹⁴ In *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI. intro. p. 29, Mr. Rice refers to the temple of Vidyāśankar at Śrīṅgeri and states that it must have been built during the Vijayanagara period.

he was pressed hard to accept a trifle at least from them. He asked for a clod of earth used in ballasting the ship, for, he knew it contained the image of Kṛishṇa. As soon as it was brought, the clod was broke open and was found to contain the image of Kṛishṇa. Ānanda Tīrtha built a temple for it in Uḍipi, consecrated it with great pomp and festivity, and ordained eight boy-*sanyāsins* to do *pūja* to this image by rotation. These were the originators of the eight monasteries at Uḍipi.

Somewhere about this time the king of Kaliṅga died, leaving behind an infant son. There was no capable and trustworthy officer in the State to act as the regent during the minority of the child. Naturally the minds of the subjects ran to their old minister, Sāma Sāstrin, now a *Sanyāsī* with Ānanda Tīrtha, but did not care for worldly honours and would not accept the offer to administer the State. Ānanda Tīrtha, however, insisted upon his taking up the office of the regent in the Kaliṅga country, if not for any material gain, at least to help an infant king, and at the end of the tenure of his office to procure for him (Ānanda Tīrtha) much coveted images of Rāma and Sītā, which were secured in the royal treasury. Reluctantly Narahari Tīrtha (Sāma Sāstrin) assumed charge of the regency and conducted the affairs of the State satisfactorily for a period of twelve years at the end of which he managed to get from the young prince the images required by his preceptor, and which he loved so much to worship.

In the meanwhile Ānanda Tīrtha had paid another visit to Badarī in company with Saṃya Tīrtha and Upendra Tīrtha. On his return journey he visited Kāśī, Hṛishikṣā, etc., and passed Goa and reached Uḍipi. After his return from Badarī he was obliged to enter into a religious dispute with Padma Tīrtha of the Advaita persuasion. While preparing himself to meet his adversary, Ānanda Tīrtha was told that Padma Tīrtha had run away in fear. But goaded and taunted by his followers, Padma Tīrtha once again appeared at Uḍipi and entered the ring of combat with Ānanda Tīrtha. Very hot discussions took place and before sunset the Advaitin was completely defeated. The next morning Padma Tīrtha and his followers were found to have run away. Before their flight they managed however to carry away the valuable library of Ānanda Tīrtha. The run-aways were chased and overtaken, but Jayasīma the chief of the country interceded on behalf of both the parties and got back the library to its rightful owner. The place where this happened is known as Viśṇumaṅgala. At Viśṇumaṅgala, Ānanda Tīrtha was met by an Advaitin, named Trivikrama Paṇḍita, who desired to discuss religious matters with the former. His wish was agreed to, and in the course of his conversation, Trivikrama found the method of the Dvaita Āchārya very logical and his arguments convincing. He immediately joined the camp of Ānanda Tīrtha by embracing Mādhvāism.

Just about this time news reached Ānanda Tīrtha of the demise of his parents in the village of Pājaka, the bearer of the tidings being his own brother. He implored Ānanda Tīrtha to admit him in the fold of *sanyāsins* under him. Ānanda Tīrtha conferred upon him the robes of holy order and named him Viśṇu Tīrtha. On this occasion seven others also took the *sanyāsāśrama*.

Eighty days after the return of Narahari Tīrtha from the Kaliṅga country, with the images of Rāma and Sītā, the Āchārya is said to have finally retired from the world to Badarī, to take his abode with Vyāsa eternally. This event is said to have taken place on the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in the year Pihga which corresponded with the eightieth year of the age of Ānanda Tīrtha. Thus is the traditional account of the life of Ānanda Tīrtha, better known in later days by the name of Mādhvāchārya. We do not get any idea of the chronology of the life of Mādhvāchārya from the account narrated above, but epigraphy and other sources supply us with information enough to fix the age of Ānanda Tīrtha.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SANKARACHARYA.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies 'Āditya of the race of Manu,' mentioned by Sarvajñān in his *Sambhava-Sūtra* with the Chālukya king Vimalāditya. With due deference to his high authority one may be excused for calling this identification in question on the following grounds:

(1) *Āditya* is not in this case a name or surname of the king, but only a component part of his compound name. There are many such compound names to choose from in the dynastic lists of the Chālukyas and the Chōlas, and both these dynasties claimed descent from Manu. One may mention Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya of the Chālukya line and Rājāditya and Goparāditya of the Chōla dynasty. (2) The passage in question implies that the *Āditya* referred to was a very powerful king: श्रीमद्वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्. The Chālukya power was eclipsed by that of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chōlas before the 10th century. It would therefore be a piece of fulsome flattery to speak of the Chālukya king as 'ruling the earth' and as 'having his commands never disobeyed.' (3) There is no evidence, nor is there any tradition, that Sarvajña visited the 'Chālukya country or was patronised by its king'.

Now, the Chōlas also claimed descent from Manu, and in an even more positive way than the Chālukyas. Whereas the latter claim to be of the Mānavya-gotra, the former have Manu Chōla as one of their (mythical) ancestors. There is more than one *Āditya* in Chōla history, but the earliest of them is Rājāśarivarman *Āditya* I, the father of Parāntaka, who most probably ruled from 880 to 907 A. D. The Thiruvāngādū plates refer to his conquest of Tottai Maṇḍalam (the Pallava country) in these terms: "Having conquered in battle the Pallava with his brilliant army though (he was) Aparājita [which means literally 'the unconquered'] he took possession of his queen etc. etc. and accomplished his object in this direction also." (Verse 49. See *Annual Report of the Madras Epigraphist for 1906. Part II page 66*). The epithet श्रीमद्वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् would therefore be appropriate if applied to this king. Further, '*Āditya*' is

the name of the king and not merely a component part which is the common factor of various compound names. Lastly, there are traditions which suggest to us that we should look in this direction for the patron of Sarvajña. The Sankarāchārya of Conjeevaram (the Kims Kōṭi pīṭha) claims apostolic descent from Sarvajña, and I am told that the seat of the *Āchārya* in that seat is styled सर्वज्ञ पीठ in the *Sankara-vijayas*. It seems scarcely likely that the *Māṭha* of modern times are of so early origin.¹ But if it be accepted that Sarvajña had some sort of connection with Conjeevaram it would appear natural that he should extol the exploits of the Chōla king (probably his patron), who had conquered at least the southern and western portions of the Pallava dominions. (The northern provinces were conquered by Parāntaka only. See *Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1912-13, page 94*).

The initial year of Parāntaka is 907 A. D. So *Āditya*, who ruled for 27 years, must have ruled between 880 and 907. If Sarvajña belonged to this period, Sankarāchārya who was his *Guru's Guru* must have lived in the earlier half of the 9th century A. D.

Traditions of the Kera's country point to the same conclusion. Sankarāchārya is believed to have introduced some peculiar customs among the Nambūthiri Brahmans. The date of their introduction is represented by the Kali reckoning of साचाचै वामनेय. This works up to 1434169 days after the beginning of the Kaliyuga, i. e., 825 A. D. One school of Kera's tradition holds that the Kollam era commemorates the introduction of these customs into Malabar. According to another school, the era commemorates the departure to Mecca of Cheraman Perumal, the last of the sovereigns of United Kera's, who, we are told by Mr. Logan, (*Malabar Vol. I, page 266*), "died at Zaphir (in Arabia) where his tomb is still to be seen." According to the *Keralolpatti* this ruler was a contemporary of Sankarāchārya.

S. V. VENKATESWARAN.

Kumbakonam
College, 16th Dec.
1913.

¹ The earliest epigraph which mentions the *Māṭha* of Sankarāchārya at Conjeevaram is probably the copper-plate of Vijayaganapāpā, which I have sent for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It belongs to 1291 A. D. The stone inscriptions of Thiruvānkāval copied by the Archaeological Survey in 1908 are useless for our purpose, as their dates are uncertain.

² Conjeevaram was already under the Chōlas in the reign of Vijayālaya, the father of *Āditya* I. His inscriptions have been discovered there. (See *Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1909. Sec. 35*).

³ If the *Kongu* Rājāśarivarman be believed, he was the conqueror of the Kongu as well, in which case the conquest must have been completed by Parāntaka, who is known to have subdued the Kongu. The Chōla king was his friend and ally (*Ep. Rep. 1912, p. 61*) if not a dependent ally (*Ep. Rep. 1911 p. 59*). *Āditya* was the most powerful king of his time, as the Pāṇḍya power had been already crushed by the Pallava Aparājita at a battle near Kumbakonam. (See Hultzsch: *South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II, p. 384*).

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME HOBSON-JOBSONS.

ASH-TACON-SHIACTHAMES-ALYMBEUS - ALVANTE.—
 "As an instance of the absurd translations current in France as in England [in the seventeenth Century], the word ash-tacon may be mentioned. It is explained in [Sir John] Chardin's [traveller, 1643-1713] text to mean *les hôpitaux à Tauris*: c'est à-dire lieux où l'on fait profusion de viures," [the hospitals at Tabriz (in Persia): that is to say, places where they make lots of victuals]. Chardin's Editor remarks: "*La dernière partie de ce mot est inconnaisable, et je ne puis deviner quel mot Persan signifiant profusion a pu donner naissance à la corruption qu'on voit ici*" [the last part of this word is beyond recognition, and I cannot guess what Persian word meaning 'profusion' can have given birth to the corruption which one sees here]. In other words the first syllable *ash* (*Anglis ash*) was understood in its common acceptance for 'food' or 'victuals,' but *tacon* was naturally a puzzle. The solution of the whole difficulty is however, to be found in the Turco-Persian *آستان* *âstân* *âstânâ* *âstânâ*, pronounced by Turks *asta-khona*, or more vulgarly *asta-khon*, and even to a French ear *ash-tacon*, a hospital, literally a sick house. This word is undoubtedly current at Tabriz and throughout Northern Persia." *Sir Frederick Goldsmid in Encyc. Brit. (XI Ed.) Vol. XXI, p. 230 footnote 6.*

This note was drawn from the author by the corruption *Shiacthames* by the Venetian traveller Angiolello (16th Cent.) for Shah Tahmasp, the

well-known second ruler of the Safavi Dynasty who reigned 52 years (1524-1576) and was the 'Great Sophi' (*Sûfi-Safavi*, through Angiolello's *Sophi*) to whom Queen Elizabeth sent Anthony Jenkins as ambassador in 1601.

Sir Frederick Goldsmid also points out (p. 223) that the identity of a remarkable man of those days, the *Ak-khâyânî*, or White Sheep Standard, Turkish ruler of Persia (1468-1478) *Usûn Hasan* (Long Hasan), was so lost by the corruptions, which his not very difficult name assumed in traveller's reports, that he has never received adequate justice at the hands of historians. Knolles Purchas (1575-1626) Caterino Zeno (late 16th Cent.), Sir Frederick says, called him so differently as *Alymbelus*, *Asembelus*, *Asembes*, *Assimbes*, and *Ussan Cassano*. We can get at the corruptions, however, reading *Alymbelus* as a mistranscription for *Asymbelus*. The termination *bes*, *belus* similarly arise out of misreadings for *bee-beg*. So that all these words represent *Hasan Beg*. *Ussan Cassano* offers no difficulties as an Italianization of *Usûn Hasan*.

Sir Frederick (*loc. cit.*), in describing the confused times between the death of *Usûn Hasan* and the rise of *Ima'îl Safavi* (1478-1490), says that Zeno's account is, he was succeeded by his son *Ya'qûb* (1478-1485), and *Ya'qûb* by a son *Allamur*, known also as *Alamût*, *Alvante*, *El-wand* and *Alwang Beg*. *Allamur* and *Alâmût* (a name made famous through the Assassins (*Hashshahin*) of *Alâmût*, are obviously the same word, and as obviously *Alwang Beg* is the original form of *Alvante* and *El-wand*.

R. C. THOMAS.

BOOK NOTICE.

JOANNES DE LAET ON INDIA AND
SHAHJAHAN.

DE LAET—*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive Indiae Vera; Commentarius e varis auctoribus congestus. Cum privilegio. Lugduni Batavorum. Ex officina Elseviriana. Anno MDCLXXXI.*

The valuable little book published at Leyden in 1631 under the above title was brought prominently to the notice of students of Indian history and geography for the first time by the late H. Leithbridge. That gentleman published a disquisition, entitled 'Topography of the Mogul Empire' (*Cal. Rev.*, October 1870; Jan. 1871), which, as Mr. H. Thomas observed, 'traces with equal patience and ability the geographical details fur-

nished by the opening chapter' of De Laet's book. Mr. Leithbridge (in *Cal. Rev.* 1873) followed up that disquisition by a translation of another section of the book, namely, the *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*, as far as it relates to the reigns of Humâyûn and Akbar, promising to complete the version. But, for some reason or other, the task was never completed.

Since 1873, other writers have referred occasionally to De Laet's testimony, without making full use of his small volume. My studies having lately led me to examine it closely, I hope to find opportunities for publishing the results of my investigations, so far as they concern the reign of Akbar. At present I desire, in the first place, to draw attention to a discovery made by me, namely,

that the book exists in two issues, impressions, or editions, both bearing the same date, 1631. The discovery was made accidentally while comparing a copy bought from a bookseller, with one borrowed from the India Office Library, and finding that the volumes differed. In future, whenever De Laet's book is quoted, it will be necessary to specify which of the two issues is referred to, because the pagination differs. The India Office Library possesses a copy of each, but the Bodleian has the second issue only.

I have now before me (I) The India Office copy (shelf-mark, 45 a, 18) of issue 1, and my own copy (II) of issue 2.

Both issues have the same engraved title-page and generally agree, but exhibit the following differences.

I has 299 pages, excluding the index, while II has only 285 pages of text. The saving of space in the later impression was obtained by better printing, not by omission of matter. For instance, the table of contents, which occupies more than two pages in I, is printed much more neatly on a single page in II.

The *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae* in I extends from p. 172 to p. 291, ending with the words:—*Haec gesta fuere usque ad finem anni MDIO XXXVIII*, that is to say: 'These events happened up to the end of the year 1628.'

In II, the *Fragmentum* extends from p. 165 to 278, and after the words cited, two new sentences are inserted as follows:—

'Voluit hic monarcha post illa appellari Sultan-Scha-Bedin Mahumet. Et tot suorum cadibus addidit et innotuit: nam dilectissima conjuge ipso coronationis suae die defuncta, summis sibi conjugem filiam suam & defuncta illa;' or in English:—

'After those events this monarch wished to be known as Sultan Shihâb-ud-dîn Muhammad. And to so many murders of his relatives he added incest also; for, when his beloved wife had died on the very day of his coronation, he took to himself as wife his own daughter by that dead woman.¹

The beloved wife of Shâhjahân, named Arjumand Bânô Bâgam, and entitled Mumtâz Mahal, or in current speech, Taj Mahal or Taj Bibi, died on July 7, A. D. 1631, old style, equivalent to Zil-hijja, 17, A. H. 1040. Her death cannot have been known in Europe earlier than the end of 1631, and the

second issue of De Laet's book, consequently, cannot have been printed before 1632, although, like the first issue, it bears the date of 1631. Probably the first issue had sold out quickly, and the publishers, having resolved to reprint the book, in an improved style, added the story about the alleged incest as soon as they received it from India. There can be hardly any doubt that the second impression containing that addition must have been printed in 1632 or 1633, and not later. If its printing had been delayed longer, the date on the title-page presumably would have been altered, and other editorial insertions would have been made. Both impressions as they stand carry the narrative professedly only to the end of 1628, although the second impression, without giving a new date, inserts the scandalous statement implying a knowledge of the happening of 1631.

Joannes, or John De Laet, a learned and copious author, died in 1649. Several of his books on various subjects are in the Bodleian Library. In his preface to the 'Description of India' he informs his readers that he has taken scrupulous pains (*mihi religio fuit*) to follow only the best and most trustworthy authorities, English and Dutch. Among the English authorities he names specially Sir Thomas Roe and Purchas. He also used the work of Peter Texeira, the Portuguese.

The 'Fragment of Indian History' was kindly contributed by a gentleman of distinction, Peter van den Broecke, who resided for several years at Surat and faithfully administered the business of the Dutch East India Company. He was at Surat in 1620, and later.

The book, although scarce, and rather difficult to procure, is not all so rare as Lethbridge supposed it to be. The India Office Library, as already observed, possesses both issues; the Bodleian Library and I have each a copy of the second issue, and the late Mr. Sidney J. Owen had a copy, but I did not note the issue to which it belonged when I examined his library after his death. Lethbridge mentions the existence of a copy in Calcutta, and, no doubt, the work is to be found in the British Museum and various other libraries. It appears occasionally in the catalogues of second-hand book-sellers, priced ten shillings. I got my copy for half that sum.

So far the paragraph inserted in the second impression of De Laet's book has been dealt with

¹ I cannot explain the origin of the statement '*ipso coronationis suae die*.' Jahângir died October, 28, 1627, and his son Shâhjahân ascended the throne at Agra on February 6, 1628; whereas Mumtâz Mahal died on July 7, 1631 (*Baharât-Nava*, in E. & D., VII, 5, 6, 27).

from a bibliographical point of view. The substance of the inserted passage also deserves consideration because it raises the question as to the truth of the allegation that Shāhjahān was guilty of incest with his daughter. De Laët's statement, which is of the most positive kind, intensifies the horror of the story as current in later times by asserting that the criminal relations between the pair began immediately after the death of Mumtāz Mahal, the mother of the princess. Inasmuch as Mumtāz Mahal died in July, 1631, and the second impression of De Laët's book probably was published in 1632, the crime, if real, must have been committed immediately after the queen's death. Moreover, the alleged fact was so notorious that it became known at once in distant Sūrat and was thence reported to Europe as ascertained truth. The Dutch author must have obtained his new information as he obtained the earlier history, from correspondents in the Dutch Factory at Sūrat. De Laët's testimony is the earliest mention of the alleged incest and possesses special importance on account of its early date. Although the subject is an unpleasant one, the evidence deserves critical examination in the interests of historical truth.

The statement of the case by Mr. Talboys Wheeler will serve as a basis for the discussion. He wrote in his text:—'Shāh Jahān had a daughter by Taj Mahal; she was known as Bāgum Sāhib; he made the Bāgum Sāhib his mistress. The appended note runs:—'The relations between Shāh Jahān and the Bāgum Sāhib are too notorious to be denied; they are mentioned by all contemporary writers; the fact is broadly stated by Herbert Bernier, Tavernier, and the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakkerin*. Manouchi tries to discredit it, probably on the authority of the Moghul chronicle which would take some pains to contradict the charge. The fact, however, is too apparent. It not only finds expression in the history: it is the key to the history.'

The context indicates that Wheeler considered the enormous value of the gifts bestowed on Bāgum Sāhib by her father, and the excessive influence enjoyed by her to be evidence of the unlawful

relation. He attributed the undoubted corruption of the administration in Shāhjahān's reign to the 'foul conditions' under which it existed, one of those conditions being the criminal intercourse between father and daughter. If we are to believe De Laët whose testimony has been quoted, the unlawful relation with its evil consequences, had existed from 1631 or 1632. Shāhjahān was not deposed until June 1658, when Bāgum Sāhib was forty-four years of age. By that time it may be presumed that the guilty connection, if real, had come to an end.

The evidence as far as I can ascertain, is wholly that of European writers, unless the note to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakkerin* be considered an exception. De Laët, about 1632, is the earliest witness. After him comes Sir Thomas Herbert, whose travels lasted from 1626 to 1629. He was at Sūrat when, as he writes in the first edition (p. 29), 'wee had certaine report of Sultan Curroone's [scil. Khurram's] coronation at Agra, 1637. In joy of which, the English Merchant Ships, then in Swally rode, shot off two hundred peeces of great Ordnance. Herbert never travelled in the interior of India. He spent all the time he was in the country either at Sūrat or in the vicinity.

His interesting book passed through four editions in his life-time, the last and best, of which I possess a copy, being issued in 1677. I have examined the first and second editions in the Bodleian Library, but have not seen the third. The omission is immaterial so far as my present purpose is concerned.

Herbert returned to England in 1629, being then a young man 23 years of age, and set himself to work at the preparation of an account of his travels. The first edition, published in 1634, has two title-pages. The first, with engraved figures of 'A Oozel-beah [Kixil-beah], etc., gives the name of the book as *A description of the Persian Monarchy now being the Orientall Indies Isles, and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk*. The second title-page designates the volume as *A Relation of some Yeeres Travells, begunne Anno 1626 into Africke and the greater Asia, etc., etc.*

¹ *The History of India*, Vol. IV, Part I (1876), p. 264. The decorous allusion to the scandal attributed by Wheeler to 'the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakkerin*' will be found on p. 340 of Vol. III of the rare quarto translation (1789). The text states:—'In vain did his beloved daughter implore at his death-bed his forgiveness for her brother Aurang-zub.' The appended note 15 runs thus:—'The Princess (Rooshen-ara Bāgum, *id est*, Princess Roxana, "luminous," or "beautiful") . . . chose to shut herself up with her father upon whose heart it is universally reported and believed her person had made the deepest impression.' The note, which probably is from the pen of the translator, confounds Rāshanāra (or more correctly, Rāshan Rāo) Bāgum, the ally of Aurangzūb, with her elder sister Jahānārā, entitled Bāgum Sāhib or Pādshāh Bāgum, who supported Dārā Shukoh, and remained with her father. Wheeler exaggerates when he says that the scandal is mentioned by 'all contemporary writers.' The authorities in the Persian language seem to ignore it.

The series of atrocious crimes by which Shāh-jāhān (Khurram) had cleared his way to the throne is narrated on pp. 30-35, and summed up as 'the murder of Father, three Brothers, three Nephews, and two Cosen Germans. Since which, his Queens (Assaph Chawn's Daughter) died, and he hath taken his own daughter to be his wife. These crying sinnes have apparently drawne down God's heavy judgments upon those Countries; by those immediate and late Plagues of Pestilence and Famine, never heard of the like in those parts before, the Sworde will doubtless follow in God's appointed time. For he will have glory by punishing those from whom he cannot have glory. And Ourroon (or Shāh Jahan) is not yet sensible of those castigations.'

Herbert, like De Laët, evidently kept up communication with India, most probably with Sūrat, and continued to be informed of events which had happened since he came home. There is nothing in the wording of the passage cited from the 1st edition to suggest indebtedness to De Laët's book.

The second edition, entitled *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique*, etc., etc., revised and enlarged by the Author, appeared in 1638, with an expanded version of the Mughal history. On p. 105 we are told of the death of Jahāngīr, '(suspected of poison) the twelfth of October or *Ardabekish*, in the yeare of our accompt 1627 and of the *Hogira* 1007.'

Page 107 gives details of the murder of eight princes, relatives of Shāh-jāhān, all of whom were without any respect buried in a garden in Lahore, near the entrails of Jangheer; but their heads (as an assurance of their death) sent to Ourroon, to glut his eyes (by so horrid a Spectacle) with infernall ambition.'

On the same page the author proceeds:—'Thus has Ourroon (through a sea of blood) attained the highest post and dignity of the eastern world .

. . . but these sinnes he makes nothing of, have apparently in these our times drawn down the heavy Judgments of God Almighty, both, in taking his beloved wife away the week of his inauguration, since when he has made his daughter (by that dead Lady) his wife: incest of so high a

nature that that yeare [1634 in margin] his whole empire was so wounded with God's arrowes of plague, pestilence and famine, this thousand yeares before never so terrible. The sword also seems to threaten him,' etc.

This passage clearly shows that the author had perused De Laët's second impression, which, consequently, cannot be dated later than 1634. The words 'by that dead Lady,' in particular, are obviously a translation of De Laët's 'e defuncta illa.'

The whole passage, with some slight verbal changes, is repeated in the fourth edition of 1677, p. 99.

I conclude, therefore, that in 1633 or 1634 Herbert heard of the scandal independently of De Laët's book, although in all probability he obtained his information from Sūrat, as the Dutch author did. Between 1634 and 1638 Herbert evidently saw the second impression of De Laët's book, and borrowed its language, which he continued to use in later editions. He never quotes his authorities, but there are other indications that he was familiar with De Laët's work, which in 1638 was the best available book on the subject of the Mughal history.

The scandal is referred to by Bernier, who was in India from 1659 to 1687, by Tavernier, whose Indian travels extended from 1640 to 1687, by the Dutch author, Valentyn, whose book was published in 1726, and by Mauesel (1653-1708). The author last named discredits the accusation.

Bernier writes:—'*Bāgum-Sāheb*, the elder daughter of *Chah-Jahan*, was very handsome, of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. Rumour has it that his attachment reached a point which it is difficult to believe, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the *Mullaks*, or doctors of their law. According to them, it would have been unjust to deny the King the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted.'

Mr. Constable appends the note:—'This statement is repeated by Valentyn, in his *Beschryving ... von de Levens der Grooten Moguls*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1726, in these words:—"*Bāgum Sāheb*, die om haare schonheit van haaren Vader zex, ja te veel, bemind wierd;" that is to say:—'*Bāgum Sāhib*, who, on account of her beauty was

³ The Hijra year was 1037, for which 1007 is a misprint. According to the *Bādshāh-Nāma* (R. 2 D.; VII, 5), the date was Safar 28=Oct. 28. Such differences in dating are met with constantly in the authorities.

greatly, nay, too well beloved by her father.'⁴ That vague statement, probably, is merely an echo of Bernier, without independent value.

The evidence of Tavernier, such as it is, appears to be based upon rumours heard by him, personally, and not derived from Bernier. After relating the death of Shāhjahān in 1666, Tavernier proceeds:— 'As soon as Aurangzeb had news of it he came to Agra and seized all the jewels of the late king his father, which he had not touched during his life. Bégum Sāhib also had a quantity of precious stones, which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, being at that time satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels afforded certain evidence to Aurangzeb's sense of propriety, as for other reasons the Princess, his sister, had already been suspected of having had improper relations with Shāhjahān, and he found means to obtain them which appeared honest and far from criminal, by treating the Bégum Sāhib with much honour and attention; but he removed her to Jehānābād [i.e. Delhi], and I saw the elephant pass upon which she was mounted when she left Agra with the court, as I was entering it on my return from Bengal. In a short time after, news was spread of the death of this Princess, and all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison.'⁵

As a matter of fact, Bégum Sāhib did not die until Sept. 16, 1681 (Ramzān 3, A. H. 1092), as stated by Irvine, *Stories of Mogor*, II, 256 n., quoting the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*. She was then an old woman of 67, and the story about her being poisoned is ridiculous.⁶

Mamood states that the first daughter whom Shāhjahān had was 'Begum Saeb (Bégum Sāhib), the eldest of all, whom her father loved to an extraordinary degree, as most lovely, discreet, loving, generous, open-minded, and charitable. She was loved by all, and lived in state and magnificence She exerted herself a great deal to secure the throne to her brother Dārā; this was due to her eagerness to marry, Dārā having promised to give his consent as soon as he

was crowned. With this end in view, she employed all her cleverness and energy to satisfy her father, she served him with the greatest love and diligence in order that Shāhjahān should accede to her petitions. It was from this cause that the common people hinted that she had intercourse with her father, and this has given occasion to Monsieur Bernier to write many things about this princess, founded entirely on the talk of low people. Therefore, it is incumbent on me, begging his pardon, to say that what he writes is untrue'.⁷

The foregoing extracts give, so far as I can ascertain, the whole of the evidence concerning the disgraceful charge against Shāhjahān and his daughter. Little weight need be attached to the rumours repeated by Bernier, Tavernier, and Valentyn. As against them, if they stood alone, the contradiction by Mamood might perhaps be accepted as a sufficient counterpoise. But the extremely positive assertion of De Laët stands on a different footing. It was published, as has been shown, most probably in 1682, and certainly not later than 1684, during the lifetime of Shāhjahān, who did not die until 1666. The accusation as set forth in De Laët's pages is peculiarly horrible, because it represents Shāhjahān as forming the incestuous connexion with his daughter immediately after the death of her mother, who had borne him thirteen other children and beyond doubt was ardently loved by him, as her unique monument testifies to this day. Although it is undeniable that Shāhjahān was excessively devoted to sensual pleasures, and there is reason to believe that his daughter engaged in various illicit amours, it seems almost incredible at first sight that both father and daughter could have been so utterly depraved as they are alleged to have been. Yet similar practices prevail, or prevailed a few years ago, among the puritan Boers of South Africa, who are said to have adduced scriptural warrant for their conduct, just as Shāhjahān, according to Bernier, found Mullahs complaisant enough to provide an excuse for him.

My conclusion is that the unpleasant accusation against Shāhjahān and his daughter, even if it be

⁴ Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable (1891), p. 11. Bernier goes on to relate two stories of amours of the princess, both ending in tragedy. Mamood, while expressing disbelief in Bernier's stories, gives others of his own, equally scandalous.

⁵ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. V. Ball (1891) I. p. 314.

⁶ De Thouvenot has the same story that Bégum Sāhib's death was hastened by poison (English transl., 1686, Part III, p. 35). Although he censures the crimes by which Shāhjahān cleared his way to the throne this author does not mention the accusation of incest.

⁷ Irvine, *Stories of Mogor*, I, 216.

not conclusively proved, certainly is not disproved. Although it may be reasonably regarded as improbable, it cannot be dismissed summarily as incredible. I should like to treat the scandal as a product of the prurient imagination of a corrupt court and credulous populace. All officials of long experience know that the people of India, even to this day, are prepared to believe the most fantastic stories concerning their rulers' imaginary crimes. Decent Christian, British gentlemen are often credited with atrocious iniquities, such as kidnapping and murdering victims in order to place their bodies under the foundations of bridges. In an atmosphere of that kind the exceptionally affectionate relations between Shāhjahān and his daughter, which certainly existed, would readily afford occasion for the most malignant possible interpretation. The informants of De Laët, whoever they may have been, no doubt believed the scandal current in India, and it is evident that their report was accepted by both De Laët and Herbert in good faith and with conviction. The strangest part of the business is that the scandal should have become current so soon after the death of Mumtāz Mahal, and should have reached so quickly the ears of the Dutch merchants at Surat, who personally transmitted the story to Europe. That wide and early diffusion of the story undoubtedly supports the view of those, who like Wheeler, are convinced of the truth of the accusation. Shāhjahān had a very evil nature, and was utterly devoid of scruple. He has received from modern historians, except Wheeler, treatment much more lenient than he merited. Tavernier's ill-deserved certificate that he was as 'a father of his people' was thoughtlessly adopted by Elphinstone, and so has passed into an article of faith.¹ In reality, I believe, Shāhjahān was in character far inferior to his son Aurangzeb, and was guilty of atrocities not less than his to gain the throne. He equalled his father Jahāngir in cruelty and excelled him in beastly sensuality, nor did he succeed in securing good government by the capricious ferocity which his flatterers extol as his justice. The beauty and magnificence of the Taj and other architectural works on which he lavished the countless riches wrung from the suffering people have blinded the critical judgment of recent historians. The European authors of the seventeenth century who unsparingly denounced the many crimes of Shāhjahān formed a judgment of his character

much nearer the truth than that made current by the authority of Elphinstone. It is not unreasonable to hold that Tavernier's exceptionally favourable opinion may have been biased by the fact that Shāhjahān was a good customer for his jewels. The more I study Shāhjahān the less estimable he appears, and I regret that it is impossible to feel assured that he was incapable of the disgusting offence charged against him by De Laët, Herbert, and later writers. In such a case conclusive evidence is not to be had, and different people may legitimately form divergent opinions concerning the value of the existing testimony as fully set forth in this article.

Although that evidence must have been known more or less completely to Mr. Beale, and his editor Mr. Keene, the second edition of the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894) treats Jihānārā Begam (Begam Shāh) as a saint. We are told that 'the name of Jahān Arā will ever adorn the pages of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when we view it in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roshan Arā, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurangzeb, enabled him to dethrone Shāhjahān. The amiable and accomplished Jahān Arā not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his imprisonment in the fort of Āgra. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet with a Persian inscription inlaid in black marble letters, to the following effect:—"Let no one scatter over my grave anything but verdure, for such best becomes the sepulchre of one who had a humble mind." On the margin is written:—"The perishable faqr Jahān Arā Begam, daughter of Shāh Jahān, and the disciple of the saints of Chisht, died in the year of the Hijra, A. H. 1092."'

Whoever will, may believe that charming version of the relations between Shāhjahān and his favourite daughter.

[I have used de Laët's book (India Office copy) and Lethbridge's Ed. extensively in editing Vol II, of Peter Mundy's *Travels* for the Hukht Society, issued for 1914. Mundy was in Āgra in 1630-1633, and tells the story of Shah Jahan's alleged incest, but attributes it to his third daughter, "Chimini Begum," who died in 1616.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

VINCENT A. SMITH

¹ - This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as a king over his subjects than as a father of his family over his house and children' (Tavernier, *Travels*, transl. Ball I, 325).

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 216.)

(1) *kanhaḥ* is identical with the postposition of the dative, the origin of which has been given § 71, (1). The ablative meaning of this postposition, however, is not to be explained as having derived from the dative, but it has a separate origin, it having derived directly from the locative, which was the original meaning of *kanhaḥ*. The passing of the locative meaning into the ablative is quite natural, and it is well illustrated by the example of the cognate locative *apikarṣe*, which occurs in the *R̥gveda* both in the original sense of "Behind" and in that of "From behind." In the Old Western Rājasthānī *kanhaḥ* is used to give the idea of the ablative, in connection with verbs of asking, begging, hearing and obtaining. Examples are:

Caturaka-kanhi pāchāḥ vana-dhāḥ "The king of the forest asks Caturaka" (P. 585),

Indra māgai Jina-kanhaḥ dakṣiṇe "Indra begs this gift from the Jina" (R̥. 131),

śaḷgri-Mahāvīra-kanhaḥ śābhaliū "I heard from the reverend Mahāvīra" (Daç. iv),

Vajrasena-tīrthamkara-kanhaḥ sagale dīkṣā lidhi "All received the *dīkṣā* at the hands of the *tīrthamkara* Vajrasena" (Ādi C.).

In the last mentioned MS. one instance also occurs of *kanhā*, an ablative from the same base, of which *kanhaḥ* is the locative:

bhagavanta-kanhā dīkṣā divarāvi "He caused the Venerable one to give him the *dīkṣā*."

Many other instances of *kanhā* occur in the Old Jaipur of the MS. F 760. It is to *kanhā* that I trace the accusative-dative postposition *nā* (possibly for *nā*), which Kellogg ascribes to the Western Hindi (*Hindi Grammar*, § 173), and which is very frequent in the Mārwarī of the *Nāṣaketa-ri kakhā*.

(2) *taḥ* (*tu*), in my opinion, is a curtailment from *kataḥ*, the equivalent form of *hātaḥ* < Ap. *hantaḥ* < Skt. *bhavantakāḥ*. A good evidence in favour of my identification is P 681, where an instance occurs of *taḥ* used in the original verbal meaning of *kataḥ* "Being > was" (See § 113). It is therefore the present participle of the substantive verb, that is used absolutely in the masculine singular as a postposition of the ablative. The employment of the present participle *hantaḥ* to form the ablative was frequent enough in Apabhraṃṣa, as is born out by the following two quotations by Hemacandra:

jaḥḥ hantaḥ āgato "Whence [he is] come" (*Siddh.*, iv, 355),

tumhāḥ hantaḥ āgato "[He is] come from you" (*Siddh.*, iv, 373).

Whether the Prakrit ablative termination *-hiṇto* stays also for *hanto*, as suggested by Dr. Hoernle (*Comparative Grammar*, § 376), it is difficult to decide. Anyhow it is certain that the Old Western Rājasthānī inherited from the Apabhraṃṣa the practice of employing the present participle of the substantive verb to make the ablative, and made a large use of it, both under the original form *hātaḥ* and under its derivatives *taḥ* and *tu*. Examples of ablatives with *taḥ* are the following:

devāḥ tu pāchāḥ valin hātu "Being returned from the temple" (Yog. iii, 127),

teha kāraṇa -taḥ "From that cause" (Kal. 6),

paḥkhiyā diḡi diḡi-taḡ āvyā " Birds [that are] come from every quarter " (Ādi. 12),
mārga-tu bāhiri nikala! " Steps out of the way " (Daḡ. i, 10),
samsāra-taḡ āpaṇaḡ jīva mūkāvīu cā! " [By them] their own soul has been liberated
 from the *samsāra* " (Daḡ. iii, 1),

teḡa-taḡ jīva ūva dukkha pāma! " Therefrom the individuals reap sharp pain " (Śaḡ. 10).

Of *taḡ* inflected in the locative, as is the case with *hātaḡ* and *thaḡ*, no instances occur in Old Western Rājasthānī. But they occur in some of the cognate vernaculars and chiefly in Western Hindī, where we have for the ablative the postposition *te*, *ū*, from **taḡi* < Ap. **hontāḡi*.

(3) *thaḡ* may be also explained as a curtailment of *hataḡ*, the present participle of the substantive verb. That initial *h* was capable of being thrown after the following consonant, when a dissyllable word was curtailed into a monosyllable one, is evidenced by *Mārwāḡi vhai* < *huvai*. An other explanation of *thaḡ* had formerly occurred to my mind, and it is that it might be a curtailment from *thāyaḡ*, the past participle of the verb *thāvaḡ* " To be or become. " In favour of the latter derivation there would be the analogy of the ablative postposition *thi*, which likewise might be explained as a contraction of *thāi*, the conjunctive participle from *thāvaḡ*, and all the more so as R. 51 one instance occurs of *thai* for *thi*. But the former derivation is supported by the analogy of the imperfect tense of the substantive verb, which in the Old Western Rājasthānī has the same origin as some of the so-called postpositions of the ablative, both being formed from the present participle. Now, P. 70 one instance occurs of *thaḡ* being used for the imperfect of the substantive verb, in the place of the regular form *hataḡ*, and at the present day the form *tho* (for *hato*) is found in many dialects of the Rājasthānī and in Kananjī, where it is used by the side of *hato* (Cf. § 113).

Ablatives with *thaḡ* are rare rather in Old Western Rājasthānī, much in the same way as are rare periphrastic imperfects with *thaḡ*. I have noted the two following:

te kiḡḡ -thaḡ āvīu " Whence has he come ? " (P. 409),

hā -thaḡ jāu " Go away from here ! " (P. 427).

Notice that in both the examples above *thaḡ* is used after pronominal ablatives, thereby perfectly coinciding with the employment of *hontāḡ* in all the three Apabhraṃṣa quotations by Hemacandra, *sūtra* iv, 355 of his Prakrit Grammar. Another testimony to the *thaḡ* being a participial form is in the following passage from the MS. *Up.*, where *thaḡ* is inflected in the nominative plural :

tiḡḡ -thiyā cyavi Vajranābha guru-nā jīva ṛi-Ādinātha hāu " Therefrom having fallen, the soul of the *guru* Vajranābha was re-born as the Reverend Ādinātha " (Up. 68).

(4) *thakaḡ*, (*thaku*, *thākaḡ*, *thikaḡ* *thiku*) is from *thākin*, *thākin*, the past participle of *thākaḡ*, *thākaḡ* < Ap. * *thakkaḡ*, *thakkei* (Hc., iv, 16, 370, 3) < Skt. * *sthakyaḡi* (Pischel, § 488). The form *thikaḡ* is to be regarded as the intermediate between **thakin* and *thakaḡ*, and it has derived from the former through metathesis of *i* (See § 50). No doubt—as it may be also gathered from the analogy of Sanskrit *sthitaḡ*—the common meaning of Apabhraṃṣa *thākin*, when used attributively, was practically that of a present participle ("Staying"), and so there is nothing irregular in its being employed in Old Western Rājasthānī as an equivalent of *hātaḡ*, to form the ablative. That Old Western Rājasthānī *thakaḡ* is equivalent with the latter is also born out by the fact that both of them may be optionally added after participles used adjectively (See §§. 122, 129). In the examples I have seen, *thakaḡ* occurs either in the masculine or

in the neuter singular form, and the noun governed by it is not unfrequently put in the locative case. Ex. :

- *ṛāchali thakaṣ* "From behind" (Çrā.),
- bīra varasa-thākaṣ* "For twelve years" (Up. 31),
- na vīcarai te mujha mani thikaṣ* "She does not slip from my mind" (P. 338),
- ah sahī yuddha karaṣ bala-thikaṣ* "I will certainly fight with strength" (P. 501),
- jā āhā-thikaṣ* "Go away from here!" (P. 641).

(5) *thaki* is but the contracted form of **thakii*, the locative (absolute) from **thakin* (*thakaṣ*), and is therefore practically identical with the conjunctive participle of *thakavaṣ* (See § 131). It is employed in the same way as *thakaṣ*, namely both after the locative and after the genitive, only it is more common than the latter postposition and its use becomes larger and larger by the subsequent development of the language. Ex. :

- nabha-thaki nicaṣ itaryaṣ* "He came down from the sky" (F 783, 52),
- te nagara-mā thaki . . . āviṣ* "He came from that city" (P. 293),
- e dukha-thaki mujha maraṣ āvaṣ* "From this distress death comes to me" (Rq. 192).

For examples of *thaki* being employed to form comparatives see § 79.

(6) *thi* bears to *thai* the same relation as *thaki* to *thakaṣ*, i.e., it is a contraction from **thaii* (< *hatai*) the locative absolute of the present participle of the substantive verb. An evidence in favour of the above derivation is afforded by the MS. F778, where, a few lines before the end, an instance occurs of *thai* (< *hatai*) for *thi*. There is, however, an other explanation possible of *thi*, which has been already alluded to above, and it consists in deriving *thi* from *thai* the conjunctive participle of *thāvaṣ*. Those, who prefer to hold to the latter explanation, may derive an argument in their favour from Rq. 51, where *thai* seems to be used as a postposition of the ablative instead of ordinary *thi*. The passage in question is :

Utarāṣṭhi naktatri tai "From the Uttarāṣṭha *naktatra*".

In my opinion the employment of a conjunctive participle like *thai* after a locative to give the idea of the ablative is so natural that it can well be explained without assuming it to be identical with the ordinary ablative postposition *thi*. In the following passage from Bāṇarāṣī Dāsa's *Paramajyotistotra*, 7 :

āvaṣ pavana padama-sari hoyā "The wind [which] is coming from the lotus-lake (< after having been in the lotus-lake)",

we have an Old Braja ablative formed exactly in the same way as Old Western Rājasthānī *naktatri tai*. Cf. also the ablative with *dekhi*, which is peculiar to Naipālī, and is likewise formed from nouns in the locative (See Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar*, § 376). In Old Western Rājasthānī *thi* is used in the same way as *thai*, viz. both with the locative (including ablative-locative) and with the genitive. Ex. :

- kihāi thī* "Whence?" (P. 136),
- tujha kanhai thī* "From thy presence" (P. 303),
- huc -viri vici thī māu siala* "From [having put himself] between the heads of the [two] goats, the jackal died" (P. 290),
- tujha-thi dukha pīmaṣ paṣi āla* "From thee I derive distress" (P. 641),
- vāda-thi . . . ravi nikalyaṣ* "The sun came out from the cloud" (F 535, ii, 2),
- vana-māhi thī* "From inside the forest" (Ādi C.)

(7) *pāvaṣ* is identical with the locative postposition, for which see § 74, (3). It is used for the ablative in connection with verbs of asking, begging, etc., much in the same way as *kanhai*, which has been discussed above. Ex. :

Rukmaṇi rāṇi aṅga mēgaṭ | āpaṇa priya-naṭ pāsāṭ re | "The queen Rukmiṇī demands [her] son from her beloved" (F 783, 64),

pūchi eka-pāsi "They ask someone" (Çal. 87).

(8) *pāhi* (*pāhi*) has long been recognized as a locative from Apabhraṃṣa *pakkhe* or *pakkhi* < Skt. *pakṣe*. In Old Western Rājasthānī it takes the meaning of the ablative, when used in the formation of the comparative. In the MS. *Ṣaṣṭi*, two instances occur of *pāhanti*, which is possibly from Apabhraṃṣa *pakkhante* < Skt. *pakṣānte*, and is equivalent with *pāhi* both in meaning and employment. An example of the use of *pāhi* as an ablative postposition is :

indrajāla-pāhi capala "Unsteadier than magical illusion" (Indr. 86).

For other examples see § 79.

(9) *lagai* and *lagi* are both from the Apabhraṃṣa participial locative *laggahi* < Skt. ° *lagnasmin* (= *lagne*), the former having remained uncontracted and the latter having firstly changed ° *ai* to ° *ii* and then to ° *i* (See § 10, (3)). For the shortening of the vowel in the initial syllable accounts § 43. When not used in the function of a postposition, the past participle *lagai* retains its long vowel, as shown by the example quoted § 126, (4). These two post positions are used to denote : (a) "Up to", (b) "From", (c) "In consequence of". In the two former cases they often require the noun, wherewith they are connected, to be in the locative. Ex. :

eka joṇa-lagai cāli rahyaṭ "After having gone as far as a *yojana*, he stopped" (Adi. C.)

eka-[sahasā] varasa-lagai "Up to [the end of] one thousand years" (*Ibid.*),

dhuri lagai "From the beginning" (Vi. 132).

iḥi lagai vighra - ārambha "Hence the beginning of the war" (Kānh. 13),

te pāpa-lagi Jina-dharma gādhaṭ dukkara hui "In consequence of that sin, the religion of the Jina becomes very difficult [to be attained]" (*Ṣaṣṭi*. 11),

karma-kṣaya-lagi mokṣa hui "In consequence of the destruction of the actions, final emancipation is produced" (Yog. iv, 113).

(10) *hītai* (*hītai*) needs no further explanation, after what has been remarked with reference to its derivatives *taṭ* and *thai* above. It is plain that it is identical with the present participle *hontai*, which already in Apabhraṃṣa was employed to form ablatives, as evidenced by the instances found Ho., iv, 355, 373. Examples of the use of *hītai* have been preserved only in the MS. *Ṣaṣṭi* :

marana-hītai rākhia "Saved from death" (*Ṣaṣṭi*. 4),

dharma-hītai na vālai "They do not turn away from religion" (*Ṣaṣṭi*. 30),

je saṃsāra-hītai bihata naihi "[Those] who are not afraid of wordly existence" (*Ṣaṣṭi*. 60).

(11) *hīti* (*hīti*) is contracted from *hītai* (> *hīti*), the locative form of *hītai*. It is commoner than the latter, as indeed all locative absolute forms of the ablative postpositions are commoner than the forms in the direct. In Modern Gujarātī and Mārwaṭī it is only the locative forms that have survived. Examples of *hīti* are :

karma-kṣaya ātma-jñāna-hīti hui "Destruction of *karma* is produced from the knowledge of the *ātman*" (Yog. iv., 113),

doṣa-hīti viramai "Desists from vice" (Indr. 97),

amāṭ-hi-hīti bhākhī "Even hungrier than we" (Adi C.)

§ 73. The Postpositions of the genitive are generally old adjectives and agree in number and gender with the noun, on which they are depending.

(1) *kañ* (*ku*) is very rarely met with in Old Western Rājasthānī, where, it being mostly confined to poetry, it may be possibly explained as having been borrowed from the Old Braja of the East. It is from Apabhraṃṣa *kañ* < Skt. *kṛtaḥ*, as it has long been recognized. Ex. :

Deva-kañ pāṭaṇi "In the city of the God (*viz.* Somanāthapaṭṭana)" (Kānh. 78, 86),
moha-ki nidrā "The slumber of delusion" (Ja. 19).

(2) *kerāñ* is identical with Apabhraṃṣa *kerāñ* (Hc., iv, 422, 20) < Skt. **kāryakaḥ* (Pischel, § 176). It is pretty frequent in poetry. Ex. :

jāre Givara-kerāñ ṛiṅga " [So high] as the top of mount Meru " (F 591, ii, 3),
tī kaviya-jana-keri māyā "Thou art the mother of poets" (F 715, i, 3),
kahisu carita Nemisara-keḍḍ "I will sing the life of Nemīṣvara" (F 715, i, 14) [For *keḍḍ* see § 29],

nahi para-keri re āsa "There is no hope from anywhere else" (F 722, 32),

tribhuvana-kerā nāika "Lord (plural *majestatis*) of the three worlds" (Rq. 158).

(3) *cañ* appears to be only exceptionally used in the MSS. I have seen. The only example I have noted is :

hī sevī sahi tuma-cā pāya "I sincerely worship your feet" (F 722, 4).

Sundry instances thereof are, however, found in the *Vasantavilāsa* (Śaṃvat 1508), according to Mr. H. H. Dhruva's description in *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. i, p. 327. It is clear that the use of the *cañ* postposition must have been confined to the tract of Rājputana bordering with the Old Marāṭhī area. The origin of this postposition is, I believe, to be traced to Apabhraṃṣa **kiccañ* < Skt. *kṛtyakaḥ*, as already suggested by Dr. Konow and Sir George Grierson (*On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 1903, p. 490).

(4) *taṇañ* is identical with Apabhraṃṣa *taṇañ* (Hc., iv, 422, 20), and since the time of Mr. Beames has been explained as having originated from the Sanskrit affix *-tana*, which is used to form adverbial adjectives. I do not think, however, that the above explanation is right. The chief objection that can be made thereto is still that which already occurred to the Rev. S. H. Kellogg, namely that in view of the fact that postpositions generally are separate nouns or adjectives, the derivation of a postposition from an affix would be an unprecedented exception to the general rule. Sir George Grierson has very ingeniously tried to remove the difficulty by the remark that even in Sanskrit *-tana* can be attached to an oblique case, as in *agre-tana*, *aśamas-tana*, *pūrvāhṇa-tana*, etc. (*On Certain Suffixes*, etc., p. 489), but this does away with the difficulty only apparently, for, if one looks more inside the question, one will see that in the above examples the suffix *-tana* is not added because of the *agre*, etc., being in an oblique case, but simply in consequence of their having assumed an adverbial meaning. It is clear that when *-tana* was added to *agre*, the latter was not viewed in the light of a locative, but only of a real adverb of time, and we may be sure that in adding *-tana* it was quite immaterial to Sanskrit whether adverbs were original or derived from nouns in an oblique case. These are the reasons that have led me to search for a different explanation of Apabhraṃṣa *taṇañ*, and I believe I have hit upon the right one. According to my inquiries, *taṇañ* is from *appaṇañ* (< Skt. **ātmanakaḥ*), by the dropping of the initial vocal syllable agreeably to § 2, (4), and the common change of *p* to *t* agreeably to § 25. Of the reflexive pronoun *ātman* both the forms

with *pp* and with *tt* occur already in Prakrit (See Pischel, § 401). The meaning Hemacandra ascribes to *taṣaṣ* is that of *sambandhin* "Belonging or related to" (*Siddh.*, iv, 422, 20), and such a meaning is quite in accordance with *appaṭṭa*, which Hemacandra explains as an *ādeṣa* of *ātmīya* (*Siddh.*, iv, 422, 4). In the two examples of the use of *taṣaṣ*, which are evidenced by Hemacandra, viz. :

ima kulaṭṭha-taṣaṣ "This family [is] belonging to thee" (*Siddh.*, iv, 361), and :

bhaggā-amhaṭṭa-taṣaṣ "Ours are defeated" (*Siddh.*, iv, 381, 2),

it is plain that *taṣaṣ* has the sense of "One's own," and, if we were to translate the two examples above into Sanskrit, we ought to render *taṣaṣ* by **ātmanaka* or *ātmīya*. Observe that in the latter example *taṣaṣ* is used substantively, a construction which is likewise common to Sanskrit *ātmīya* and to its equivalents *sva*, *svaka*, etc.

The postposition *taṣaṣ* is largely used in poetry and in a few old texts in prose also. Ex :

caritra suṇṇā tasu-taṣaṣ "His deeds have been heard of" (P. 364),

deva-taṣaṣ kusuma-taṣaṣ vṛṣṭi "The raining of flowers of the gods" (Kal. 20),

ghāyatrī-taṣaṣ gīṭa "The young of the owl" (Kal. 3),

māt-taṣaṣ maṇi "In the mind of the mother" (Ratn. 109),

ghoṣā-taṣaṣ phoṣa "A troupe of horses" (Kānh. 46),

deva-taṣaṣ prāsādi "In the temple of the god" (Kānh. 87),

āṣaṣ cha-taṣaṣ naṭṭi "I [am] not belonging to her" (Daṣ. i, 10).

(b) *naṣ* (*nu*) cannot be explained as a curtailment of *taṣaṣ*, for medial *ṣ* of Apabhraṃṣa never changes to *n* in Old Western Rājasthānī, but it is congener of the postposition *naṭṭi* of the dative, which has been shown above to be a curtailment of *kanhaṭṭi*. Whether there ever existed a genitive postposition **kanhaṭṭi*, whereof *naṣ* would be the regular curtailment, or *naṣ* was directly formed from *naṭṭi* it cannot be ascertained to-day, but I am strongly inclined in favour of the latter alternative, which is supported by the considerations following :

(a) It is not very likely that, whilst *kanhaṭṭi* survived long after *naṭṭi* had become of general use, **kanhaṭṭi* should have died out so early as not to leave the least trace of itself in the Old Western Rājasthānī materials that have been preserved to us ;

(b) The absence of the genitive postposition *naṣ* in Mārwaṭī, where both *kanhaṭṭi* and *naṭṭi* have survived up to the present day, is perhaps a sign that the use of the former postposition is not so old as that of the two latter, and therefore *naṣ* has derived from *naṭṭi* ;

(c) In the MS. *Adi C.* occasional instances occur of *naṭṭi* used in the sense of *naṣ* as an uninflected postposition of the genitive, as :

e bhagavanta-naṭṭi teramaṭṭi bhava "This [is] the thirteenth existence of the Venerable one."

Now, it is very likely that such an employment of *naṭṭi* is a survival of an old practice of forming the genitive by means of a postposition of the dative (cf. the use of *rahaṭṭi* as a postposition of the genitive), and if so it is plain that *naṣ* has been formed from *naṭṭi* simply by making the latter capable of agreeing with the noun, on which it was depending.

In most of the Old Western Rājasthānī texts I have seen, *naṣ* is by far the commonest postposition of the genitive. In poetry, however, *taṣaṣ* is likewise frequent and it is freely used by the side of *naṣ*, generally indiscriminately, though in many cases it seems that *taṣaṣ* still retains its original meaning of "Related or belonging to," and so *naṣ* its own meaning of "Situated near to, or proceeding from". The only prose texts, in which *taṣaṣ* and *naṣ* are

used side by side are *Daṣ.* and *Up.* In the latter, however, *taṇaṣ* is very rare. The MS. *Kal.* has no traces of *naṣ*, but employs *taṇaṣ* throughout. Ex. :

- *ānḥālā-naṣ caṭṭhaṣ masavāḍa* "The fourth month of the summer" (Ādi C.),
- teha-ni putri* "His daughter" (Dd. 6),
- Ūjeṇi-naṣ māriya rājā* "After having murdered the king of Oojein" (Vl. 8),
- vaḍa-nā koṭara-māhi* "In the hollow of a fig-tree" (P. 633),
- dihādā-naṣ viṣaṭ* "By day" (Yog. ii, 70),
- mleccha-nā lākha* "Hundreds of thousands of barbarians" (Kānh. 43).

(6) *raṣ* is a curtailment from *kerāṣ*, as it has since long been recognized by students of Neo-Indian Vernaculars. This postposition having grown to be peculiar of Modern Mārwaṛī, it is only exceptionally met with in Old Western Rājasthānī, except in the MS. *ĀdiC.*, which exhibits many points of agreement with the former language. A few examples are :

- sonā-ri vṛṣṭi* "Raining of gold" (Ādi C.),
- pratiṣṭā-raṣ viṣeṣa ko nahi* "The promise is of no account whatever" (*Ibid.*),
- Takkhaṣṭilā-puri-raṣ parisarāṣ* "In the surroundings of the city of Takṣaṣṭilā" (*Ibid.*)

(7) *rahaṣ* is used as a postposition of the genitive in the following examples, chiefly from the MSS. *Kal.* and *Daṣ.* :

- duḥkha-rahaṣ pātra* "Receptacle of sorrow" (Kal. 38),
- māṅgalika-rahaṣ ghara* "Abode of bliss" (Kal. 1),
- duḥkha-raha ṭkārāṣ* "Cause of sorrow" (Kal. 33),
- vratā-raha ṭpiḍā* "vrātānām piḍā" (Daṣ. v, 9),
- pūjā-hraṣ yogya chaṣ* "Are worthy of reverence" (P 580).

The use of *rahaṣ* as an uninflected postposition of the genitive has not gone lost in Modern Mārwaṛī, where *rai* is still employed instead of the regular oblique *rā*, especially when the genitive denotes possession or relationship.

§ 74. The postposition of the locative are the following :

(1) *kanhaṣ*. The origin of this postposition has been already discussed above, when dealing with the postpositions of the dative and ablative cases. It is used in the original locative meaning in the examples following :

- na jāṇi bihā-kari achaṣ* "I do not know where he is" (Rq. 192),
- mihyādṛṣṭi-loka-kanhaṣ grāvaki vasivaṣ nahi* "A grāvaka should not live near to heretics" (Sag. 49).

P. 286 an instance occurs of *naṣ* (which is a curtailment from *kanhaṣ*, as shown above) used as a postposition of the locative after a noun also in the locative :

- vāṭaṣ naṣ eka nīramala nīra* "Close by the road [there was a lake of] limpid water."

(2) *tīi*. This postposition, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is from Apabhraṃṣa *tāmalāṣ* or **tāṭalāṣ*, a locative form corresponding to Sanskrit *tāvatī*. The intermediate steps are probably **tāṭalāṣ* > **tāṭāṣ* > **tāṭṣ* > **tīi*. For the metathesis of the nasal see § 49. In Old Western Rājasthānī this postposition means "Up to, till, as far as", exactly as its Apabhraṃṣa and Sanskrit originals. Ex. :

- ēja-tīi* "Up to to-day" (Ādi C.),
- sahasā varasā-tīi* "Up to the completion of one thousand years" (*Ibid.*)

Observe that in Modern Mārẁāṭī and Hindī *īṭī* has become capable of the dative-accusative meaning too, when in construction with pronominal genitives. Cf. Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*, § 320.

(3) *pāsaī* (*pāsaī*, *pāsi*). This is from Apabhraṃṣa *pāsahī* < Skt. **pārśvasmin* (= *pārśve*). Examples of its use are :

Vakkhārā giri-pāsaī "At the side of the mountain V." (R. 6),

Tāraka-pāsi daiva ma pājasi "Do not make us fall, O Fate !, into the hands of the Turks !" (Kānh. 73),

rahiu rāya-pāsi "He remained beside the king" (P. 128),

īṭī jā vegi te-pāsi "Go thou speedily to him" (P. 217).

(4) *mājhāri*. This postposition is from Apabhraṃṣa **mājhaāre* < Skt. **madhyakārye*, an adjective formed from *madhya* by the same affix *kārya*, which is used to form pronominal possessives. *Deśināmāvalī*, vi, 121, Hemacandra gives *mājhaāra* as an equivalent of *mājha* (< Skt. *madhya*). It being an adjective in origin, Old Western Rājasthānī *mājhāri* is capable of being construed both adjectively and substantively, i.e., both with a preceding locative or (more commonly) with a preceding genitive. Ex. :

peṭi mājhāri "In the stomach" (Çāl. 33),

Aṣṭhala-pura-mājhāri "In the city of A." (Kānh. 67),

vanaha-mājhāri "In the forest" (P. 55, 267, 411, 533).

(5) *mājhi*. This is from Apabhraṃṣa *mājhe* < Skt. *madhye*, and is therefore an original adjective like the foregoing postposition. The only instance of *mājhi* I have noted is the following, in which it is used with a preceding locative :

āvi ghari mājhi "She went into the house" (P. 295)

Cf. the identical use of *madhya* in Sanskrit and of *medius* in Latin.

(6) *mā* (*māḷ*). This is probably from **mājhā* < Ap. *mājhaḷ*, the ablative of *mājha*, through the intermediate steps *māhā* > *māḷ*. Both the last forms have been preserved in the MS. F 722. Ex. :

ieha-mā nahi saṃdeha "In this there is no doubt" (F 636, 5),

īkhi bihu-mā antara kisāḷ "Which is the difference between the two eyes !" (F 783, 31),

Andra vaḷo sura-māḷ "Indra is the greatest amongst the gods" (F 722, 13),

mujha-mā māi isi "In my [mind I have] this intention" (P. 82).

(7) *māhi* (*māhi*, *māhai*, *māhe*, *māhii*). This postposition is derived from *mājhi* (< Ap. *mājhe*) by *jh* passing into *h*. In Old Western Rājasthānī this is the commonest locative postposition. Ex. :

harasiu haiā-māhai "He rejoiced in [his] heart" (P. 212),

peṭa-māhi "In the stomach" (Indr. 15),

bhava-samudra-māhi "In the Ocean of wordly existence" (Ādi. 80),

dina ihodūḷ-māhi "In a few days" (R. 4),

vanaha-māhi "In the forest" (F 728),

vana-māhe "Ditto." (Ādi C.),

gadha-māhi "In a fortress" (P. 410).

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M. A., L. T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 202.)***Nagama's Expedition and Defection.**

Evidently a man of energy and ambition, Vira-Sekhara desired to extend his kingdom at the expense of the Pāṇḍyan. The weakness and incompetence of Chandra-Sekhara stimulated his ambition and inspired his confidence. The result was, Chandra-Sekhara was soon deprived of his crown and kingdom.⁸¹ Overcome by this misfortune, he proceeded, with his son, to the imperial court, and appealed to the emperor. Sadāśiva Rāya was highly indignant. He despatched, we are informed, Nāgama Nāik, "in whose charge was the southern part of the Empire," to chastise the ambition of the Chōla and restore the dignity of his victim. Nāgama accordingly invaded the dominions of the aggressor, traced a line of devastations therein, vanquished him in battle, and compelled him to abandon the lands which he had so unlawfully seized. The object of the expedition was thus accomplished and the formal restoration of Chandra-Sekhara remained. But at this crisis, the sight of the weak and renowned city of Madura, the tempting prospect of an easy acquisition of spoils, and the distance of the scene of war from Vijayanagar, apparently had the effect of turning the victor into a traitor. Taking advantage of the large army which was under his command, of his probable hold on its affections, and of the difficulties which the emperor had with his turbulent noblemen at home, Nāgama renounced his allegiance to his suzerain, seized the crown of Madura, threw the helpless Pāṇḍyan king into captivity, garrisoned the different parts of the realm with his men,⁸² and awaited with calm resolution the attack of the emperor's punitive legions.

Viśvanatha's Punitive Expedition.

When Sadāśiva was informed of the success, the treason and revolt of his aspiring general, he was affected by a deep sense of injury as well as insult at the ingratitude with which Nāgama repaid the favours he had enjoyed at his hands. He wrote a letter of threat and remonstrance to the unruly commander, but could not make him renounce his acquisitions or designs. Anxious that such a dangerous example should not be imitated by similarly inflamed minds, he summoned hastily an assembly of his ministers, feudatories and generals, expatiated upon the danger which threatened the peace and perhaps the existence of the Empire, and asked in words of fire who, among the many that had assembled there, would undertake to punish the rebel's insolence and bring his head in triumph to the imperial court. The response of the assembly to the emperor's appeal was feeble, as it was well-known that the ability and resources of Nāgama Nāik were great enough to offer a valiant and protracted resistance to the forces of the State.

⁸¹ The account of Rāmabhadra Nāik, the Polygar of Periakulam (see Appendix IV) says that Chandra Sekhara was actually restored by Nāgama Nāik; but as the former was unable to maintain his power against "the Five Pāṇḍyas" of Kayattūr and its neighbourhood, he voluntarily renounced his crown and kingdom in favour of Nāgama, on condition that he was to be given pension for maintenance. Nāgama accordingly took possession of the country. But Chandra Sekhara repented, and resorting to treachery, went to the Rāya and complained that Nāgama had usurped his throne. This version is unique and not supported by any other MS. It is, as Mr. Taylor says, an *ex parte* statement. See *Hois. Catal.* III, 377 and Appendix IV.

⁸² The chronicles do not mention the Rāya's name, but are almost unanimous in this account.

At length, however, there arose, from amidst the assembly, a solitary figure, a man with a majestic manly grace, just in the prime of manhood, with a fine physique and soldierly bearing, an object of admiration to one and all. To the astonishment of the whole audience, Viśvanātha—for it was he—spoke with grave, though justifiable, censure of the perfidy of his parent, assured his sovereign of his own loyalty and gratitude, and prayed with earnestness that he should be honoured with the command against him. The emperor at first hesitated with a natural suspicion and scepticism; but the bold and honest behaviour of the young hero, the eloquence of his pressing solicitation and the strength of his past reputation convinced Sadāśiva that his favourite was a fit object of his confidence, and that, in case he was chosen, his sense of loyalty would prevail over his filial affection.

The Restoration of Chandra-Sekhara.

It thus happened that, by a strange irony of fate, the man who was most instrumental in thwarting Nāgama's designs was his own son and heir—that son for whose birth he had, years back, devoted himself to much rigorous penance and extravagant self-infliction; that heir for whose sake he had, at the evening of an honest and unblemished life, sacrificed his honesty, banished his conscience, and blackened his fair name. With unexpected celerity Viśvanātha marched at the head of the imperial forces. He promptly entered the confines of Madura, and after a fruitless correspondence with his father, engaged him in battle. The chronicles do not enlighten us as to the site of this remarkable engagement; but they describe how Viśvanātha, partly because of the justice of his cause and the excellence of his leadership, but mainly because (it is said) of his divine birth, emerged successfully out of the contest. Nāgama himself was taken captive, and his forces either vanished or went over to his son. Chandra-Sekhara, whose weakness was the sole cause of these events, was then restored to the throne and crowned by his deliverer with pomp and ceremony.

The Pardon of Nāgama Nāik.

It seems that, immediately after the restoration of Chandra-Sekhara, Viśvanātha returned to Vijayanagar,—leaving a capable friend and lieutenant of his, Aryanātha Mudali⁸² by name, to stay in the Madura court and represent⁸³, in his name, the imperial interests. No sooner did the gallant soldier return to the Court than, we are informed, he shewed to an admiring world that his loyalty to his sovereign was not at the expense of his love for his parent. His sole desire now was to save his life and, as might be expected, he did not fail to avail himself of the good impression he had produced, by his unrivalled political sincerity, in the mind of Sadāśiva Rāya. He pleaded that the fidelity of the son should atone for the guilt of the father. He expatiated, we may be sure, on the past history and services of Nāgama, and pointed out how his disgrace would necessarily cast a stain on his own name, and how posterity, while praising his loyalty, would in the same breath condemn him as a parricide. The emperor, we are told, too prudent to pursue a vindictive policy, perceived that his clemency would have a healthier effect than his zeal for justice. He therefore pardoned Nāgama, and restored him to his old position. One of the manuscript chronicles⁸⁴ gives a different picture of Viśvanātha's conduct after his return from the south. It says that Nāgama Nāik was brought in chains before the indignant emperor, and ordered to be decapitated; that

⁸² For the early part of his career see Chap. III.

⁸³ See Appendix IV.

⁸⁴ C. f. the *Mīrtanājya MSS.* Appendix I.

Viśvanātha himself promptly unsheathed his sword, and was about to shed, for the sake of his suzerain, the blood of his father, when Sadāśiva, surprised at such an extraordinary devotion and sense of duty, stopped the tragedy, and pardoned the father for the sake of the son. The memoir of the Sukkampaṭṭi²⁰ Polygars gives a slightly different version. It says that their ancestor—Bālamukunda-Muttiah-Nāik, once the leader of the vanguard of Nāgama's army, and then a lieutenant of Viśvanātha Nāik, offered to sacrifice himself in the place of his old benefactor, and that the Rāya, impressed with the loyalty of the son and the fidelity of the servant, pardoned Nāgama Nāik for their sake.

As for the man who was the cause of these scenes in the imperial court, he was not destined to enjoy his restored fortunes for long. A few months—according to one MS. three years—after his recovering the throne, Chandra-Sekhara joined his fathers, closing thereby a chequered career of momentous significance in South Indian History.

The Death of Chandra-Sekhara.

His death was instantaneously followed by important events. One set of chronicles describe him as the last of the Pāṇdyans, and aver that, immediately after his restoration, he adopted his deliverer and benefactor as his son and heir, and that as a result of this, the responsibilities of the royal office devolved on his death on Viśvanātha. Another set of chronicles, on the other hand, maintain that Chandra-Sekhara was not the last of his dynasty; that he was really succeeded on the throne by his son Vira-Pāṇḍya; but that Vira-Pāṇḍya soon followed his father to the grave,—leaving none to continue the Pāṇḍyan line and thereby giving rise to the grave question as to who was to be his successor. The power of decision, these chronicles continue, lay in the first instance with the emperor. The absolute master of the Empire, he had the power of making and unmaking kings, of creating and abolishing royalties; and he promptly exercised this privilege in favour of Viśvanātha. In appointing Viśvanātha, moreover, he was only fulfilling the promise which his predecessors had made on the occasion of Viśvanātha's service during the Navarātri festival. Again Viśvanātha had been the Viceroy, the *de facto* king, of the Madura country for years. He had moreover been adopted into the Pāṇḍyan line, and so was from the view-point of law, not a foreigner. Above all, he had distinguished himself as a staunch and faithful servant of the Empire, as a fine soldier, as a loyal vassal, as an ideal servant. If he had willed, he might have joined his father and secured the southern part of the Empire months back for himself, but he had voluntarily preferred honour to ambition, and sovereign to parent. Considering all these, the claims and qualifications, the services and attributes, of his favourite, the emperor felt that, by raising him to the vacant throne, he would not only give virtue its reward and possess a vassal according to his own heart, but fulfil the promise of his predecessors and at the same time respect the principle of hereditary right.²¹

Viśvanātha's Elevation to the Throne.

The elevation of Nāgama's son seems, however, to be due as much to popular desire as to imperial initiative. If verbal tradition is to be believed—and there is nothing incredible or improbable about it—the people of Madura, Brāhmana and Sādrās, soldiers and citizens, priests and merchants, were united in their solicitation to the Emperor to have Viśvanātha for their sovereign. They had already had a taste of Viśvanātha's capacity to rule and protect them. Both during his viceroyalty (1585-44) and after Chandra-Sekhara's restoration, Viśvanātha had been the real ruler of Madura. Chandra-

²⁰ See Appendix IV

²¹ The *Pand. Chron.* The *Suppl. MS.* represents the majority of the chronicles when it attributes the event to 8 1354; *Paritapi*. Kāli Kavi Rāya's account says that it took place in 8 1350. One of the *Mittanjiya MSS.* says that it took place in Mārgaśīrṣa 11, of Raudri 8. 1482. There is thus a slight difference between the *Pand. Chron.* and this *MS.*

Sekhara had lost the respect and forfeited the affections of his people. He had been too incompetent to protect them from external enemies or internal commotions. Viśvanātha on the other hand had displayed many useful and benevolent virtues which shone with greater effect in comparison with the glaring frailties of the Pāṇḍyan monarch. His keen efforts to secure the welfare of the country had gained for him the esteem of the wise and the love of the multitude. His guiding hand had been seen in every act of administration, and the country enjoyed the full fruits of peace and good government. His magnetic personality, in short, had asserted itself over his mild ward. The deliverer and benefactor had become unconsciously the master and dictator. It is not surprising that, on the death of the Pāṇḍyan, the people clamoured for Viśvanātha's elevation.

His Coronation at Vijayanagar.

The consequence was, on an auspicious Friday, the 15th of Mārgaṣīrṣa; year Raudri, S. 1481, corresponding to January 1559; amidst the chant of Vēdas, the blessings of the pious, the cheers of the soldiers, the noise of festivities, and the acclamation of the crowds, the fortunate son of Nāgama was crowned with splendid and gorgeous pomp by holy men at Vijayanagar, after the purification of his body with water brought from the distant Ganges and in the presence of the tutelary goddess Durgā. Wheeler gives a glowing account of the ceremony. The golden diadem was placed on the hero's head. "His ears⁸⁵ were adorned with emeralds and pearls, his neck with costly carcanets, his breast with gems set in different figures, his fingers with amulets, his waist with bracelets, his arms with amulets of carbuncles. He was arrayed in royal vestments of cloth and gold, and was placed on an elephant richly caparisoned. An umbrella of silver brocade was held over his head, and the chowries were waved about him on either side. He was also honoured with the royal insignia of Krishna Rai. A crimson shield was carried before him, together with the standards bearing the bird Garuda and the monkey Hanumān. He was conducted in procession through the streets of Vijayanagar, escorted by troops, charioteers and footmen, all clothed in rich apparel. After the procession he was entertained by Krishna Rai in the banqueting house and feasted on milky food." A number of presents were then showered on the hero, and he was then sent to Madura. The singular favour which Viśvanātha enjoyed at the hands of the Rāya can be realised from the fact that even his request to have possession of Durgā, the guardian⁸⁶ of the Empire and the life of its glory, was, in spite of the solemn warnings of his advisers, readily granted. With the departure of Viśvanātha to Madura, then, Durgā also departed, and with this the prosperity or independence of Vijayanagar.

His Coronation at Madura.

At Madura, Viśvanātha was received with frenzied enthusiasm.⁸⁷ The Brāhmins were the leaders of the jubilee. Triumphal arches of divers colours adorned the streets of the smiling city. Viśvanātha entered it on a richly adorned elephant, surrounded by badges of royalty bestowed by his suzerain. The great procession reached the temple of Minākshi where, we are informed, the 'Karta' alighted, and paid worship. He, then, we are told by Wheeler (on what authority we do not know) proceeded to his father's

⁸⁵ Wheeler's *Ind. Hist.* IV, p. 571-2. As usual the author has not given the authorities on whom he based his account.

⁸⁶ See Appendix I.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; Wheeler IV, p. 573. It is very doubtful if Nāgama Naik was alive at this time. No MS. says anything about him after his unsuccessful rebellion.

residence and received his blessing after laying gold and silver flowers at his feet. The coronation ceremony was then once again gone through in the temple. A diadem of virgin gold beset with jewels, and a sceptre of gold, first worn by the goddess, were now presented by the priest to Viśvanātha; and he, after the worship of the deity and prostration before his father, assumed the sceptre and the diadem. Eighteen bands of music then filled the air with harmony. From the temple Viśvanātha proceeded to the court of Lakshmi and there, amidst the panegyrics of heralds, took his seat on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, gave presents to Brāhmins and invested Aryanātha with the two rings of the Dalavāi and Pradhāni.

Wheeler's Version of the Naik Advent.

Such is the account, usually given, of the origin of the Naik dynasty of Madura. There are also some versions not so authoritative or true. Wheeler, for instance, a historian with more imagination than capacity, gives, on the basis of doubtful authorities, a version quite different from that which we have just seen. He attributes the foundation of the dynasty to the reign of 'Krishna Rai.'¹ The latter, he says, lightened the burdens of the imperial office by dividing his empire into various administrative divisions each of which he entrusted to a favourite servant. To his chief favourite he gave Mysore, to his betel-bearer Tanjore, and to the overseer of his cattle, Nāgama Naik, the kingdom of Madura. On the death of Krishna Dēva, his son and successor Rāma Rāja (Wheeler is of course wrong) could not, in consequence of his troubles with the Muhammadans attend to his dominions in the South. They, therefore, thanks to the ambition of the provincial chiefs, became practically independent or subject to disorder. The affairs of Madura drifted into chaos. "The twelve kings of Malabar" ceased to pay tribute. A vassal, Tumbichechi Naik, set up the standard of rebellion. Oppressed by these revolts, the Pāṇḍyan felt himself unable to remit the tribute he owed to the emperor. Nāgama Naik communicated this state of things to the emperor (whom Wheeler inconsistently calls here Krishna Rai and not Rāma Rāja). The latter promptly despatched Viśvanātha the son of Nāgama Naik, together with the gallant and faithful Aryanātha Mudali, to restore order in Madura. Kūṭa Pāṇḍya,² the then Pāṇḍya king (1) received the imperial leader with joy. The latter easily defeated the kings of Malabar and compelled them to pay tribute to the Pāṇḍyan. He vanquished the troops of Tumbichechi Naik at Paramakudi,³ and beheaded that chief in the Pāṇḍyan's presence. Viśvanātha's services were thus valuable and disinterested. But success turned his head and inspired schemes of ambition in his mind. The saviour became the spoiler. Forgetful of loyalty and justice, he turned against the very person whom he had come to save, and seized the crown. With a wise promptness he then took precautions to secure his usurpation. He distributed his army throughout the kingdom, put the forts in defence, and killed such of the king's troops

¹ Wheeler has evidently taken this version from one of the histories which Wilson refers to in his article on the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in J. R. A. S. III. Wilson also attributes the whole to the reign of Krishna Dēva Rāja. It is unfortunate that the original MSS. on which Wilson depended are not available. If available, we can find out how far Wheeler is true to them. Wilson based his article on Kuttiah's *Hist. of the Kings of Madura; Hist. of Telugu Rulers of Madura*, translated by Wheatley; etc. The *Madu. Manu.* gives a very good summary of the circumstances under which the Naik Raj was established and the correct date 1559; but it wrongly says that it took place in the time of Krishna Dēva. See also for very short but modern account *Madu. Gaz.*, chapter on Political History.

² This is absurd.

³ In reality the Paramakudi affair took place in the time of Viśvanātha's son and successor Kumāra Krishnappa. See Chapter IV.

as had resisted. He then, it is said, placed Kāṇa Pāṇḍya in prison, massacred his women and children so as not to leave even a single member of the family, and then, placing the conquered region in his father's charge, set out for Vijayanagar with a view to pacify the indignant emperor. The golden head which he placed at the Rāja's feet and the heap of money and spoils which he brought, were sufficient atonement for his conduct, and "Krishna Rai" did not only embrace him with affection and honour him with an equal seat and the title of partner in the government of the empire, but crowned him, on the first day of January²⁴ 1560, King of Madura at Vijayanagar. Wheeler then describes the coronation ceremony both at Vijayanagar and in Madura, and concludes by showing how with the confirmation of his crown in Minākshi's presence, with his father's joyous blessing, and with the fidelity of Aryanātha, Viśvanātha firmly established his dynasty on the old Pāṇḍyan throne.

Discussion of the Date of the Naik Advent.

The version of Wheeler is so full of inaccuracies and so directly contrary to the chronicles in regard to the character and conduct of Viśvanātha, that we can dismiss it altogether as false. With regard to the other versions, however, we are not without difficulties. First of all, there is the inconsistency in regard to dates. A large number of the Polygar memoirs ascribe Nāgama, Chandra-Sēkhara and Viśvanātha to the first half of the 15th century. The *Hist. Carn. Governors* and scores of other chronicles take this view. The *Pand. Chron.* and some other MSS. on the other hand, clearly say that Viśvanātha's coronation took place in 1559. Where such a conflict of opinion exists, inscriptions should decide; and inscriptions²⁵ unmistakably prove that it was 1559. Taking then that Viśvanātha founded his dynasty in 1559, two questions remain to be answered. Was the conquest sudden or was it a prolonged process of years? If it was an achievement of years, how many years elapsed between the beginning of it and the actual coronation of Viśvanātha in 1559? Secondly, what were the *exact* circumstances under which Viśvanātha assumed his crown? Taking the first question, we find that opinions vary among historians, Mr. Taylor, for instance, believed that not less than a generation must have passed between the punitive expedition of Nāgama Naik and the invasion of his son. "Between the first conquest of Nāgama Naicker," he says "his usurping the kingdom, being deposed, the death of Chandra Sēkhara, and the final election of Viśvanātha Naicker, an interval of some few years must have occurred. Hence to fix the conquest by Nāgama Naicker at about SS. 1460 and the instalment of his son Viśvanātha at about SS. 1480, seem to us best to accord with the true state of the question; supposing that the interval of twenty years may be tolerably well accounted for, and not pretending to exact

²⁴ The absurdity of Wheeler is clear from this. Krishna Raya died in 1530.

²⁵ Wilson was for an intermediate date, viz. 1520. He rejected Muttiah's date 1560 and also Wilk's date of 1530. "Muttiah's history enumerates," he says, "between 1560 and 1742 or 182 years; the other MS. 14—princes in 307 years,—former giving about 17 and the latter 22 years to a reign. But this proportion is too improbable as three of the 14 princes are brothers who reigned consecutively and the average of whose reign could not have exceeded half this number. We shall have a more probable result if we suppose the number of princes to be including Nāgama 15, and the number of years 272; from 1520 to 1742, which will give us something less than 15 years to each reign." See *J. R. A. S.* III. Wilks says: "Nāgama Naik, described to be head of the bullock department to Achyuta Deva Rayeel of Vijayanagar, founded the dynasty of Naicker of Madura about the year 1532, with the aid of a colony of Telingas, which seems to have been planted in that country sometime before by the government of Vijayanuggur." *Mysore*, I, p. 34 foot-note. The *Mad. Manu.*, with Wilson, attributes the event to the reign of "Krishna Raya." (See Vol. I, p. 154), but gives the date as 1559 : (*Ibid* p. 121); see also Vol. II, p. 96.

and definite certainty.²⁶ Later on, Mr. Taylor revised his calculation in the light of the theory of Wilson that it was Krishna Dēva Rāya that sent Nāgama Naik against the Chōla, and the theory of Wilks that it was Achyuta Rāya that did so in 1532; and concluded that the latter might be "the exact truth;" for "it is some confirmation that it accords with the date assigned to Viśvanātha Naiker in the *Pandyan chronicle*, which is SS. 1481, or 1559 A. D. allowing 27 years for intermediate events. Nāgama Naiker, at all events, must have been general to Krishna Rayer, having the southernmost portion of that king's extensive conquests assigned to him as his military government. It is also probable that the complaint of Chandra Sēkhara Pāṇḍyan was preferred to Krishna Rayer towards the close of his reign; and that the orders to repel the Soren (Chōla) and replace the Pāṇḍyan king were given by him. During the accomplishment, Krishna Rayer in all probability died; and the circumstance immediately following his decease would no doubt encourage Nāgama Naiker to set up for himself in the newly conquered kingdom. For Krishna Rayer had no legitimate male children; and Achyuta Rayer, the nearest heir, variously termed brother, cousin and nephew, was absent²⁷; and the late Rayer's minister, ostensibly according to the deceased king's order, set up Sada Siva, a pageant prince under his own tutelage, until the return of Achyuta Rāya, and his assumption of the sovereignty. Here are circumstances very favourable to Nāgama Naiker's rebellion; and even without expressed treachery to his former master. If such were the state of circumstances, we must presume that, though Viśvanātha Naiker rose into notice and employ under Krishna Rayer, yet it was by one of the latter's successors, that the founder of the Carnataca dynasty was formally designated to the viceroyalty of Madura."²⁸ One more quotation from Taylor illustrates his position clearly. "From Mr. Campbell's list of the Rayer dynasty," he says, "it appears that Krishna Rayer ruled 21 years, from SS. 1430 to 1452 (1509-1530 A. D.); Achyuta Rāya 12 years, from SS. 1452 to 1464 (1530-1542). There then succeeds an interval of usurped powers on the part of Timma Rāja and Rāma Rāja, though Sada Siva is nominally king for 22 years, from S. 1464 to S. 1486 (1542-1564). Now from the foregoing dates, it will appear probable (as before inferred) that Nāgama Naiker received his orders to support Chandra Sēkhara Pāṇḍyan from Krishna Rayer; that he had effected the conquest in two or three years after; but that, availing himself of the unsettled state of things at Vijayanagaram during the earlier years ascribed to Achyuta Rāya, when Timma Rāja's influence as minister was predominant, he took measures to confirm himself in the independent sovereignty of Madura; that Achyuta Deva himself, having taken the reigns in hand, despatched Viśvanātha on the expedition against his father; that Chandra Sēkhara Pāṇḍyan ruled as a tributary for some little time, supported by the northern army with Āryanātha Mudaliar at their head; that, his death, occurring, Viśvanātha Naiker was installed by Sada Siva by virtue of the Pāṇḍyan's asserted adoption, and the promised protection of the two former Rayers; that he actually entered on his government about six years previous to the battle of Tellicootta."²⁹

The conclusions of Mr. Taylor, however, do not seem to be incontrovertible. In the first place, they were made at a time when the evidences of epigraphy were very meagre. Secondly, they were not the results of a many-sided consideration of all the manuscripts and chronicles available. A study of these shews plainly at least one thing—that the

²⁶ O. H. MSS. II, 88.

²⁷ O. H. MSS. II, 95.

²⁸ It is difficult to say whence Taylor derived this information.

²⁹ O. H. MSS. II, 123.

establishment of Viśvanātha on the Madura throne was a short, sharp, decisive affair. No doubt, as we have already seen, he was viceroy for years before his elevation to the royal dignity; but his actual elevation to the Pāṇḍyan's throne was posterior to his earlier vicerealty and the immediate outcome of his father's revolt and the Pāṇḍyan's weakness. Almost every chronicle seems to imply that Nāgama Naik's expedition to the south was promptly followed by his revolt and then his subjugation by his son. They seem to imply that the various stages of these events followed one another in rapid succession. They do not seem to say that they covered the long period of a generation. The evidences of inscriptions moreover give a passive proof of this fact. They clearly point out that Achyuta Rāya led an expedition to the south in 1532, that he wielded a real power throughout his reign, that his successor Sadāiva Rāya was an equally powerful sovereign. They also point out how from 1535 to 1557 Viśvanātha Naik and Viṭṭhala were the imperial viceroys. If Nāgama Naik's revolt had taken place during the administration of these viceroys, it would certainly have been recorded in some at least of the inscriptions of the day. In fact we have positive reasons to shew that he could not have rebelled in this period; for the first of the two viceroys was his son, the other his relative. If he had attempted independence, it must have been before 1535; but we have already seen how in 1532-33 Achyuta Rāya had Nāgama as a loyal lieutenant of his and how his power was not menaced after his victorious campaign. All these facts go to prove that Nāgama's defection must have taken place in 1557 or 1558 and that his defeat and his son's elevation must have been accomplished in 1559.

The Nature of the Naik Accession.

The date having been thus disposed of, the circumstances under which Viśvanātha's elevation took place remain for consideration. It is to be feared that no solution can be reached in regard to this question. We have already seen how variant are the accounts of his relations with the Pāṇḍyas. We have seen how some say that Chandra-Sekhara was the last of the line and that the crown naturally devolved on Viśvanātha as he was adopted by him; and how others say that Chandra-Sekhara was succeeded by his son Vira-Pāṇḍya who, however, died childless, bequeathing his crown to Viśvanātha; and how still others maintain that Viśvanātha destroyed the Pāṇḍyan family and usurped the crown. All agree that the Rāya supported Viśvanātha and recognized him to be the ruler in place of the ancient Pāṇḍyan dynasty. Was Viśvanātha a usurper or legitimate claimant? Was he in reality a destroyer of the old Pāṇḍyan line or an adopted and therefore legitimate heir? The question will perhaps be never solved. The chronicles unanimously give a favourable view of Viśvanātha's conduct; but Wheeler gives, as we have already seen, a diametrically opposite version. The late Mr. Nelson also points out that, even after his full attainment of power, Viśvanātha had under his control two Pāṇḍyan princes.

The Characteristics of Naik Rule.

However it was, there can be no question that the establishment of the Naik dynasty was of immense significance in South Indian History. For the next two centuries the country from the Kāvēri to the Cape and from the western mountains to Ceylon, was under the sway of Viśvanātha's descendants. They were not great men, as a rule, in the ordinary sense of the word. High statesmanship was comparatively rare among them, but they left, throughout the land which acknowledged their rule, a series of monuments which will never die, and which will ever keep their memory fresh in the annals of India and of art.

Temples and choultries, tanks and villages, without number, owed their existence to their benevolence or liberality, and a chain of forts of skilful design and patient labour even now testify to their martial spirit. Thousands of Brāhman villages of the south remind us of the enlightened interest of some Nāik king and the great veneration he had for the Brāhmans, and almost every temple or house of charity traces its history to the piety or generosity of a Nāik. No greater example have we in history of a line of a kings so uniformly industrious in the promotion of religious architecture and military fortification, and no line which so heartily co-operated with the intellectual aristocracy of the land. It may not be quite possible to endorse the statement of an able English writer that the Nāik dynasty "raised the country probably to the highest level of civilization attainable by it under a native government."¹⁰⁰ For, as we shall see later on, the Nāiks sometimes displayed their enthusiasm for building at the expense of good government, and their munificence at the expense of popular welfare. Under their exorbitant sway the burden of taxation was, as a rule, very great, and the security of people precarious. Not even for a decade, during their rule of two centuries, did they cease from the horrors of war and the hardships of military exercises. Entirely oblivious of their subject's needs, they very often readily courted military engagements with an easy mind and a culpable recklessness which made settled government a mockery. Nevertheless there is much of truth in what Mr. Nelson says. Misrule was not continuous. It had welcome breaks, while statesmen of the stamp of Viśvanātha are not entirely wanting. Above all, the service they rendered to Hindu religion and civilization is incalculable. Guided at every step by Brāhmans, the Nāiks seemed to be more the servants of the Church than the masters of their kingdom, and as the establishment of villages, the construction of canals, the excavation of tanks, and similar tasks of utility and benefit were, in the eyes of their advisers, at once acts of policy and religion, it is not difficult to see how Brahmanical influence was calculated to benefit the masses and the cause of civilization.

NOTE.

Manucci's Theory of the Origin of the Naik Kingdom.

The Venetian traveller Manucci gives an even wider account of the origin of the southern kingdom than Wheeler. "More than 200 years ago," he says, "there reigned an emperor called Rāma Rāja who was so generous that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked." (*Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 98). His liberality gained him a high renown and a host of servants from alien countries. His empire extended from the Nerbada and Jagannath to the Cape and included the Coromandel, Travancore and Konkan coasts. His empire was highly prosperous and abounded in pearls and diamonds, in food-stuffs and grains, in cities, forts and harbours, and was consequently the resort of adventurers of all nations, especially those of China and Achin. The emperor, continues Manucci, gave with characteristic generosity the government of the different provinces to his servants and slaves. Bijāpur, for instance, he bestowed on a Georgian Yusuf Ali, the carver at his table; Gulbarga, to his huntsman Abraham Maly (Ibrāhīm Malik); Daulatābād to his Abyssinian slave and chamber-servant, Nizām Shāh; Golconda, to another of his slaves who had charge of the hawks, falcons, etc., and of the royal hunting establishments, and was known as Baram (falcon) Kutb Shāh; Būrānpur, to his carpet-spreader; and so on. "The remaining lands of the Carnatic were divided among his Hindu pages, while he retained some territory and a few fortresses scattered here and

¹⁰⁰ Nelson; *Madu. Manu*. 86.

there in the middle of the said Carnatic. This splitting up of his realm and giving it away, was the cause of this emperor's ruin, for not many years passed before the princes, called Naiks, rebelled. One of these took possession of Madurey (Madura) and another of Tanjaur (Tanjore), another of Maxur (Mysore), another of Cholomangalao (Choromandal). They ceased to send in their tribute, giving him nothing but a small sum just sufficient for his support. Upon his death, they crowned themselves and announced themselves princes of the countries they held. All of them were rich and powerful, taking no notice of, nor acknowledging, the descendants of the Emperor Râma Râja, their former suzerain." (III, p. 235). After Râma Râja's death, Manucci continues, his descendants lost the allegiance of the governors, and remained in the Carnatic territory in poverty, subsisting on the charity which the rebel governors gave. "There still survive some of them," he concludes (i. e., in 1700), but "they keep in obscurity not to be recognized, otherwise Aurangzeb and his governors would most certainly take their lives. They subsist by begging for alms. One of them discovered himself to the Rev. Father Paul, Carmelite, and held several conversations with him. In one talk he requested him to prevail on one of the kings of Europe to send an army to his assistance. He promised that if such help were afforded, he would give a great reward, with much land and many privileges. The said father, I well know, made proposals to several European nations, but his efforts had no results." (*Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 235-6).

Manucci's theory in regard to the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan is absurd, but it is noteworthy that it corroborates Ferishta's statement that Râma Râja treated the Sultans as more or less servants of himself. It is also curious that something similar to Manucci's version is given by Dr. Fryer who travelled in India about 1680. (See edition 1879 p. 399).

(To be continued.)

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADHVA ACHARYAS.

BY G. VENCOBA RAO, OOTACAMUND.

Continued from p. 224.37

For fixing the exact dates of birth and death of Madhvâchârya, we must first enter into the details of the life of Narahari Tirtha, for whom we have several dates given in inscriptions, discovered in the Telugu districts. If we fix the land-marks in the life of Narahari, it would become easy to arrive at the dates for the various events in the life of Madhvâchârya.

In a short poem entitled *Narahariyâsi-stôtram*, written by one Kṛishṇa, a disciple of Appayyâchârya of Vyâghrapurî,¹⁵ it is stated that the name of Narahari Tirtha before he assumed the *sakṣyâśârama* was Sîma Sâstrin, and that he having met Ânanda Tirtha, implored the latter to make him his disciple and a *sakṣyâśâsin*. Ânanda Tirtha gave him the *kâshâya* and named him Narahari. Leaving his guru he went by his command to the Kaliṅga Country to act as the regent during the minority of the prince of that country, and at the end of his tenure secured for his master the images of Râma and Sîtâ.¹⁶ His Regency extended to twelve years. Ânanda Tirtha is said to have worshipped the images for a period of eighty days and finally made them over to Padmanâbha Tirtha, and went eventually to-

¹⁵ Published in the Collection of *Stôtras*, called *Stôtra-mahâdâki*, at Belgaum.

¹⁶ पूर्व यः क्षामकाक्षी सवस्तुनिगुप्तं श्रीमद्वन्दरीधे मत्वा प्रोद्यत् सत्सु दिवसु मम भवान् प्रीतिपूर्वकं यतित्वं । श्रीपूर्वमहाकाश नरहरिमुक्तिरित्याह्वयं प्राप्य चोक्तः सधौ त्वं गच्छ स्त्रीधे गजपतिमगरं तत्र राजा भवेति ॥२॥

Badarikāśrama.¹⁷ Padmanābha Tirtha ruled as the pontiff of the Mādhyas for six years, nine months and twenty days.¹⁸ He was succeeded by Narahari Tirtha, whose pontificate extended to nine years, one month and twenty-three days, beginning from the 14th *tithi* of the month of Kārttika of the year Raktākāṣiṇ. During this period, he set up in a temple the image of Nārāyaṇa found in a lake, and renamed the village Nārāyaṇadēvarakere (in the Bellary District). He died on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the tenth month in the year Śrīmukha.¹⁹

As already stated, there are a number of inscriptions in the Telugu districts mentioning Narahari Tirtha. The records range from S. 1186 to S. 1215, i.e. for nearly a period of 30 years. The earliest of these mentions that Narahari Tirtha made a gift of some gold to the temple of Kūrmēśvara.²⁰ Two others dated S. 1205 mention a certain Narasimha Mahābhattachāpādhyāya, who is described as a contemporary of Anaṅgabhīma.²¹ This Narasimha Mahābhattachāpādhyāya is said to have constructed an enclosure of black stone for the temple of Kūrmēśvara. Another inscription informs us that Anaṅgabhīma belonged to the family of the Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga.²² No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for the year 1896 describes Narahari Tirtha as the disciple of Ānanda Tirtha, who was a disciple of Puruṣhōttama Tirtha. Narahari is therein represented "as a (dutiful) son following the profession of (his) father, practising high politics in a righteous manner (and) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings; and being devoted exclusively to the great services of the Lord of Śrīkamatha, holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (temple), an excellent sword (which is) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the Sabaras,—(but) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its mere flash."²³ This inscription is dated Śaka 1203. One other inscription states that the S. 1215 corresponded to the 18th year of the reign of Pratāpa Vīra-Narasimhadēva²⁴; that is, the last known dated record which mentions Narahari Tirtha belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Narasimhadēva. Hence, the first year of his reign or the year of coronation of this prince must have taken place in S. 1197.

With these facts gathered from epigraphical sources let us scrutinise the life of Narahari Tirtha as given in the *stōtra*. That Narahariyati followed the footsteps of his father in protecting the Kālīṅga country enables us, as was rightly observed by Mr. Krishna Sastri, to infer that his father was also like himself the prime minister of the kings of Kālīṅga. The country appears to have been always subjected to attacks from the wild mountain race, the Sabaras, and Narahari's attention was constantly bestowed upon his troublesome neighbours. From the statement that one Narasimha Mahābhattachāpādhyāya was a contemporary of Anaṅgabhīma, We are inclined to take that Narahari is meant thereby. If this

¹⁷ श्रीमत् नरहरीमिथुना सीत श्रीमं खगज (80) देवानि पूजयित्वा । इष्टसन् विपुलद्वन्द्वनामतीर्थं त्वं पूजा-
कुर्व महीति तिष्ठति ॥ १ ॥

¹⁸ श्रीमत्पुजनामतीर्थेतिराह संपूज्य वदन्तराम श्रीमं नरहरीतीर्थर करे दत्त्वा ययौ स्वं पदम् । रक्ताक्षी-
श्वरदत्तदेवतिथ्याश्रयमासे सिति पक्षे श्रीनरहरीतीर्थ सममज्जमण्डलाचार्यताम् ॥ ८ ॥

¹⁹ संचारकाले पुद्गलाय किंचित्स्वमे तटाकस्यहरि समीक्ष्य । संस्थाप्य नागयज्ञदेवयज्ञाकराभिधानं नगरे चकार ॥ १० ॥
एवं श्रीमतिराजमहासहिमपुङ्गव श्रीरामदेवं ततो दत्त्वा माधवतीर्थे हस्तक्रमले संप्राप्य तुंगातटम् । सर्वे श्रीपुजनाधि-
नाधि दक्षमे पक्षे सिति सममे घञे देहिमिं त्यजन् पदमगाच्छ्रीविष्णुनाथः सुमम् ॥ ११ ॥

²⁰ No. 260 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1896.

²¹ Nos. 295 and 298 of the same.

²² No. 307 of the same.

²³ The translation of Mr. Krishna Sastri is quoted here. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 260.

²⁴ No. 363 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1896.

surmise is correct, we can assert that Narahari served Anāṅgabhinna as his minister and later on as regent to his son. The prince Pratāpa Vīra-Narasimhadēva, whom we know as the son of Anāṅgabhinna, assumed sovereignty in the year S. 1197, and hence the regency of Narahari must necessarily have come to a close that very year. The same year Narahari returned to Uṭipi with the images of Rāma and Sītā and made them over for *pāja* to his master, Ānanda Tīrtha, who, as we have already seen, worshipped them for a period of eighty days and finally retired to Badarī (i. e. died).²⁵ It means that Ānanda Tīrtha died in the year S. 1197.

Now, the year S. 1197 must according to the *Narahari-yati-stōtra* must be the twelfth year of the regency of Narahari; the regency therefore must have begun in the year S. 1185. As a matter of fact we find records mentioning Narahari only from the year S. 1186 and not earlier. We consider this evidence corroborates well the statement of the *stōtra* that he reigned over Kalinga a regent for twelve years. After the demise of the great Dvaita leader in S. 1197, Padmanābha Tīrtha ruled as the pontiff of the Mādhvas, according to the *maṭha* lists, for 6 years, 9 months and 20 days. The same list gives 9 years, 1 month and

²⁵ The followers of Ānanda Tīrtha believe that their great teacher still lives in the jungles of Badarī on the Himalayas. He is considered to be an *avāta* of Vāyu in the latter's third incarnation (*avātar*), the three *avātaras* of Vāyu being Hanumān, Bhīma and Ānanda Tīrtha. It appears that something like the following is the probable explanation of the phrase that a man is the *avāta* of a particular deity: e.g., Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is considered to be the incarnation of Kumāra (Subrahmaṇya), who heralded the advent of his father Śaṅkara (Śiva) on this earth as Śaṅkarācārya; Śaṅkarācārya is similarly believed to be the *avāta* of Śiva or Śaṅkara. People seem to have wondered at the prodigious intellect of this remarkable man and in their admiration they began to attribute such extraordinary powers to something supernatural. The name indicates of whom he might be an *avāta*: "Verily he must be another Śaṅkara (Śiva) that has come down upon the earth for the purpose of reclaiming humanity." The feeling that Śaṅkara might be Śiva grows stronger as the mist of ages thicken round such a faith, till in the long run the analogy is forgotten and identity is established between the object of comparison and the object compared to it.

The great Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja, is asserted to be an *avātar* of Ādiśeṣha. Rāmānuja was called Lakṣhmaṇa (Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa) by his father. When he took the *saṅgaddāśrama* he came to be known by the name of Rāmānuja (the brother of Rāma, i. e. Lakṣhmaṇa). When Viṣṇu desired to be born on the earth as Rāma, he made Lakṣmī, Ādiśeṣha, the *śaṅkhā*, the *chakra*, etc. be born also as Sītā, Lakṣhmaṇa, etc. Ādiśeṣha was represented by Lakṣhmaṇa. Hence Rāmānuja of vast learning must be as wise as Ādiśeṣha (Lakṣhmaṇa, i. e., Rāma's *amaṇa* in this case).

An exactly similar reasoning has been applied by the Mādhvas in identifying Ānanda Tīrtha with Bhīmaśeṣha and Hanumān. Like the former, he has also performed several gastronomic feats (see pp. 176, 177, and 38 of Mr. C. M. Padmanābhacharya's book). He lifted a huge boulder like Hanumān and threw it in the river Tuṅgabhadra (Sp. Cur. Vol VI, Mg. No. 89). That the Ācārya possessed an uncommonly strong digestive faculty and consequently a very healthy frame of body has to be inferred from these facts. He was not like many intellectual giants weak in health. Having posited that Mādhvācārya was a strong man and resembled Hanumān and Bhīma, in course of time he passed to be *avātaras* of these Paurāṇic heroes. This supposition being granted, it follows as a logical consequence that Mādhvācārya must also be as immortal as these heroes. Hence he could not or did not die. He lives like the others in a manner we ordinary mortals cannot see or know.

It is extremely repulsive to the mind of the Mādhva to be told that his Ācārya died. He is said to have gone to Badarī, whereas all other Ācāryas are distinctly mentioned as dead. If their Ācāryas also had actually died, surely his biographers would have also written "died" instead of "gone to Badarī." In this connection we should refer our readers to the euphemistic way in which the death of a person is referred to among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, which is "*Sadāśi Mru-nāḥukku chundaruṅgaḍi*," meaning that he went away to Svarga (H. to the sacred land).

23 days as the length of the pontificate of Narahari Tirtha. That is, the last year of Narahari must be the last year of Mādhvāchārya's life *plus* the periods of the pontificates of Padmanābha Tirtha and Narahari Tirtha, which comes to nearly the Saka year 1214-5. If fact, the latest date we got from the inscriptions for Narahari was S. 1215. The records engraved between Saka 1186 to 1197 might have been written at his own command, whereas those found after S. 1197 and till S. 1215 must have been caused to be written by the command of the prince Nārasimha, for the merit of his late regent. The striking coincidence of the dates with the facts given in the *stotra* make it more than probable that S. 1197 might be the last year of Mādhvāchārya. This Saka year corresponds to the cycle year Yuva.

According to the traditional lists Mādhvāchārya was born in the Cyclic year Piṅgala and lived for 80 years (until Yuva), the year of birth of Mādhvāchārya, must therefore correspond with the Saka year 1117 or 1118. We find from the tables that 1118 is Piṅgala. Hence the date of birth of Mādhvāchārya must be S. 1118.

The year arrived at by this process of reasoning is in close agreement with the dates given in the *Bhārata-tātparyā-nirṇaya* and *Chhalāri-smṛiti*. The first gives Kali 4300 (S. 1120) as the date of birth of the Āchārya,²⁶ where as the second states that Mādhva-guru was born in S. 1128.²⁷ The first is almost the date that we have arrived at from a study of the epigraphical records. The second perhaps refers to the date of assumption of *saṁnyāsa* by Vāsudēva,—for, tradition says that he became a *saṁnyāsin* in his eighth year,—hence both might be correct, referring each to an incident in the life of the teacher. When a person takes the *saṁnyāsaśrama* he is believed to have entered a new life and the rebirth of Vāsudēva as Ānanda Tirtha might therefore have been recorded by Chhalāri. The words—*vipra-tama* and *Mādhva-guru*—used to denote the individual are very suggestive. The former signifies physical birth and the latter the spiritual birth.

It now remains to explain how the date of the Āchārya came to be recorded as the year S. 1040, corresponding to the cyclic year Viḷambin, in the *maṭha* lists. The date of the death of each Āchārya is observed as a holy day among the Mādhvas and these days are known as *pūṇya-divasas*. But in the case of Mādhvāchārya, who is believed to have never died at all, there cannot be a *pūṇya-divasa* and consequently perhaps his day of birth was taken as the *pūṇya-divasa*. In later times, when the lists of the *maṭhas* were written, the *pūṇya-divasa* of Mādhvāchārya must have been taken, as in all other cases, as the date of death of the Āchārya (i. e., his departure to Badari) and knowing from tradition

²⁶ चतुस्सहस्रे विंशतीसरे गते संवत्सराणां शु कालौ प्रथिव्याम् ।

यातः पुनर्विप्रतनुस्स भीमो वैश्वेनिगूढं हरितस्वमाहः ॥

It appears improbable that the verse belongs to the original work, and is more likely to be an interpolation. For, it is quite unlikely that the Āchārya would boast of himself as the incarnation of Bhīma, taken to destroy the *dāityas*. Besides there is no need, in the present instance, for him to give the date of his birth. It must be that the interpolation was made by some pious hand with a desire of recording the date of the birth of the Guru, in his work itself.

²⁷ कालौ प्रवृत्ते बौद्धादिमतं रामानुजं तथा । शाके ह्येकोनपञ्चाशदधिकवत्सहस्रके ॥

निराकर्तुं मुख्यवार्तुं सम्मतस्यापनाह च । एकादशसते शाके विंशत्सहस्रके गते ॥

अवतीर्णे मध्वगुरुं सदा वंदे महाशुभ ॥ (There is no other date Saka 1040 mentioned herein the relevancy of which is not clear. Can it be that it refers to the advent of Bāṁṁnuja ?)

that he lived for eighty years, they must have deducted this number from S. 1120 (the date given in the (*Bhārata-tātparyā-nirṇaya*) and arrived at S. 1040 for the date of birth of Mādhvāchārya.

If, according to the matha list, we take the date of demise of Mādhvāchārya to be S. 1120, the date of the end of Padmanābha Tīrtha's pontificate would become S. 1126-7, and of Narahari, S. 1135-8. Then Narahari could not be represented as making or causing others to make gifts to temples in the years between S. 1186-1215, that is, fifty years after his death in S. 1135-8.

In a foot-note in his paper on the Srikurman inscription of Narahari Tīrtha, Mr. Krishna Sastri writes that the Svāmi of the Phalmāru matha told him that his matha list gives Piṅgala and Śvara as the dates of birth and death of Mādhvāchārya²⁸ and this is very near the dates arrived by us.

The *Madhva-vijaya* mentions that a certain king named Śvara was ruling over the Mahārāshtra country when Mādhvāchārya passed through it. This king is identified by Mr. Krishnasami Ayyar with Mahādēva of Dēvagiri who ruled from A. D. 1260-1270 (S. 1182-1192), his reason being that both of them possess a name which refers to Siva, and poet Narayana Panditācharya, the author of *Madhva-vijaya*, might have, for exigencies of metre, rendered the real name Mahādēva into its equivalent, Śvara. We do not know how far this identification is tenable. In case the identification is assumed to be correct the meeting of Mādhvāchārya and Mahādēva must have taken place in the last part of the life of the former, which is not what the *Madhva-vijaya* has. Therein the event is said to have taken place in the middle of the life of the Āchārya, that is, when he undertook his second journey to Badarī.

A second prince is also mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya*; viz., Jayasimha of Kumbha.

We confess we are at present unable to identify this king with any hitherto known to history.

The facts noticed in the previous paragraphs may be tabulated as follows:—

Birth of Mādhvāchārya	S. 1118 (or 1120)
Assumption of holy orders.. .. .	S. 1128.
Tour to the south.	
Pilgrimage to Badarī.	
Conversion of Sōbhana Bhatta, Sāma Sāstrin, and Govinda Bhatta.	
Second tour to Badarī	
Narahari's regency begins... ..	S. 1186
Do. do. ends	S. 1197
Death of Mādhvāchārya and the accession of Padmanābha ...	S. 1197
Death of Padmanābha Tīrtha	S. 1204
Narahari's pontificate	S. 1204-1215

(To be continued.)

²⁸ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 263, footnote L.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV. p. 176.)

No. IV.

JOHN SMITH.

JOHN SMITH, the fourth of our "Worthies," resembles William Jearsey, the fiery chief of Masulipatam¹ rather than either Walter Clavell or Ambrose Salisbury, his contemporaries in Bengal. Like Jearsey, Smith, as head of a subordinate factory, openly defied his superiors, was dismissed the service, refused to return to England, and turned 'interloper.' Here, however, the resemblance ends, for Smith had no powerful supporters among those in office, and his attempt at independent trading ended prematurely and disastrously.

The first mention of John Smith in the Records of the East India Company is on the 18th October, 1667, when he was elected by a Court of Committees to serve as a factor in the Bay of Bengal at a salary of £20 per annum. In this capacity he was obliged to give security for £1000. His sponsors were "James Smith of Withington in Salop, Clerk," and Matthew Shepherd.² The former, who was incumbent of St. John the Baptist, Withington, from 1654 to 1684 was probably a relative.³

John Smith sailed to India in one of the five ships sent to Madras in 1668,⁴ probably in the *Blackamore*, with Richard Edwards, another newly elected factor. Fort St. George was, at this time, in a state of turmoil owing to the actions of Sir Edward Winter, the late Agent, who, for over two years had defied the Company, had ignored their orders for his return to England, and had imprisoned his successor, Sir George Foxcroft. While the "Commissioners" empowered to reduce the mutinous Sir Edward to obedience were carrying out their instructions, the ships, with the Company's junior servants destined for Bengal, sailed to Masulipatam. Here they were detained by bad weather, and were unable to land their passengers at Balasor until early in 1669.

Smith appears to have been immediately ordered to Hugli, where he arrived on the 5th March,⁵ leaving Edwards at Balasor. The two had apparently struck up a friendship during the voyage from England and had already arranged to assist each other in private trade. Smith lost no time in buying and selling on his own and Edwards' account at Hugli, where he had temporary charge of the Company's factory, with a "diet allowance" of Rs. 30 per month.⁶ He began with some sword blades, but considered that the price offered by the local governor was too low.⁷

In April, 1669, Edwards was sent to Kāsimbāzār to join Thomas Jones⁸, another of the Company's newly-arrived servants, while Smith accompanied John March on a special mission to Dacca.⁹ March was selected by Shem Bridges, head of affairs in Bengal, to plead the cause of the English to the Nawāb Shāista Khān and to endeavour to obtain

¹ See *ante*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 163, 286 ff.² *Court Minutes*, vol. 23, fols. 48, 68, 74.³ The *Shropshire Parish Registers* mention James, Joseph, Mary and Rachel as children of the Rev. James Smith, but there is no record of any child of the name of John.⁴ *Letter Book*, vol. 4.⁵ *O. C.* No. 3255.⁶ *O. C.* No. 3282.⁷ *O. C.* No. 3255.⁸ *O. C.* No. 3264.⁹ *O. C.* Nos. 3265, 3272.

redress from the grievances imposed on the Company's servants by Malik Kâsim, the native governor at Hâglî. A halt was made at Kâsimbâzâr, and Dacca was reached about the end of May.¹⁰ Six weeks later March wrote to Edwards that "Business goes on soe slowly in this cursed Durbar," that it would be another month before he could accomplish his mission and be ready to "return for Cassambazar," when he should leave John Smith in charge of the Company's investments at Dacca.¹¹ At the same time Smith himself wrote to Edwards, posing as a champion of the Company's rights. He regretted that Roger Broadnax was under suspicion of "Treichery" and feared the Company would be sufferers by the "unworthy Dealings" of William Blake, the late Agent in Bengal. During the remainder of the year 1669 he was presumably in sole charge at Dacca. Two letters addressed to him by Edwards at Kâsimbâzâr are extant, the one¹² acknowledging the receipt of money which arrived too late for the investment of 1669, and the other¹³ expressing sympathy that "the Mogull who made a bargain with Mr. March . . . Should t and of [off]."

In the following year, 1670, there is no record of Smith, except in a private capacity, nor any indication to show whether he was as busily employed in the Company's affairs as he was in carrying out his own and his friend's investments. In March he wrote to Edwards¹⁴ that he had procured his "Tangeebis" (*tanzebs*) and would shortly forward the "Jelolsies"¹⁵ desired. In reply, he received a letter from Edwards, sent per Thomas Jones, "who is to reside with you,"¹⁶ giving directions about the "Jelloisyes" and arranging for the payment of them. Jones fell ill immediately on his arrival, which, "discouraged him soe much" that he returned to Kâsimbâzâr. He was, however, sent back a month later, when he was again the bearer of a letter from Edwards to Smith with directions about various "adventures" and "2 ps. braid."¹⁷ Edwards had apparently offered to act as matrimonial agent for his friend, for on the 23rd August 1670, Smith wrote,¹⁸ "I humbly thank you for your news and for your kind offer of an English Lady. My confidence in you is great, yet not soe as I can trust you to chooose a wife for mee when you are unprovided your Selfe, which want pray first supply, and if there's none left for mee, I'm content to stay till an other Spring."

Beyond a short letter from Edwards, on the 31st January 1671, regretting the failure to dispose of his swords at Dacca,¹⁹ there is no further reference to Smith until December of that year, when he officially informed Walter Clavell, who had succeeded Shem Bridges as "Chief" in "the Bay," that he could find a market for the Company's lead or tin.²⁰ Smith had apparently realized that the new chief was not favourably disposed towards him, for in January 1672, he wrote to Edwards at Kâsimbâzâr,²¹ "I writ severall times to Mr. Clavell for the Bale Silk Mr. Elwaies provided for mee but hee did not deliver it, by

¹⁰ At "Hutchora Hattee" (Hajrahât) Smith missed his "little carpet" which had been left at Kâsimbâzâr through the "Bongrie" of Edwards' "man." (O. C. No. 3277).

¹¹ O. C. No. 3306.

¹² O. C. No. 3339.

¹³ O. C. No. 3370.

¹⁴ O. C. No. 3411.

¹⁵ Fine piece goods, probably *jaldishâkî*. See Sir Richard Temple's note on this word, *Diaries of Streyneham Master*, I. 430n.

¹⁶ O. C. No. 3419.

¹⁷ O. C. No. 3436.

¹⁸ O. C. No. 3463.

¹⁹ O. C. No. 3533.

²⁰ *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 122.

²¹ O. C. No. 3622.

which I am greatly disappointed. I heare hee hath two of my Europe Letters in his custody, which hee sends not, nor have I received any answer to any Generall or perticular sent him this five months; I understand not the meaning of it." The remainder of the letter refers to Edward's own affairs and to their mutual trade—"I am sorry you are like to come to a losse for your trouble in packing the Company's goods, but glad to heare of your advance in Sallary and place, in which wish you much happinesse and prosperity . . . I have at last sold our Pepper at 19 rupees, a poore price, feare there will bee Little or noe proffett. As soone as I have opportunity, shall remitt your mony with your lace etc. here, which I intended to have carried with mee if had gone last Shipping. Your Successe as well as mine is bad in trading here; the swords believe will ly as long as the Pepper, here being many arrived." From the above it seems that Smith had intended to leave Dacca in 1671, but there is no record of any request to that effect. On the 31st March, 1672, he again wrote officially to his chief about investments that could be made at Dacca, adding, "This is the only place for Cossaes (*khāssa*), Adathees (*adhatar*, *dhāt*) and Hummums (*hammam*)."²² Meanwhile, Clavell's enquiries had convinced him that Smith was mismanaging affairs with the officials at the *darbār*, and he consequently dispatched James Price, who had had previous experience, to act as the Company's *vakil* at Dacca. Edwards sent a timely warning to his friend, and Smith, who either would not, or dared not, brook investigation into his methods at Court, refused to allow the *vakil* to carry out his orders, alleging that most of the "troubles" were ended before his arrival. The following extract of Smith's reply to Edwards shows that the charge, made later, of his high-handed treatment of Price was not unfounded:—Dacca 20 June 1672.²³ "By James Price received a letter from you and thank you very kindly for your advice concerning him; wee have used him accordingly and never employed him in a Cowryworth of service; wee doe this day dispeed him with a Letter . . . and your Brother [*brother-in-law*] J. V. [John Vickers] hath been honcured with another. Thank God wee have now ended most of our troubles and got two Phirwannas (*parwāna*), which will send in a few days; hope shall now please them all. If you hear of James, as 'tis like he will, that he ended this business, doe mee the favour to tell him from mee that hees a lying Rogue and never was employed."

On the 24th June, 1672, Smith reported his success in his negotiations with the Court officials, and stated that "Malik Cossum" (Malik Kāsim) had promised to pay what "he forced from the English."²⁴ This letter did not modify Clavell's opinion of Smith's incapacity, but still no steps were taken against him until the following year. He continued to trade on his own account, and in November, he sent a consignment of cloth to his friend Edwards.²⁵

However, on the 17th January 1673, Robert Elwes, then at Patna, was ordered forthwith to repair to Dacca, "Sundry causes having moved us to dismiss Mr. John Smith from his Employment and to constitute you in his place."²⁶ Writing to the Agent at Fort St. George on the 16th March, the Council at "the Bay" detail these "sundry causes" as follows:²⁷ "Having many just reasons to complain of the slackness of Mr. John Smith in

²² *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 125.

²⁴ *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 125.

²⁵ *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

²³ *O. C.* No. 3652.

²⁶ *O. C.* No. 3701.

²⁷ *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

Dacca, as well in giving us advices, as in dispatching away the Company's goods provided by him and giving us his accompts, wee recalled him from thence and ordered Mr. Elwes to leave Pattana and proceed to Dacca there to receive the Companys remaines and dispose of their goods . . . and have confidence that from him and Mr. Hervy wee shall have a more strict correspondence and compliance with our orders then hitherto wee have had from those who reside there."²⁸

Elwes duly notified his arrival at Dacca and the delivery of the Council's order to "John Smith for his surrender of the Companys remaines and repaire" to Balasor within ten days, and Smith's representation thereon.²⁹ In reply, Clavell remarked that the allotted days were ample for preparation, since Smith was apprised of his recall in January and therefore had had plenty of time to arrange his business. His presence was required at Balasor "to perfect his accompts, which for want of a good correspondence with him lye in no good plight, and its high time they were better methodized." Clavell also imputed to Smith's mismanagement the fact that so large a *peshkash*, or forced offering, had been demanded of the English by the Nawab—"The Company have so much the more to thanke Mr. Smith for that by his negligence and bad correspondence hath drawne upon them such a charge."

Smith, however, ignored the summons to return to Balasor. On the 3d April 1673, Clavell again wrote to Elwes that they "know not what there might bee remaining of Mr. Smith's [at Dacca], having scarce received any advice from him what hee had done;"³⁰ and with regard to alleged outstanding debts to Tilok Chand and others, he added, "The business of the brokers wee can say nothing to till wee heare further from you, but admire that there should bee such large remaines as you intimate, which concerne Mr. Smith to looke unto, hee having had now almost a yeares warning to get them in, but of this wee shall not write much, expecting Mr. Smith suddainely here, and then wee shall understand the state of his accompts, for wee expect he make no delay or frivolous pretences for his stay." In spite of these peremptory orders Smith did not hurry away from Dacca. In a letter from Samuel Hervy, of the 29th April 1673, to that popular correspondent, Richard Edwards, there is the remark, "Mr. Smith departs hence within three or four dayes and takes Cassimbazar in his way."³¹ However, a month later, on the 29th May, Smith was still at Dacca, and Hervy stated that he "departs hence I think tomorrow," leaving "musters of his silke" in Hervy's charge.³² In the end, it was the 9th June 1673, before Smith started for Kâsimbâzar *en route* for Balasor.³³

During his leisurely journey, he wrote to Edwards from "*Hudgora Hattee* [*Hajrahâti*], Friday June 20 [1673] if mistake not—Esteemed friend I am now arrived at Hudgora Hattee and expect this day to reach Merdadpore [*Mirdâûdpur*] to which place would intreate the favour from you to provide and send me a Pallakee [*palanquin*] and a set of Cahars [*kahâr*, porter] that I may, haveing this oppertunity (which is my great desire) see you [in] health and prosperitty; therefore hope you will fayle mee in sending Cahars and Pallakee, which I desire might bee on my accompt. I shall stay at Merdadpore about 24 hours and

²⁸ At the time of his dismissal, Smith was in receipt of a salary of £25 per annum and ranked as "9th in the Bay."

²⁹ *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

³¹ *O. C. No. 3783.*

³⁰ *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

³² *O. C. No. 3791.*

³³ *O. C. No. 3793.*

then if they arrive not shall put forward for Hugly. If you think I may meet with any afraunt, pray advise me, and how to avoid it."³⁴ The last sentence is written in a simple cypher, which, from this time, Smith frequently employed in his correspondence with Edwards. The reply to the above letter does not exist, but it seems probable that Smith was advised not to break his journey nor to come in contact with Matthias Vincent, the Chief at Kāsimbāzār, for, on the 28th June 1673, Clavell wrote to Dacca that Mr. Smith had "lately arrived" at Balasor, and that they should "now suddainely" examine his accounts. He had been told of the "difference in broad cloth," but attributed the mistake to Elwee.³⁵

For three months there is no mention of Smith and his affairs. On the 27th September he was still at Balasor, writing in cypher to Edwards,³⁶ "I am sorry you are ont, and E. L. [Edward Littleton] made third; we have had noe words of my going to Decca; when goe about that must go through quick." This seems to imply either that he expected reinstatement, or was hoping to return to Dacca to settle his own concerns. Finding himself mistaken and in ill odour with the authorities in "the Bay," Smith decided to appeal to headquarters, and on the 12th October 1673, he voiced his grievances in a letter to Nathaniel Herne, then Governor of the East India Company. He wrote,³⁷ that he "had served the Company in Dacca nearly five years and eight months," and that Vincent had sought his ruin because he was unsuccessful in a private matter he undertook for him. Further, he stated that Vincent had been heard to declare he would not rest till he had ruined him "tho' it cost him half his fortune," and to Vincent's influence with Clavell he attributed his recall from Dacca. He complained that the time limited was insufficient for him to settle his affairs and that, consequently, he was practically ruined, but he left the Company in ignorance of the fact that he had taken three months instead of the allotted ten days in which to arrange for his departure. He objected to the appointment of Hervy at Dacca on the ground that he was his avowed enemy and a "known atheist." With regard to the large *peshkash* given to the Nabob in 1672, for which he was blamed by Clavell, Smith pretended that no such bribe would have been necessary had not Clavell most injudiciously neglected to pay a ceremonial visit to the Governor of Hūgli before he started for Dacca. Finally, Smith accused Vincent of forcing money unjustly from some of the native servants at Kāsimbāzār and of being answerable for the death of Raghū the *poddār*, an affair which cost the Company Rs. 13,000. He concluded by assuring the Court of Committees of his faithful service and by begging to be restored to his chiefship at Dacca in order to secure the Company's estate, and, as a secondary consideration, his own, for Clavell was detaining some of his goods at Balasor as security for debts which he repudiated.

This letter does not appear to have been sent to England until late in the following year, for, on the 20th August 1674, the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Company, enclosing "papers from Mr. John Smith late chief of Decca, who complains, of much injustice done him; we have sent Coppies thereof to the Chief and Factors there, desiring them to cause things to be duly examined, which is all that we can do at present untill we can send some person to enquire into these matters. In the mean time your honours great prudence will be pleased to give us your sense and directions upon the premisses."³⁸

(To be continued).

³⁴ O. C. No. 3303.

³⁵ O. C. No. 3360.

³⁶ Factory Records, Hugli, vol. 4.

³⁷ Factory Records, Miscellaneous, vol. 3, p. 153.

³⁸ O. C. No. 3392.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SARVAJÑATMA.

LAST YEAR if I remember aright there was a discussion on the date of the abovenamed person in the pages of this *Journal* by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The date he arrives at is also borne out by the succession list of the Sringeri Āchāryas printed by Mr. B. Suryanarain Row in his *History of Vijayanagar*, which list he says he got from the then Jagadguru. Except for the date of Sureśvarāchārya, the list seems to be quite reliable, but it is very surprising that Mr. Suryanarain Row

should have himself fallen into a good deal of inaccuracy in defending the accuracy of the statement in the list about Sureśvarāchārya, who according to it sat for a trifle of 800 years on the 'pontifical throne'. We might safely accept A. D. 773 as the date of Sureśvarāchārya's death, but there seems to have been an interregnum of three years unaccounted for in the list. Sarvajñatma succeeding only in A. D. 758 and ruling for 90 years.

G. D.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BENEFIT OF CLERGY.¹

THE following note from the records of Fort St. George, dated 14 June 1897, is of interest as to changes in manners.

At a Consultation Present : The Hon. Nath. Higginson Esqr., Lieut. Genl. of India, Mr. John Styleman, Mr. Wm. Fraser, Mr. Roger Bradyll, Mr. Chas. Barwell, Mr. Thos. Wright, Mr. Matthew Empson.

* * *

The Judge reports that [at] a General Sessions held on the 10th and 11th Instants Richard Caswell an Englishman and Adrian van Reed a Dutchman were found guilty of felony, for being concerned in the running away with the Rt. Hon. Company's Ketch *Josia* out of this road and Brigantine *Gingerles* from Anjengo. But claiming the benefit of their Clergy did both read, and were burnt in the hand and returned to the custody of the Marshall.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

QUELLEN DER RELIGIÖSEN GESCHICHTE. (Sources of the History of Religion). 5 Vols. issued; 2 ready; 30 projected. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen; T. O. HENDRICKS, LONDON.

THE Royal Society of Philosophy at Göttingen has issued a very interesting prospectus of a Commission, which has been appointed to investigate the developments and history of the various World Religions. The Members of this Commission are all well known scholars, who have made a life study of this most fascinating of all human problems, and Herr Oldenburg will be the President of the whole undertaking. The first beginning of a scheme of this kind was due to Julius Boehmer, under the title of *Religions-Urkunden der Völker*, and this will be associated with the new enterprise which is to be called the "Quellen der Religions Geschichte," the sources of the History of Religion. The task of the Commission will be, to examine all the religious books of the East, the traditions and developments of the early creeds of Oceania, South America and Africa, to publish critical texts of all available documents; in fact to produce a world-embracing study and history of this most important branch of the slow education of the human race. The scheme will embrace the entire religious history of the world, illustrated by contemporaneous literature, folk-lore, and

tradition, and will be corrected and brought up to date, by the experience of men actually working in various parts of the world. There will be twelve groups, of religious investigation.

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5. Religions of the Ural-Altaic and Arctic Races.
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7. Indian Religions (Buddhism excepted).
8. Buddhism.
9. Eastern Asiatic Religions.
10. African Religions.
11. American Religions.
12. Primitive Religions of Southern Asia and Oceania.

We wish all success to the gigantic work, projected and begun by this Commission, and we are sure that our readers will watch the further developments with interest and sympathy. Five volumes have already appeared, and another two are in the Press, and thirty more volumes have been assigned to distinguished scholars, and will appear in due course.

T. HART DAVIES.

¹ Benefit of Clergy arose in the 13th century. Psalm LII, Vol. I. was the usual test of literacy and was known as the "neck-verse." Felons who passed the test were only burnt in the hand instead of being hanged. The privilege was abolished by a statute of 1837.

² *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. 9, pp. 152-3.

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CHAPTER V.

THE DATE OF THE WRITING OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

- None of the seven Parts of the Bower Manuscript is dated. Nevertheless it is possible from its palaeographic conditions⁷³ to determine the date of the manuscript within comparatively very narrow limits. In doing so two preliminary points must be taken into consideration.

In the first place, the Bower manuscript, though recovered from Eastern Turkestan, is essentially a product of north-western India. It is written on birch-bark. The use of that bark, as a writing material, was according to all available evidence, limited to north-western India.⁷⁴ In Eastern Turkestan, whence the Bower Manuscript has come, the birch which yields the writing bark does not appear to grow at all. With a very few exceptions, all the manuscript books, discovered in Eastern Turkestan in the course of many recent explorations of its ancient ruined sites, are written on various kinds of paper.⁷⁵ Those few birch-bark manuscript books, which are known to have been discovered in that country, are the Bower Manuscript, the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript, a manuscript found by Mr. Bartus, a member of Professor Grünwedel's expedition, and a manuscript found by Sir A. Stein. The Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript was said to come from the sacred cave on the Gôriṅga hill near Khotan; but the story of the native finders has been fully exposed by Sir A. Stein who examined the cave in the course of his first expedition in 1900-1.⁷⁶ Nothing is really known of the find-place of that manuscript. The Bartus Manuscript was found in the course of Professor Grünwedel's expedition in 1902-3, in one of the rock-cut caves, close to the *Ming-oi* of Qisil to the west of Kuchar, a little higher up the river Muzart than the *Ming-oi* of Qum Turâ (see the Sketch Map).⁷⁷ The Stein Manuscript is a recent discovery. It was excavated by Sir A. Stein in the course of his second expedition, 1906-8 in Khadalik, a site north-east of Domoko,⁷⁸ which was abandoned probably in the second half of the eighth century A.D. As to the Bower Manuscript, there is no sufficient reason to doubt the story of its having been found in one of the ruined stûpas of Qum Turâ, near Kuchar (see Chapter I, pp. xi ff.). All these birch-bark manuscripts must have been written by Buddhist pilgrims, or immigrants, from north-western India. Most of them probably were written by them in their original home, in Kaashmir or Udyâna, and imported into their new settlements. The Bower Manuscript, on the other hand, as has been shown in Chapter II (p. xx), and Chapter III (pp. xxviii ff.

⁷³ An essay on the date of the Bower Manuscript was published by me in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX (1891), Part I. It was reprinted, with additions, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. The date assigned to the Bower Manuscript in that essay was the middle of the fifth century A.D. In the meantime, much new information has become available, necessitating a fresh consideration of the whole problem. The result is that there now appear good reasons for ante-dating the manuscript by about three-quarters of a century.

⁷⁴ See my paper on "Palm-leaf, Paper, and Birch-bark" in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXIX ((1900), Part I, pp. 32 ff.

⁷⁵ This remark refers to manuscript books only. Letters and documents, official or private, have been found written also on wood, leather, silk, and other materials, but birch-bark has never been found in use for such non-literary purposes; nor, I may add, palm-leaf.

⁷⁶ See his *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 185 ff.

⁷⁷ This Manuscript, according to Dr. A. von Le Coq's information, formed part of a library, the manuscripts of which were found incrustated in a mass of dry mud. Some of its folios have been cleaned and show writing in Gupta characters, closely resembling those of the Bower Manuscript. In another part of the Qisil *Ming-oi*, in a cave temple manuscripts were found, more or less fragmentary, which were written on palm-leaves. This circumstance is of particular interest because manuscripts written on palm-leaf, in this case of the *Corypha umbraculifera*, (see my "Epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper, and Birch-bark," in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, pp. 93 ff.) are of distinctly Indian provenance and thus corroborate the equally distinct Indian character of the birch-bark manuscripts. Minute fragments of a palm-leaf manuscript, which apparently proceeded from the Qutlug Urdâ Stûpa (see Chapter I) are described by me in the same *Journal*, Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, pp. 213 ff. The manuscript, which is shown in Figs. 6 and 7 of Chapter II, was found in the same cave temple of Qisil *Ming-oi*, but is written on paper.

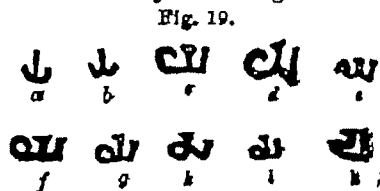
⁷⁸ On this site, see Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 454, 458 ff. 463; also his preliminary report on his second tour 1906-1908 in the *Geographical Journal* for July and September 1909 (Reprint, p. 17).

xxxv ff.), in all probability was written by them, in their new settlement, on birch-bark brought with them from their original home. But that, though written probably in Eastern Turkestan, their writers certainly were natives of north-western India, is proved by the occurrence in Parts I-III of a particular form of the letter *y*, hereafter called the "new form," which, as will be shown in the sequel, originated in north-western India, and which, as proved by the Weber Manuscripts and all other ancient paper manuscripts discovered in Eastern Turkestan, was never in use in the latter country.⁷⁹

In the second place, the Bower Manuscript, as shown in Chapter III, p. xxviii is the work of four distinct scribes, who wrote Parts I-III, Part IV, Parts V and VII, and Part VI respectively. The scribe who wrote the second portion (Part IV) commenced his writing on the reverse page of the last leaf of the first portion (Parts I-III), while the scribe who wrote the third portion (Parts V and VII) inscribed a remark on either of the two other portions. This circumstance proves that these three portions of the Bower Manuscript are practically contemporary writings. It is obvious that the production of Part IV cannot be earlier in date than the production of Parts I-III; and it is equally obvious that to the writer of Parts V and VII, both Part IV and Parts I-III were accessible. As to the fourth portion (Part VI), it is written for the benefit of the same person (Yaśōmitra) as the beneficiary of Part VII. From the co-ordination of these facts it follows that the production of these four portions of the Bower Manuscript must be compassed by the space of about one generation. Now, as may be seen from Table II, Traverses 13-15, and as will be explained in the sequel, the writer of Parts I-III makes use, though sparingly, of the "new form" of the letter *y*, while the writers of Part IV-VII employ the "old form" exclusively. It follows hence that the production of the Bower Manuscript must be referred to the very point of time when the "new form" of *y* was beginning to come into fashion in north-western India, that is, to the time when it was being adopted by some scribes, while it was still avoided by others.

The salient point, then, of the enquiry is to determine the epoch of the introduction of the "new form" of *y* into the scribal usage of north-western India, whence the writers of the Bower Manuscript must have come. The determination of that point determines the date of the production of the Bower Manuscript within very narrow limits, practically within the space of about one generation.

Fig. 19 illustrates the gradual development of the character for *y*. Its original form in the Aśoka period, was a perpendicular stroke set on a segment, or less commonly on two segments, of a circle, as in (a) and (b) respectively.⁸⁰ Later, in the Indo-Scythic period, the right side began to be straightened and angularised while the left side began to take the form of a curl, which might turn either to the right, as shown in (c), or to the left as in (e). The former is found, almost exclusively, in epigraphic and numismatic records;⁸¹ the latter is preferred in manuscripts (see Table I). The base line might be straight, as in (c), or bent angularly, as in (b). At this time it required two movements of the hand to write the character: one from the top of the medial line downwards, and towards the left, in order to write the curled portion of the character; the other, from the base of the medial line towards the right, in order to write its angular portion. About the same time the habit arose of joining the end of the curl with the base line, so as to form a loop, as shown in (f); and gradually the point of junction was moved to the right, so as to coincide with the point of junction of the left and right portions of the character, as shown in (g) and (h). When this stage,—a



Development of the letter *y*.

⁷⁹ The forms of *y*, which, in two varieties of script, were peculiar to Eastern Turkestan, are shown in Fig. 15, and explained in Chapter III, p. xxxii.

⁸⁰ The latter form may be seen in the Radhia and Mathia inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 241.

⁸¹ Examples of the use of the sinistron curl may be seen in the Faridpur land-grants, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIX (1910) p. 193, Plates I-III.

morely transitional stage, as we shall see presently,—was reached, the character would be written with a single movement of the hand. Beginning with the top of the medial straight line, the hand moved down to the base line, then upward and leftward, round the loop, back to the point of junction, and finally onward to the angle on the right. But it soon began to be observed that the letter could be written with greater speed, and with more economy of effort, if the downward movement of the hand was carried at once to the loop on the left without touching the base line at all. This slight change produced what is practically the modern form, as shown in (i) and (k). Thus, there were now three forms: the old, the transitional, and the modern. The old form persisted in the Gupta script of the southern area. The transitional form arose in the northern area about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and disappeared about the end of the sixth century. The modern form arose practically at the same time as the transitional form; but it gradually extruded the latter; and it persists to the present day in the slightly modified Nāgarī form of the letter which only projects the perpendicular below the base line.

The transitional and modern forms, or, to use an inclusive and more convenient term, the "new form" of *y* was, so to speak, invented in the western portion of the northern area. Thence it gradually spread over the eastern portion. This may be seen clearly from the epigraphic records of the Gupta period. See Fig. 20.

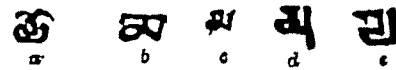
It first appears in the year 372 A. D. in the stone pillar inscription of Vishnuvardhana at Bijayagadh (Long. 77° 20'), in *br̥yô*, (a) (F.G.I., No. 59, p. 252, Plate xxxvi C, l. 4), and about 400 A.D. in the rock inscription at Tusām (Long. 76° 0'), in *yôga* (b), (F.G.I., No. 67, p. 269, Plate xc, l. 3). The boundary of the two areas, as previously stated (Chap. III, p. xxvii), is E. Long 81°. In the eastern area the new form makes its first appearance in the stone inscription of Īśvaravarman at Jaunpur (Long. 82° 43'), in *anvavāyê* (c), (F.G.I., No. 51, p. 228, Plate xxxii A, l. 2). Unfortunately this inscription is mutilated, and its date, if there was any, is lost; but it belongs to the middle of the sixth century. The first dated inscription in which the new form is found, is that of Mahānāman, in 588 A.D., at Bôdhgâyâ (Long. 85° 2'). Here both new forms, the transitional and modern, occur numerously; e.g. the former (d) in *yukta*, the latter (e) in *yēna*, (F.G.I. No. 71, p. 274, Plate xli A, l. 1).

For writing the single *y*, the new form appears to have come into use about the middle of the fourth century, but for the subscript *y*, as the second part of a compound letter, it was in use about three centuries earlier, from the beginning of the Indo-

Scythic period. See Figure 21. An example of the transitional form (a) of the subscript *y*, from a Kushana inscription, is shown in plate III, line 42, No. 3, of Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* (in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*). Examples of the modern form of the subscript *y* (b) occur numerously; e.g., in Kanishka's inscription of his seventh year, i.e., in the year 51 B.C., in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 391, No. XIX.¹² It can hardly be doubted but that it was the economy of time and effort in writing the new form of *y*, which led to its adoption in the case of the subscript *y*. But in the case of the single *y*,

there operated an additional reason. This is brought out very strikingly by a certain circumstance in the use of the new form in the Bower Manuscript. This is the circumstance that in writing the syllables *yê*, *yai*, *yô*, *yau*, the new form of *y* is employed whenever the vowel (*ê*, *ai*, *ô*, *au*) is made with a lateral stroke, but the old form is used when the vowel is made with a superior stroke. These vowels, namely, are indicated by attaching to the head of the

Fig. 20.



First appearance of the new form.

Fig. 21.

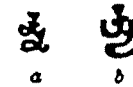
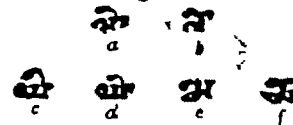
Subscript *ya*.

Fig. 22.



Vocalic superior and lateral strokes.

¹² In the second line of the accompanying Plate. It is also shown in Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, Plate III, l. 41, No. 5.—As to the Kushana dates, I follow Dr. Fleet's theory, which I now believe to be correct, that they are to be reckoned from 57 B.C., being dates of the so-called Saka Era.

consonant a certain number of slightly curved strokes, see Figure 22. These strokes may be made in two ways: either they may slant from above downward to the top of the perpendicular line, as in *lô* (a), or they may run laterally, level with the top, as in *lô* (b). It will be seen at once that if the lateral stroke was used with the old three-pronged form of *y*, its attachment to the top of the medial or the right prong was likely to interfere with the left prong, and thus to obscure the true form and meaning of the syllable (see Figure 23 c). It was to obviate this inconvenience that the fashion arose to write the syllable with the new form of *y*, whenever the lateral stroke was used, as in *yê* (e) and *yô* (f), but to retain its old form, whenever the superior stroke was employed as in *yê* (c) and *yô* (d). This rule is invariably observed by the scribe of the first portion (parts I-III) of the Bower Manuscript. The scribes of the second portion (Part IV) and of the third and fourth portions (Parts V-VII) never use the lateral stroke, and accordingly they also never use the new form of *y*.

The subjoined Table exhibits all the occurrences of the letter *y* in the first portion of the Bower Manuscript:—

COLUMN.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Part.	Total y old and new.	Total y old.	Total old y-yew.	DETAILS OLD.	Total new y-yew.	Total Trans y-yew.	DETAILS TRANSITIONAL.	Total modern y-yew.	DETAILS MODERN.
				yê yai. yô yau.			yê yai. yô yau.		yê yai. yô yau.
I	179	148	9	6 1 2 0	83	82	14 1 17 0	1	1 0 0 0
II	1,253	909	127	118 0 9 0	834	868	139 6 168 2	21	17 0 4 0
III	79	68	6	5 0 1 0	24	23	13 0 10 0	1	1 0 0 0
I-III	1,611 588	1,170	142 441	129 1 12 0	441	418	216 7 193 2	23	19 0 4 0
	1,028		588						

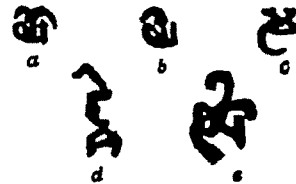
In Parts I-III the consonant *y*, old or new, and in combination with any vowel, occurs altogether 1,611 times (col. I). In 1,170 cases (col. II) the old form is used, and in 441 cases (col. V), the new form (transitional or modern). In the 1,170 cases of the old form, any vowel combination (exc. *yau*) occurs (*ya, yâ, yi, yî, yu, yû, yê, yai, yô*). Among them the combination with the vowels *ê, ai, ô*, occurs 142 times (col. III, and detailed in col. IV), and in all these 142 cases the vowel is made with the superior stroke. On the other hand, in the 441 cases of the new form (col. V), the only vowel combinations which occur are those with *ê, ai, ô*, and *au*; and in all these 441 cases the vowel is made with the lateral stroke. (The total number of the combination of the vowels *ê, ai, ô, au* with the consonant *y* is (142 plus 441, or) 583 (col. III), and that number is so large that it is out of the question to attribute to mere accident the clean distribution of the superior and lateral strokes between the old and new forms of *y* respectively: it can have been made only of set purpose. And if it is so made, the explanation of its reason, above given, appears to be the most probable. But whatever be the true explanation, the fact of the clean distribution is indisputable; and so is the other fact that the new form (transitional and modern) never occurs except in combination with the vowels *ê, ai, ô, au*.

Turning now to the evidence of the dated, or practically dated, records of the Gupta period in north-western India, they show that the two facts, just mentioned, occur, in conjunction, only in the earliest portion of that period, that is, before 400 A.D. It is this circumstance which enables us to determine, to a degree of close approximation, the date of the writing of the Bower Manuscript. The following is a list of the inscriptions which, for the present purpose, come into consideration.

(I) 372 A.D., a calligraphic stone inscription of Vishnuvardhana, at Bijayagadh, Long. 77° 20' (F. GI., No. 59, p. 252, Plate xxxviC). In several ways this is an instructive record. The total of the cases of *y* with any vowel (e.g., *yâish, pârvadyâm, yâpô*, etc.) is eleven. Among them there are two cases of *yê* and one of *yô* (Fig. 23). All three are made with the lateral stroke; but *yô* (a), in *brêyô*, line 4, is made with the modern form, while *yê* (b) in *âhâyêna*, l. 3, and *viddâyê*, l. 4, shows the transitional form. In Gupta inscriptions, as

a rule, the lateral stroke is made with a comparatively straight line, while the superior stroke has a more decided curvature. In the present inscription, however, which is written in a particularly ornate style, the lateral stroke, also, is given a distinct curvature. This is seen most strikingly in the *sandhi*-syllable *mē* (c), in *m-ētasyām*, l. 2. *Per contra*, we have a good example of the superior stroke in the syllable *nē* (d), in *viñśēsḥ*, l. 1. Respecting the inconvenience of using the lateral stroke in conjunction with the old form of *y*, we have a very good illustration in another, equally early, though undated, inscription at the same place Bijayagaḥ (F.G.I., No. 58, p. 251, Plate xxxviB). Here the syllable *yaw* (c), in *yandhāya*, l. 1, is made, on the left side, with the lateral stroke, curved exactly as in the syllable *mē* (c), above noticed, the effect being that the form of *y* is quite obscured through the interference of the lateral stroke of the vowel *aw* above it; in fact, it would seem that the form of *y*, intended by the engraver of the record, was the old rather than the new. It was, no doubt, this kind of interference, which, as previously explained, led to the rule to use the superior stroke with the old form, but the lateral stroke with the new (transitional or modern) form. But at this time we seem to see the rule still "in the making."

Fig. 23.

Forms of *yē* and *yō* in 372 A.D.

(2) About 400 A.D., a rock inscription at Tusām, Long. 76° 0', (F.G.I. No. 67, p. 269, Plate xIA). Here the total of *y* is seven; and *yō* occurs twice (Fig. 24); once in *yōga*, (a) line 3, with the new (transitional) form and the lateral stroke and again in *pādōpayō*, (b); l. 6, with the old form and the superior stroke. In this case, the observance of the distributive rule is clearly marked.

Fig. 24.

Form of *yē* and *yō* about 400 A.D.

(3) 425 A.D., a cave inscription (calligraphic) at Udayagiri, Long. 77° 50' (F.G.I. No. 61, p. 258, Plate xxxviii A). Here the total of *y* is eleven. Combinations with the vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, *aw* do not occur. But once the new (transitional) form occurs in the syllable *ya* (Fig. 25), in *awaya*, l. 4, showing that by this time that form was no longer limited to the combination of *y* with those vowels.

Fig. 25.



(4) 454 A.D., a stone image inscription (cursive) at Mathurā, Long. 77° 43' (F.G.I. No. 53, p. 262, Plate xxxixA). The total of *y* is eight. Each, *yē* and *yō* (Fig. 26 a and b), occurs once in *ēpiayē*, l. 2, and *niyōjya*, l. 4, made with the old form and the superior stroke. But here, again, the new (transitional) form (c) occurs once with the vowel *a* in *yad*, line 2.

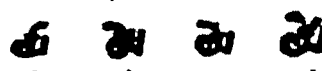
Fig. 26.

Forms of *yē*, *yō*, *yā* in 454 A.D.

In the two preceding records²³ the appearance of the new form, outside the range of the vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, *aw*, is exceptional, and perhaps not altogether above suspicion. In the following case it is quite plain and certain.

(5) 465 A.D., a copper-plate inscription (cursive) of Skandagupta, at Indôr, Long. 78° 18' (F.G.I. No. 16, p. 68, Plate ixB). The total number of *y* is twenty-five. Among them the new (transitional) form occurs five times (Fig. 27); quite plainly in *sthirāyā*, l. 9, and more or less clearly in *vijaya*, l. 3, *prayachokhati*, l. 8, *āyām*, l. 11, and *vridhāyē*, l. 4. Here we have the new form not only with *ya* and *yō* (a), but in the case of *vridhāyē* (b), even with the superior stroke of the vowel *ē*. On the other hand, the old form occurs once (c) with the superior stroke of *ē* in *vridhāyē*, l. 8, and four times (d) with the superior stroke of *ō* in *rāyāyāyō*, l. 6, *payōjya*, l. 7, *yōga*, l. 9, and *yō*, l. 11. Thus, in *vridhāyē* we have, contrary to the original rule, the superior stroke of the vowel *ē* written either way, with the new form in

Fig. 27.

Forms of *yē*, *yō*, *yā* in 465 A.D.

²³ There are two other dated inscriptions, the stone pillar inscription of 415 A.D. at Bilhad, Long. 79° 16' (F.G.I. No. 10, p. 42), and the Jain inscription at Mathurā, Long. 77° 43' (B.P. Ind., Vol. II, p. 310; No. xxxix); but neither presents any instance of the new form.

line 4, and with the old form in line 8. Clearly, at this time, the original rule, governing the use of the new form, had become entirely obsolete. It might be used, at pleasure, in combination with any vowel, and in combination with either of the two kinds of stroke.

(6) 482-533 A.D. This period of about fifty years includes a group of similarly worded copper-plate inscriptions (cursive), which all come from the same neighbourhood, near the boundary of the eastern area; viz., from Khôh, Long. 80° 51', dated 482, 496, 516, 528, and 533 A.D. (F.G.I. Nos. 22, 25, 27-31, pp. 100 ff.), from Kârtalât, Long. 80° 46', dated 493 A.D. (F.G.I. No. 26, p. 117), and from Majhgawâh, Long. 80° 47', dated 510 A.D. (F.G.I. No. 23, p. 106). At this time and place the new form, both transitional and modern, is found in not infrequent use (35 times in a total

of 256 *y*, or upwards of 13·5 per cent.) irrespective of any rule. Thus we have the transitional form with *ya* in *jayasvâmi* (a), l. 3, *jaya* and *dêya*, l. 5, *yathaiska*, l. 7 (F.G.I. p. 118), and *yathaiska*, l. 6, *yai* (b), l. 16, *yaddâ*, l. 19 (F.G.I. pp. 122-3); again with *yâ* in *pallikâyâh*, l. 6, *niyâ*, l. 11, *pratyâyâ*, l. 12 (F.G.I. p. 118), and *vidhâyâ*, l. 12, *pratyâyâ*, l. 13, *vishîhâyâh*, l. 20, *yâvat* (c), l. 26 (F.G.I. pp. 122-3); and *pratyâyâ* (d), l. 20 (F.G.I. p. 127); and *mayâ*, l. 11



Fig. 28. Forms of *yâ*, *ya*, *yâ*, and *yô* in 482-533 A.D.

(F.G.I. p. 131); again with *ya* in *yukta* (e), l. 15 (F.G.I. p. 122)⁸⁴ So also the old and new forms are used promiscuously with the superior stroke. Thus we have transitional *yê* in *vridhdhâyê*, l. 17 (F.G.I. p. 118), l. 8 (*ib.* p. 122), l. 7 (*ib.* p. 107), *lôpayê* (f), l. 14, *prayêna*, l. 17 (F.G.I. p. 122); and modern *yê* in *pâniyê*, l. 17, *yê* (g), l. 18 (F.G.I. p. 108), two good and clear examples. On the other hand, we have old *yê* in *yê*, l. 10, *lôpayê*, l. 12, *prayêna* (h), l. 16 (F.G.I. pp. 118-9) *vridhdhâyê*, l. 14, *yê*, l. 18, *lôpayê*, l. 21 (F.G.I. p. 127), l. 2 (*ib.* p. 133). Again, we have transitional *yô* in *ohkrâyô* (i), l. 15 (F.G.I. p. 119), l. 16 (*ib.* p. 122); and modern *yô* in *ohkrâyô* (j), l. 14, *yô*, l. 16 (F.G.I. p. 108), two good examples; but old *yô* in *pratyayô* (m), l. 9, *yô*, l. 20 (F.G.I. pp. 118-9) *anayô*, l. 10, *ahayô*, l. 18 (F.G.I. p. 108); *nâgayôh*, l. 12, *pratyayô*, l. 17, *ohkrâyô*, l. 23, *yô*, l. 28 (F.G.I. pp. 127-8); *ohkrâyô* (n), l. 5, *yô*, l. 9 (F.G.I. pp. 133-4), all good examples. And, again, the new form is found, used at pleasure, with the lateral or the superior stroke. Thus, the transitional *yê* with the lateral stroke occurs in *nyâyêna* (o), l. 13, *yê*, l. 16, but with the superior stroke in *pratyayê* (p), l. 9 (F.G.I. pp. 136-7).

(7) 530-533 A.D., the famous group of calligraphic stone inscriptions of Yasôdharman, at Mandasôr, Long. 75° 8' (F.G.I., Nos. 33, 34, 35, pp. 142 ff. Plates xxiB, C, and xxi), These records further exemplify, in the interior of the western area, the use of the new form in combination with the superior and lateral strokes. In *bhârâyâyêna* (Fig. 29a), l. 8 (*ib.* p. 153, Pl. xxi), we have the two kinds of stroke side by side, the superior stroke in *yô* with the old form, and the lateral stroke in *yê* with the new (transitional) form. Again in the phrase *avajñayâ yô*, l. 4, which occurs in duplicate (*ib.* pp. 146 and 149), we have, in one copy (b), the two forms of *y* side by side, the old in *yô* and the new (transitional) with the lateral stroke in *yê*. In the other copy (c), both *yâ* and *yô* are written with the old form, but *yô* has the superior stroke. In these calligraphically written inscriptions we find still in observance the old rule, which we saw growing obsolescent in the cursively written inscriptions of Nos. 4-6. Another, still more striking example of this conservatism, or archaism, will be noticed in No. 9.

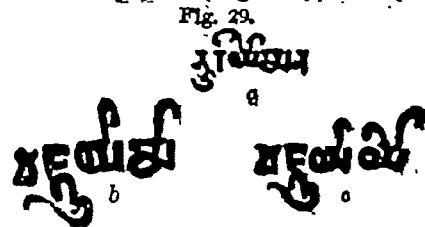


Fig. 29. Forms of *yâ* and *yô* in 530-533 A.D.

⁸⁴ Another example of a modern *ya* occurs in a copper-plate inscription (cursive) of the same period, of Sakshobha, at Betul, Long. 78° 24', published in *Bp. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 284, in *yadhishâira*, l. 22,

(8) 550-600 A.D., a group of stone inscriptions (calligraphic) from Bodhgayā, Long. 85° 2' (F.G.I., Nos. 71, 72, 76, pp. 274, 278, 281, Plates xliA, B, and xliiD). The first (No. 71) is dated in 588 A.D., the third, undated, must be some 40 years older. This group shows that by this time the new form had not only penetrated far into the eastern area, but had also fully superseded the old form. The latter is entirely absent from these inscriptions: among a total of 34 cases of *y*, there is not a single instance of the old three-pronged form. The transitional form still predominates over the modern, there being 26 cases of the former to 8 of the latter. In agreement with the obsolescence of the old form, the original rule respecting the distributive use of the new form is now entirely inoperative: that form is now used with every kind of vowel. See Figure 30. Thus we find *ya* in No. 71, lines 1 (modern, *a*), 2, 3 *bis*, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 *bis*, 11 (ten times, all transitional, *b*); in No. 72, three times (modern); in No. 76, l. 1, twice transitional,

Fig. 30.

once modern. Again, we have *yā* in No. 71, ll. 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14 (all transitional, *c*), and *yi* in No. 71, l. 11 (transitional, *d*); and *yu*, in No. 71, ll. 1, 4 (both transitional, *e*). Further, the new form is used *ad libitum* with the superior or the lateral stroke. Thus we have *yē* with the transitional form and superior stroke (*f*) in *yēna*, No. 71, l. 3, and in *avāptayē*, No. 76, l. 2; and with the modern form and superior stroke (*g*) in *avāptayē*, No. 72, and with the same form and lateral stroke (*h*) in *yēna*, No. 71, l. 1. Similarly we have *yō* with the transitional form and lateral stroke (*i*) in *yōdhā*, No. 71, l. 1, and possibly also (*k*), in the superscript *y* of *acharyyō*, No. 76, l. 1, and in *sēnayōr*, No. 76, l. 1. So also, we have *yan* with the transitional form and lateral stroke in *spādhyāyan*, No. 76, l. 1.

Forms of *ya*, *yā*, *yī*, *yu*, *yē*, *yō* in 500-550 A.D.

(9) Seventh century.—The prevailing conditions are, on the whole, the same as in the preceding period, except that the transitional *y* is gradually giving way entirely to the modern *y*. The last instances of it appears to occur, in 672 A.D., in two stone inscriptions of Ādityasēna, at Aphsād, Long. 85° 44', and Shāhpur, Long. 85° 43' (F.G.I., Nos. 42 and 43, pp. 200 and 208, Plates xxviii and xxixA). Here we find both *yā* and *yē*, in the transitional form (Fig. 31 *a* and *b*); viz., *yā*, in *pragāga*, l. 7 of No. 42, and *yē* in *vrddhāyē*, l. 4 of No. 43. At this time the old form of *y* has become entirely obsolete, except in two archaic and highly ornate inscriptions, of 625 A.D., at Vasantgadh, Long. 73° (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 187), and of 661 A.D. at Udaipur, Long. 73° (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 29). Their ornate forms of *yā*, *yāi*, *yō*, with the old three-pronged *y*, are shown in Fig. 31 *c*, *d*, *e*. But the use of the old form of *y*, in these two inscriptions, is not

Fig. 31.

their only archaism: there are several other examples of archaism in them which have been pointed out by Professor Kielhorn (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 29). It is obvious, therefore, that the use of old forms is intentional: they belong to the studied ornate character of the inscriptions in question. Being archaic, the occurrence of the old form of *y* really corroborates the fact that in ordinary writing, whether calligraphic or cursive, that form of *y* was no longer in use in the seventh century.²⁵ Even in ornate inscriptions the use of the old form is exceptional, as shown by the highly ornate Jhālrapāthan inscription of 689 A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 181), which uses the new form exclusively (Fig. 31, *f*, *g*). For the purpose of dating ordinary writings (as in manuscripts), therefore, the rule laid down by me in 1891 (*Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX, p. 90) still holds good: that the form of *y* is

Forms of *yā*, *yāi*, *yō* in 925-672 A.D.

their only archaism: there are several other examples of archaism in them which have been pointed out by Professor Kielhorn (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 29). It is obvious, therefore, that the use of old forms is intentional: they belong to the studied ornate character of the inscriptions in question. Being archaic, the occurrence of the old form of *y* really corroborates the fact that in ordinary writing, whether calligraphic or cursive, that form of *y* was no longer in use in the seventh century.²⁵ Even in ornate inscriptions the use of the old form is exceptional, as shown by the highly ornate Jhālrapāthan inscription of 689 A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 181), which uses the new form exclusively (Fig. 31, *f*, *g*). For the purpose of dating ordinary writings (as in manuscripts), therefore, the rule laid down by me in 1891 (*Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX, p. 90) still holds good: that the form of *y* is

²⁵ Examples are the calligraphic Banashere copper-plate of Harsha, 648 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 208), and the calligraphic, but undated, Lakhamarādā and Kudārakā inscriptions (*ib.*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 179), which are referable to the middle of the seventh century.

the test, and that Indian writings must be referred before or after 600 A. D., according as they show the use of the old or of the new form of that letter.

(10) Seventh century in Nepal.—All the known Nepalese inscriptions are from the neighbourhood of Kātmāndū, Long. 85° 60', which is within the eastern area. The north-western new form of *y*, comes into these records first in the second half of the seventh century, in an inscription of 677 A.D.,⁸⁰ (Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, No. III, p. 77), and in another undated, but slightly earlier, of about 655 A.D. (Indrajit's No. II, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 174). It is always in its modern variety, and from the beginning it appears independent of the original rule, being used with any vowel as well as with either kind of stroke. Thus we have modern *ya* in No. III, l. 18, *yathā*; in No. 11, l. 5, *yah*; modern *yā* in No. III, l. 21, *dēyā*, and in No. 11, l. 13, *prāṇlikāyā*; modern *yi*, in No. 11, l. 2, *kshābhāyitā*; modern *yu*, in No. III, l. 29, *yuvārāja*, and in No. 11, l. 1, *yukta*. Again we have modern *yē*, with the superior stroke in No. III, *yē*, ll. 25-26; modern *yai* with the superior stroke, in No. 11, l. 23, *kayāitē*; modern *yō*, with the superior stroke, in No. III, l. 12, *yō*, and in No. 11, l. 22, *bhāyō*, but with the lateral stroke in No. 11, l. 4, *yō*.

The statistics, given in the foregoing paragraphs, may be summarised as follows. The distributive rule referred to in them is based on the two facts, (1) that the new form is used only with the syllables *yē*, *yai*, *yō*, *yau*, while with other syllables the old form is used; and (2) that the new form is used with those syllables when they are made with the lateral stroke, but when they are made with the superior stroke, the old form is used. About 372 A.D., this rule is "in the making"; about 400 A.D. it is in full force; from about 425 A.D. it gradually obsolesces; about 550 it has become inoperative. This information enables us to sketch, with considerable precision, the progress of the fashion of applying the new form of *y*, which was already in use in ligatures, to that letter when it occurred as a non-conjunct.

(1) This fashion arose in the western portion of the northern area of the Gupta script, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Thence, in the latter half of the sixth century (in India, but of the seventh century in Nepal), it spread into the eastern portion of that area.

(2) The fashion was at first limited to the syllables *yē*, *yai*, *yō*, *yau*, when their vowel was written with the lateral stroke. This is shown by the way in which the new form is used in the Bower Manuscript; and the period of this stage of the fashion is fixed by the epigraphic records of Northern India (*ante*, Nos. 1 and 2) as the second half of the fourth century A.D.

(3) The limitation was soon abandoned. From early in the fifth century (*ante*, No. 3), the fashion of using the new form began to extend to any vowel combination, and to either the lateral or the superior stroke.

(4) By the end of the sixth century the new form had become so fully established in all conditions of the letter *y*, as to extrude altogether, in all ordinary writing, the old form (*ante*, Nos. 8-10).

The preceding sketch of the chronology of the origin and spread of the new form of the letter *y* determines the time of the writing of the Bower Manuscript as having been in the second half of the fourth century A.D. And it is probable that it should be sought rather nearer the beginning than the end of that period. The Table, given on p. xlviii, shows that in the earlier portion (Parts I-III) of the Bower Manuscript the letter *y* occurs 583 times (col. III) in the vowel combinations *yē*, *yai*, *yō*, and *yau*. Outside these combinations, it occurs no less than 1,028 times (col. I). If at the time of the Bower Manuscript the fashion of extending the use of the new form of *y* to cases outside those combinations had already begun to develop, it is hardly conceivable that not a single example of such an extension should occur among those 1,028 cases. The probability, therefore, seems to be that the writing of the earlier portion of the Bower Manuscript should be placed about 350-375 A.D. And seeing that the three later portions of the Bower Manuscript (Part IV, Parts V and VII, and Part VI) must be, as shown in Chapter III, p. xxxv ff., practically contemporaneous with the earlier portion (p. xlvi), it follows that the production of the whole of the Bower Manuscript must be referred to the third quarter of the fourth century A.D.

⁸⁰ According to the local era, discovered by Professor Sylvain Lévi; see *Rp. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 73, note. By the Harsha era it would be 688 A.D.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE SOURCES AND THE DATE OF THE *NAVANĪTAKA*.⁸⁷

The name and identity of the author of the *Nāvanītaka* are not known. The final colophon which perhaps would have supplied that information is, together with the last chapter of the work, unfortunately missing in the manuscript. But from the sources which the author utilised in making his compilation, it is possible to estimate approximately the time when his work was written. So much is certain that the date of writing the work cannot be the same as that of writing the manuscript in which it has come down to us. The latter is not an autograph. This is proved by a number of clear indications. For example, on page 28, in verse 45, we find, in one of the medical formulæ, three dots marking the omission of three syllables (*ante*, Chapter IV, p. xlii). At the time of editing the text the emendation *triṣi oha[ṣya-palāni]* was suggested by me, but in the meantime the true reading *pañcha oha[ṣya-palāni]* has been discovered by Dr. P. Cordier⁸⁸ in an ancient medical compendium, called *Bhēda Saṁhitā*, from which the *Nāvanītaka* has quoted the formula in question. Obviously the substitution of the dots shows that the writer of the Bower Manuscript had a defective original from which he copied. Again, on page 58, in verse 723 of the *pippali-vardhamāna* formula there is the curiously blundered phrase *yāvad-dāṭa-varshās*, instead of *yāvad-avakarshas*. Such a blunder is unthinkable in an original writer: it could proceed only from one who copied from a defective original. Again, on page 67, to verse 879 we find appended the gloss *prāchīnikā pāṭhā*, for the purpose of explaining an unusual name of the drug commonly known as *pāṭhā*. Such a gloss is not likely to have proceeded from the author himself. As usual, it must have stood originally on the margin of the manuscript, or perhaps between the lines. By a subsequent copyist it was transferred, in the body of the manuscript, to the position where we now find it in the Bower Manuscript. The writer of the latter may, or may not, have been the first to make that transfer; but, in any case, the present position of the gloss shows that the existing Bower Manuscript was not copied from the author's autograph, but from some intermediate copy of that autograph. The conclusion which, indeed, is already suggested by the three dots and the blundered phrase, is that there must have been some interval, perhaps of not inconsiderable duration, between the writing of the autograph and the copying of the existing manuscript. The date of the latter, as explained in Chapter V, p. lii, must be referred to the third quarter of the fourth century, somewhere between 350 and 375 A.D. This supplies us with the lower limit for the date of the *Nāvanītaka*, which, in view of the above-mentioned necessary interval between the autograph and the existing manuscript, may be placed provisionally in the beginning of the fourth century, or about 300 A.D.

The upper limit is determined for us by the circumstance that the *Charaka Saṁhitā* and the *Sūtrata Saṁhitā* are two of the sources from which the author of the *Nāvanītaka* quotes

⁸⁷ For a somewhat fuller treatment of the subject, see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1909, pp. 837 ff.

⁸⁸ See his *Récents Découvertes*, p. 21. The three missing syllables are *pañcha oha*.

copious extracts. In the opening verse the author advises his readers that in his treatise he is going to bring together the best-known formulæ of the *maharshis*, or medical authorities of his time. Following the usual practice of Indian writers, he does not name those authorities, assuming, of course, that the reader would at once recognise the standard work from which some particular formula was quoted. Still in the case of not a few formulæ we find he does name their authors. From the distinction thus made, it may reasonably be concluded that the formulæ, thus singled out by naming their authors, were quoted from what may be called the floating medical tradition,—it being necessary to indicate the authority for their recommendation,—while those formulæ, in the case of which no author is named, were quoted from standard works of well-known authorities.

By far the largest number of formulæ, brought together in the *Nāvanitaka*, belongs to the latter class. The most conspicuous among the earliest medical teachers is Punarvasu, the son of Atri, commonly known as Ātrēya. According to the Indian tradition he was a physician, teaching medicine in Taxila, in the north-west of India, about the time of Buddha, in the sixth century B.C. He is famous as the head of a great medical school of internal medicine. He is said to have had six disciples, who committed their master's teaching to writing, in *tantras*, larger treatises, or *kalpas*, smaller monographs. Some centuries later, attempts were made to epitomise these early *tantras* and *kalpas*, and gather their substance into *samhitās* or compendia. Only two of these *samhitās* have come down to our day. These are the *Charaka Samhitā* and the *Bhēda Samhitā*. They are compendia based on the *tantras* and *kalpas* of Agniveśa and Bhēda respectively. Of the writings of the other four pupils of Ātrēya, viz., Harita, Jāṭukarṇa, Kshārapāṇi, and Parāśara, nothing has survived, except occasional short quotations in the mediæval medical literature.⁵⁹ The compendium, known as *Charaka Samhitā*, which professes to give Ātrēya's teaching, as reported by his pupil Agniveśa, was compiled by a physician of Kashmir, called Charaka.⁶⁰ The author, or rather compiler, of the *Bhēda Samhitā*, which professes to give, in the main, the teaching of Ātrēya as reported by his pupil Bhēda, is not known.

Both these *samhitā*, or compendia, must have been well-known standard books in the time of the author of the *Nāvanitaka*, for he makes copious extracts from them without naming them as his sources. From the *Bhēda Samhitā* the following formulæ are taken⁶¹ :—

- (1) *Ayurajīya-ohāra*, vv. 48-55, in *Bhēda Samhitā*, VI, 16, vv. 33-45b (fol. 138).
- (2) *Rasāyānika-ghṛita*, vv. 165b-169a, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 4 (fol. 100b).
- (3) *Dakṣiṇa-ghṛita*, vv. 201-3, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 17b-20a (fol. 105a).
- (4) *Sahasakara-ghṛita*, vv. 329-36, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 24 (fol. 153b), mutilated.
- (5) *Madhuyāshikā-taila*, vv. 337-43, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 4 (fol. 103a), mutilated.
- (6-8) Three *Āmāśiśtra-yōga*, vv. 407-12, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 10 (fol. 116a).
- (9) *Kṛśa-yōga*, vv. 474-9, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 19, vv. 26b-32 (fols. 143-4).
- (10) *Karṇatāla-yōga*, vv. 534b-7a, in *Bh. S.*, VI, 22 (fols. 147-8).

⁵⁹ For an example of such a quotation from Jāṭukarṇa see Śrīkaṇṭhadatta's commentary to *Siddha-yōga* (c. 1250 A.D.), pp. 21, 36, etc.

⁶⁰ Actually only two-thirds of the compendium were written by Charaka, probably in the 1st cent. B.C., the other one-third was added by the Kashmir physician Dṛṣṭabala, in the 9th cent. A.D. See my Article in the *Journal, R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 997 ff., and *ibid.*, 1909, p. 857.

⁶¹ These were first discovered by Dr. P. Cordier, see his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 21. The references in the text are to the folios of the unique Tanjore Manuscript of the *Bhēda Samhitā*.

- (11) *Tailādyā-vastī*, vv. 642-4, in *Bh. S.*, VIII, 9 (fol. 201)
 (12) *Bhūti-yavāgā*, vv. 802-4, in *Bh. S.*, I, 7 (fol. 10).

To these may be added three formulæ which are no longer traceable in the single existing mutilated Tanjore Manuscript of the *Bhūti Saṁhitā*, but which are attributed to Bhūti in the *Yōga-raṭna-samucchaya* of Chandraṭa. These are—

- (13) *Balā-ghṛita*, vv. 280-6.
 (14) *Ṣaṇḍamūlā-yōga*, vv. 390-401.
 (15) *Lakṣmī-sarpikā*, vv. 1059b-60a.

From the *Charaka Saṁhitā* the following formulæ are taken :—

- (1) *Tailāka-chūrṇa*, vv. 11-13, in *Charaka Saṁhitā*, VI, 8, vv. 140-3.
 (2) *Shāḍava-chūrṇa*, vv. 14-17, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 8, vv. 136-9.
 (3) A half ślōka, v. 24a, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, v. 88b.
 (4) *Vardhamānaka-chūrṇa*, vv. 25-6, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 8, vv. 101-3.
 (5) *Mātuliṅga-chūrṇa*, vv. 29-34, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 73-80.
 (6) *Tiktaka-ghṛita*, vv. 133-6, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 7, vv. 137-40.
 (7) *Mahātiktaka-ghṛita*, vv. 137-43, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 7, vv. 141-147.
 (8) *ṣaṭpala-ghṛita*, vv. 150-1, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 143-4.
 (9) *Tryāṣṭaka-ghṛita*, v. 152, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, v. 62.
 (10) *Vāśā-ghṛita*, vv. 153-4, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 122-3.
 (11) *Chāḍgīrī-ghṛita*, vv. 155-7, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 9, vv. 110-12.
 (12) *Sāramūlīya-ghṛita*, vv. 169b-176, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 2, vv. 23-31.
 (13) *Chyavanaprāśa-ghṛita*, vv. 188-200, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 59-71.
 (14) *Joarāhara-anuvāsa-taila*, vv. 383-5, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 245-6.
 (15) *Anuvāsa-taila*, vv. 386-9, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 9, vv. 131-4.
 (16) An unnamed cough mixture, vv. 460-2, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 119-21.
 (17) *Prastha-vīrṇka*, vv. 484-90, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 150-16.
 (18) *Madhvasava-yōga*, vv. 491-3, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 6, vv. 39-42.
 (19) An unnamed fever mixture, vv. 494-5a, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 201-2a.
 (20) Another unnamed fever mixture, vv. 496b-9a, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 196-8.
 (21) *Pramātha-pratamaṇa-yōga*, v. 603, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 6, v. 24.
 (22) *Pichohhā-vastī*, vv. 645-9, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 10, vv. 70-4.
 (23) An unnamed tonic mixture, vv. 742-3, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 130-1.
 (24) *Pippalī-prayōga*, vv. 745-8, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 132-5.
 (25) *Dvīṭīya-Pippalī-prayōga*, vv. 749-52, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 136-40.
 (26) An unnamed aphrodisiac formula, v. 819, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 2, v. 99.
 (27 and 28) Two other unnamed aphrodisiac formulæ, vv. 844b-6a, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 2, vv. 44-5.
 (29) *Bīḍjatu-kālpa*, vv. 950-67a, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 148-64.

Besides the forty-four formulæ, comprised in the foregoing two lists, the *Nāvanīṭaka* contains a considerable number of other formulæ, the authors of which are not indicated, and the source of which it is, at present, impossible to identify. It does not seem improbable, however, that they were extracted by the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka* from the *tantras* or *kalpas* of the other four above-mentioned pupils of Ātrēya. None of their writings have survived to the present day; but there is evidence which renders it very probable that they still existed at the time when the *Nāvanīṭaka* was compiled. In the latter occur six formulæ, which occur also in the *Āyurveda Sāstra* of Sūruta, also known as *Sūruta Saṁhitā*. They are the following :—

- (1-3) Three *Amūlīśra-yōga*, vv. 407-8, 409-10, and 411-12, corresponding to *Sūruta Saṁhitā*, VI, 40, vv. 35b-36a, v. 35a, and v. 46 (pp. 763-4).

(4-6). Three *Vājīkaraṇa-yōga*, vv. 829-30a, 833b-4a, 834b-5a, corresponding to *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, IV, 26, vv. 27, 20, 21.

The important point with regard to these parallels is that the *Āmātiśāra* formulæ are quoted, not directly from the work of Suśruta, but intermediately through the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā*. For in the latter and in the *Nāvanīta* the text of these three diarrhoea formulæ is identical (see Nos. 6-8 in the list of quotations from the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā*), while their common text differs from Suśruta's text in such a manner as to show that the latter is their common source.⁸⁷ The *Nāvanīta* quotes the three formulæ from the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā* and the latter derives them from Suśruta's work. Now the latter, as is well known, is a composite work of two, chronologically widely separate, authors. The earlier portion was written by Suśruta the Elder, who lived probably in the sixth century B.C.,⁸⁸ while the later portion, which calls itself *Uttara Tantra*, or the Later Treatise, was added by an anonymous writer, who may provisionally be called Suśruta the Younger. Mediæval Indian medical tradition identifies him with Nāgārjuna, the reputed contemporary of King Kanishka. This would make him also a contemporary of Charaka, so that both the *Saṁhitā* of the latter and the *Uttara Tantra* of the former would have been compiled at much the same time. Each link in this chronological chain is still a matter of doubt and dispute; but fortunately that circumstance does not affect the point at issue in the present discussion. Whatever the true identity and date of Suśruta the Younger may be, there can be no doubt that his work belongs to the early *saṁhitā* period of the Indian medical literature, that is, the period to which also the *Charaka Saṁhitā* and the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā* belong. Suśruta the Younger not only added his *Uttara Tantra*, a *Sālakya-tantra* or treatise on Minor Surgery, as a complement to the earlier *tantra*, a *salya-tantra* or treatise on Major Surgery, of Suśruta the Elder, but he also revised the latter work. Thus the result of his labours; that is the *Āyurveda Śāstra* of Suśruta, as we now have it, is essentially a *saṁhitā* work, a compendium of older materials, similar to the *Charaka Saṁhitā*; and therefore it is rightly known also as the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*.

The *Uttara-tantra* does not profess to be an original composition. In its introductory verses it expressly describes itself as a compilation, and enumerates the *tantras*, or treatises, on which it bases itself. These are, firstly, a treatise on *sālakya*, or minor surgery, by Nimi, the *Vidhā-pati* or ruler of Vidhā; secondly, treatises on *kumāra-bādha*, or children's diseases, composed, according to the mediæval commentator Dhallana (in the 12th cent. A.D.) by Jīvaka, Pārsvataka, and Bandhuka; thirdly, the six treatises on *kāya-chikitsā*, or internal medicine, composed by the six *paramārshi*, or supreme medical authorities, that is, obviously by the six well-known pupils of Ātrīya. It is equally obvious, that in the connection in which the six treatises are mentioned, they cannot refer to any *saṁhitā*, but must refer to the original *tantras* of Agniveśa, Bhēḍa and the rest. In fact, there is no evidence that any *saṁhitā*, based on the *tantras* of the four other pupils, Kṣharapāṇi, Jātākarna, Harita, and Parāśara, ever existed; for the so called *Hārta Saṁhitā* is now generally admitted to be a mediæval apocryphal compilation. It is evident, therefore, that in the time of the compiler of the *Uttara-tantra* the original treatises of those four "supreme authorities" were still extant, and were accessible to him.

⁸⁷ For detailed proof, see my paper in the J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 884-5.

⁸⁸ See my *Osteology of the Ancient Indians*, pp. 5, 9.

Of the six parallels in the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, above listed, the three *Amṛtisāra* formulæ (Nos. 1-3) occur in the *Uttara-tantra*. Two conclusions follow from this circumstance. First, as the *Uttara-tantra* complements the so-called *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, or the *Āyurveda Śāstra*, the latter work must have been in existence at the time of the compilation of the *Nḍvanīṭaka*. Secondly, as all the six treatises (*tantra* or *kalpa*) of the pupils of Ātrēya existed at the date of the compilation of the *Uttara-tantra*, it is not unreasonable to assume that they still existed somewhat later when the *Nḍvanīṭaka* was compiled; and that those formulæ which cannot be identified either in the *Charaka Saṁhitā* or in the *Bhēḍa-Saṁhitā*, and of which the *Nḍvanīṭaka* does not expressly name the author, may have been extracted from the works of the four pupils of Ātrēya, which were still current as great medical authorities (*paramarṣhi* or *maharṣhi*), and which might be quoted without any necessity of specification.

To return to the question of the upper limit for the date of the *Nḍvanīṭaka*, it is now seen that both, the *Charaka Saṁhitā* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, must have been in existence at the time when the *Nḍvanīṭaka* was compiled. Moreover there must have been some interval of time between the compilation of the *Nḍvanīṭaka* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*. For the three *Amṛtisāra* formulæ, above referred to, are quoted by the *Nḍvanīṭaka*, not directly from the *Uttara-tantra*, but intermediately from the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā*. The latter itself presupposes the existence of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*; for it not only refers to Suśruta by name (as *Suśrōtā*), but also teaches one of his distinctive doctrines (regarding the *gulma* disease).⁹⁴ Also, some not inconsiderable interval of time must be allowed for the two *Saṁhitās* of Charaka and Suśruta acquiring that acknowledged position of standard works which enabled the author of the *Nḍvanīṭaka* to quote formulæ from them without the necessity of naming them as his source.

The upper limit, accordingly, is determined by the dates of the three *Saṁhitās*, of Charaka, Suśruta, and Bhēḍa. About the date of the *Bhēḍa Saṁhitā* we know nothing whatsoever. That of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, as before intimated, is entangled in a net of uncertainties. The date of the *Charaka Saṁhitā* alone offers an apparent chance of settlement. It is bound up with the date of the celebrated King Kanishka, at whose court, as tradition tells us, Charaka lived as the royal physician. Unfortunately the date of Kanishka itself is still in dispute; but the most probable theory is that which places him in the middle of the first century B. C. as the founder of the well-known Saka Era.⁹⁵ Taking this date for Kanishka as the upper limit, and allowing the necessary interval for the growth of the *Saṁhitās* into standard authorities, the second century A.D. may be taken provisionally as the time of the compilation of the *Nḍvanīṭaka*.

There are two points in the *Nḍvanīṭaka*, which favour the assignment to it of such a very early date. One concerns its language, the other its sources. The former will be dealt with in Chapter VII. As regards its sources, all those which the *Nḍvanīṭaka* specifically

⁹⁴ For the evidence, see my paper in the *Journal, R. As. Soc.*, for 1909, pp. 583.

⁹⁵ Much less probable are the two rival theories which place Kanishka in the first century A.D., as the founder of the Saka Era in 78 A.D., and in the middle of the second century A.D. respectively.

names, have a very archaic appearance. Their list comprises the following names. One formula each is quoted from:—

- (1) *Kāśyapa*, v. 935.
- (2) *Nimi*, vv. 883-4.
- (3) *Suprabha*, vv. 633-7.
- (4) *Uśana*, vv. 845-7a.
- (5) *Vāḍvali*, vv. 319-24.
- (6) *Vṛhaspati*, prose, 784.

Two formulae each are quoted from:—

- (7) *Agastya*, vv. 583-9 and vv. 903-9.⁸⁶
- (8) *Dhanvantari*, vv. 232-40, and vv. 968-76.
- (9) *Jīvaka*, v. 1081, and vv. 1097b-9a.

A whole series of formulae are referred to—

- (10) *Kāśyapa*, vv. 1011-1040.

None of these formulae, with one exception, can be traced elsewhere. All the names, except those of *Jīvaka* and *Kāśyapa*, belong to semi-mythical or prehistoric personages. *Suprabha* does not appear to be known as a physician outside the *Nāṭvanīṭaka*.⁸⁷ The only mention of *Vāḍvali*, at present known, occurs in the *Kalyāṇa-Kāraka*, a medical treatise written by an unknown author at the court of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana.⁸⁸ The mention by Pāṇini of a patronymic *Vāḍvali* (see note 168, on p. 109) points to a very early date. So does the name of *Nimi*, who is the epic ruler of *Vilāha*, and the reputed founder of the Indian ophthalmic science. Similarly *Dhanvantari* is the reputed semi-divine founder of surgical science. On the other hand, *Jīvaka* is a historical, or at least semi-historical, personage. For tradition assigns him to the court of king *Ajātaśatru*, in the sixth century B.C., and makes him a contemporary and friend of Buddha. One of the two formulae (v. 1081), which the *Nāṭvanīṭaka* quotes from him, forms the single exception, above noticed, of occurrence elsewhere. It is quoted by Vangasēna (see note 481 on page 178) with two variants, and without naming its author. *Kāśyapa* (or *Kaśyapa*, see note 467 on p. 173), also, is probably a historical, or semi-historical, person, being likewise a contemporary of Buddha. Medical tradition knows of two men of that name, an elder (*ṛiddha*) and a younger. It is, no doubt, *Kāśyapa* the Elder, whom the *Nāṭvanīṭaka* quotes. Both, he and *Jīvaka*, are reputed to have been skilful children's doctors; and, as a fact, the formulae, quoted from them, do refer to children's diseases. Also, it may be added, the use of the phrases *itīk. ōvāḥa Jivakah* (v. 1081) and *itī bhāṣhati Jivakah* (v. 1099), i.e., thus spake (speaks) *Jivaka*, and the phrase *Kāśyapasya vachō gūṭhā* (vv. 1020, 1022, 1027), i.e., according to the saying of *Kāśyapa*, which the *Nāṭvanīṭaka* applies to their formulae, apparently indicates them to be their *ipsissima verba*. *Uśana* and *Vṛhaspati* (or *Bṛhaspati*) appear to be historical personages, being the founders, respectively, of the *Aśanasa* and *Bārhaspatya* Schools, which flourished in the fourth century B.C.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ There is a formula of his quoted also in the *Laṭana Kalpa*, which is included in Part I of the Bowen Manuscript.

⁸⁷ But see *Journal, Roy. As. Soc.*, 1893, p. 337.

⁸⁸ The *Kalyāṇa-kāraka* was discovered by Mr. Narasimhachar of the Mysore Archaeological Survey. See his report for 1906-7 (p. 59, p. 15).

⁸⁹ For further particulars, see Professor Jacobi's article in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, on the *Frühegeschichte der indischen Philosophie*, vol. xxxv (1911), pp. 733-43.

In addition to the ten sources, named in the preceding list, the *Nāvanīṭaka* draws on two other archaic sources, viz.:—

- (11) Ātrēya himself, the head of the Taxila medical school, and
- (12) The mythical Āśvin pair (see note 126 on page 100).

The formulæ, attributed to Ātrēya, are the following :—

- (1) *Laguḍa-chāṛṇa*, vv. 35-7.
- (2) *Sārdūla-chāṛṇa*, vv. 71-5a.
- (3) *Amṛitaprāsa-gṛhītā*, vv. 108-19a.
- (4) *Mahākalyāṇaka-gṛhītā*, vv. 126b-32.
- (5) *Bala-taila*, vv. 261-76.
- (6) A mutilated formulæ, prose 715.

The fact that these six formulæ are specifically assigned to Ātrēya's authorship shows that they did not exist in the *Charaka Saṃhitā* in the condition in which that work was known to the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka*. If they had occurred in it, one may reasonably say he would have quoted them from it without naming their author, precisely in the same way as he cited the other formulæ above listed (p. lv). For the same reason it may be inferred that he did not quote them from the *Bhēḍa Saṃhitā*, nor from any of the (at that time still existing) *tāntṛas* of the other four pupils of Ātrēya. The probability is that the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka* quoted them from the floating medical tradition of his time, and the fact that in his time there still existed a living tradition of this kind, points to an early date for the compilation of the *Nāvanīṭaka*.

There are in these six formulæ some peculiarities which point in the same direction. The first of the formulæ is not traceable elsewhere. The second (vv. 71-75a) is found in Mādhava's *Siddha-gōga*, chapter VI (on *ajirṇa*, or indigestion), vv. 27-32, but there is a characteristic difference. In substance the two versions are identical throughout: even in diction they run practically identical in the initial three half-verses (*Nāv.*, vv. 71-72a—*S.*, *Y.*, vv. 27-28a). In the fourth half-verse (*Nāv.*, v. 72b—*S.*, *Y.*, v. 28b) an additional ingredient (*vaśkīka*) is introduced, and thence forward to the end of the formulæ the diction is quite different. Also the reference to Ātrēya is omitted, and the formulæ is given the different, though synonymous, name *agnimukhaohāṛṇa*,¹⁰⁰ or plumbago-root powder. This modified version is quoted by Chakrapāṇidatta in his *Chikitsā Saṃgraha* (Chap. VI., No. 17), and by Vangasēna (Chap. V, vv. 56-6). In the *Charaka Saṃhitā* neither the original, nor the modified formulæ is found. In fact, that compendium includes no special chapter on *ajirṇa* complaints, for which the formulæ is designed. It would almost seem that the author of the modified formulæ is Mādhava himself, who, accordingly, omitted the reference to Ātrēya, and altered its name.¹⁰¹ The third, fourth, and fifth formulæ occur, with the same names, in the *kṛkatakṣiṇa*, *uśmāda*, and *vāta-vyādhi* chapters of the *Charaka Saṃhitā*, (*sthāna* VI, chap. 16, vv. 32-40, chap. 14, vv. 53-4, chap. 28, vv. 144-52, pp. 624, 612, and 783). But here, though practically identical in substance, they appear in entirely different versions, nor are these versions attributed to Ātrēya. This circumstance is explained by the fact that those

¹⁰⁰ Under this name (*agni-gṛhītā*) there occurs in Part III, vv. 25, 26, a plumbago-root formulæ for the preparation of a *gṛhītā*. It too is ascribed to Ātrēya, but its composition is quite different.

¹⁰¹ According to Dr. Cordier, the original formulæ, though with a few variants, occurs in the second chapter of an anonymous work, called *Bṛihad-vaidya-prasāraka*.

three chapters (14, 16, 28) belong to that complementary portion which was added to Charaka's Compendium several centuries after its author's death, at a time when probably the tradition of Ātrēya's teaching no longer survived. Of the sixth formula unfortunately only the closing words survive. But the phrase *ity-āha bhagavān Ātrēyaḥ*, "thus spake the blessed Ātrēya," which they comprise, appears to indicate, as do the similar phrases used with reference to Jivaka and Kāśyapa, that the mutilated formula was quoted in the *ipsisima verba* of Ātrēya.

The formulæ attributed to the Aśvin pair are the following:—

- (1) *Āsvint Mātulaḥga-guḍāḥkā*, vv. 75b-77a.
- (2) Another *Āsvint Mātulaḥga-guḍāḥkā*, vv. 80-84.
- (3) *Āvina-gulma-ahurṇa*, vv. 85-6.
- (4) *Āvina-haridrā-ahurṇa*, vv. 96-101.
- (5) *Āvina-lakunā-ghṛita*, vv. 216-22.
- (6) *Āvina-jvarahara-ghṛita*, vv. 223-3.
- (7) *Āvina-viśa-ghṛita*, vv. 241-4.
- (8) *Āvina-bindu-ghṛita*, vv. 251-3.
- (9) *Amṛita-taila*, vv. 287-312.
- (10) *Āvina-raktapitta-yōga*, vv. 418-23.
- (11) *Rakti-yōga*, v. 575.
- (12) *Ayōrajyā-yōga*, v. 579.
- (13) *Āvinōr Āvagandhā-vastī*, vv. 618-25a.
- (14) *Pippalī-vardhamāna-rasāyana*, vv. 716-37a.
- (15) *Āvina-rasāyana*, vv. 773b-81a.
- (16) *Āvintya-yōga-traya*, vv. 810-3.
- (17) *Āvina-hartakṣi-kalpa*, vv. 917-49.

The names of thirteen of these formulæ (Nos. 1-8, 10, 13, 15-17), which occur in their colophons, assign them to the Aśvins. In the case of the remaining four (Nos. 9, 11, 12, 14) the assignment is made in a remark, which is embodied in the formula itself. A similar remark, confirming the assignment in the colophon, is embodied also in the text of the five formulæ Nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, 16.

With regard to the authorship of these remarks, that in the *Āvina-rasāyana* formula (No. 15) is particularly instructive. The last half-verse (v. 781b) implies that by the medical tradition the formula was ascribed to the ancient physician Viśvāmitra, apparently the reputed father of Sūruta (see *Sūruta Saṁhitā* VI, 18, v. 1, and 66, v. 1; pp. 706, 914). That inscription is contradicted, however, by the initial verse (v. 773b) and by the name in the colophon, which attribute the formula to the Aśvins. This discrepancy seems best accounted for by the explanation that the initial verse which has no essential connection with the medical prescription, as well as the colophon, are due to the author of the *Nāvanīta*. He would seem to have had reason to believe that the formula was really devised by the Aśvins. Accordingly he so named it in the colophon, and prefixed the initial verse, in order to explain that it was really the Aśvins who communicated the formula to Viśvāmitra.

The same conclusion is suggested by the *Āvina-raktapitta* formula (No. 10). Here the actual medical prescription begins with verse 419, and is preceded, in v. 418, by a lengthy explanation that that prescription was taught to Indra by the Aśvins, although the attribution to the latter is actually embodied in a brief remark in the final verse 423. In the compilation

of Vangasēna (chap. VIII, vv. 93-9, pp. 226-7), where the formula, with its final attribution, is also quoted, the lengthy introductory verse 418 is omitted. And that this omission is not due to any accidental cause is shown by the fact that the formula, in the colophon, is called *chandanādya-ghṛita*. For as the medical prescription begins, in v. 419, with *chandana*, and as the rule is to name a formula by its initial drug (see note 29, on p. 82), it is apparent that the introductory verse 418 is not an essential part of the formula, and was not present in the source whence Vangasēna gathered the formula for his compilation; but that its addition is due to the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka* himself, and (in view of the final verse) is really a piece of supererrogation:

The same may be the case with the attributive remarks in the other formulæ. Thus the two formulæ, Nos. 11 and 12 (vv. 575 and 579), which are quoted by Mādhava and Vangasēna (see notes 281 and 284 on pp. 134, 135) are cited by them without the attributive remark of the *Nāvanīṭaka*. Again the formula, No. 8, which consists of five verses, is found, in another version, identical in substance, but compressed into two verses, in Vangasēna's compilation (Chap. XXX, vv. 106-7). In the same, or a similar short version, according to Dr. Cordier (*Récantes Découvertes*, p. 21), the formula is ascribed to Kṛishṇātrēya by Nīśchalakara, in his *Batnaprabhā*, and by Chandraja in his *Yōgaratna-samuchōhaya*. From this it is clear that the formula occurred in different versions, in different treatises, by different authors, but that the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka* preferred the longer and more archaic version ascribed by tradition to the Āsvins.

The case of No. 14 is similar. This is a long formula of 22½ verses, describing a curiously complicated treatment with daily increasing and subsequently decreasing doses of aments of long pepper. The whole course of treatment (see note 329 on p. 144) occupies a period of 100 plus 99 plus 21, or 220 days. It also involves the consumption, within that period, of not less than 10,000 aments of long pepper. By the side of this complicated formula, the *Nāvanīṭaka* has another, in verses 749-52, which is much more simple. It is modeled on the longer one, but it greatly reduces the length of the period, as well as the total of the consumed peppers. It also admits several options: while in every case the period is twenty days, the ratio of peppers may vary between 10, 6, 5, or 3, and consequently the total of peppers consumed is, 1,000 or 600, or 500, or 300. From the largest option, this shorter formula is, in verse 750, distinguished as the *pippalī-sahasra* or "the one thousand pepper formula." It seems reasonable to conclude that it was the unwieldiness of the original formula, both with respect to the length of the period and the enormous total of the consumed peppers, which led to the simplification. As a matter of fact, even the simplified formula survives, at the present day, only in its mildest form, which prescribes the consumption of 300 peppers in a period of twenty days at the rate of three peppers a day (see note 343 on p. 147). While the longer formula is, in verse 736, expressly ascribed to the Āsvins, the author of the shorter is not mentioned. We know him, however, from the fact that it occurs in the *Charaka-Saṁhitā* (sect. VI, chap. 1, vv. 136-40, *sūtra*, No. 24, p. lix). As that *saṁhitā* is based on the *tantra* of Agniveśa, and the latter embodies the teachings of Ātrēya, it follows that the simplified formula goes back to Ātrēya. It also follows that the longer formula, on which Ātrēya's simplification was modeled, and which certainly impresses one as more archaic, goes back to the mythic, or semi-mythic, time antecedent to Ātrēya. That explains its attribution

to the mythical Asvin pair, as well as its gradual obsolescence. It is ignored already in *Saṁrutā's* Compendium, the *pippali-vardhamāna* of which (sect. IV, chap. 5, clause 14, p. 406; see *ibid.*, v. 194 on p. 770) is practically identical with the shorter version of *Ātrēya-Chāraka*. In fact the longer version does not appear to have survived in any medical work, except the *Nāvaṇītaka*. The single indication of its former existence that I can recall, occurs in a formula in Vāgbhaṭa II's *Aśhṭāṅga Hṛidaya* (sect. IV, chap. 12, vv. 39-41), which, in the case of abdominal complaints (*udara*), recommends, in addition to other remedies, either the *pippali-vardhamāna*, or else the *pippali-sahasra*. It is evident that the author of that formula knew both, the longer as well as the shorter, versions of the treatment with pepper, but who he was, and when he lived, we do not know. It was not Vāgbhaṭa II: he is a mere compiler, probably in the eighth or ninth century. Nor was it Vāgbhaṭa I, the author of the *Aśhṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, in the early seventh century. That work, though it is the usual source of the *Aśhṭāṅga Hṛidaya*, mentions (if one may trust the Bombay Edition, Vol. II, p. 47, l. 8) only the *pippali-vardhamāna*, by which name the shorter version had, long since, come to be understood.¹⁰²

As regards the *Haritakī Kalpa* (No. 17), we have the interesting information of Dr. P. Cordier (see note 439 on p. 166; also his *Récents Découvertes*, p. 29), that he possesses fragmentary manuscripts of two distinct works, both calling themselves *Āsvini Saṁhitā*, and both containing versions of a *Haritakī Kalpa*. These versions are printed on pp. 1800-180f. Though they present many points of contact with the version in the *Nāvaṇītaka*, they differ widely from it both in length and matter. And as they differ equally widely from each other, it is evident that neither of them can have been the source of the *Nāvaṇītaka* version. On the contrary, they must have gradually grown up, on different lines, from the original, simple and archaic, version which has been preserved in the *Nāvaṇītaka*. In fact, the two existing works, professing to be an *Āsvini Saṁhitā*, seem to have every mark of being mediæval apocryphal productions similar to the *Ātrēya* or *Hārīta-Saṁhitā*.

The existence of what thus appears to be the original form of the *Haritakī Kalpa* (also called *Abhayā Kalpa*, in verse 7), is one of the striking marks of the archaic character of the *Nāvaṇītaka*. It has already been pointed out (p. liv.) that the *kalpas* belong to the earliest period of the medical literature of India. It is interesting, therefore, to note that there are three other such *kalpa*, or monographs, incorporated in the *Nāvaṇītaka*. For its seventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters are constituted respectively by the *Yavāgā Kalpa*, on the preparation of gruels (vv. 785-813), the *Silājatā Kalpa*, on bitumen (vv. 950-67), and the *Chitraka Kalpa* on plumbago-root (vv. 968-76). The first, as suggested by the colophon to verse 804 (see Chap. IV, p. xli) may be the work of Bhṛṅga. It may have stood in the *Bhṛṅga*

¹⁰² In this connection it is interesting to observe that Aruṇadatta, the commentator of the *Aśhṭāṅga Hṛidaya* (about 1220 A. D.), appears to have no longer understood what the two versions were. For, commenting on the optional treatment recommended in his text, he explains that the *pippali-vardhamāna* should be taken as directed in the chapter on *rasāyana*, but the *pippali-sahasra* he does not explain. On referring to the chapter on *rasāyana*, we find the only *pippali* formula there given (A.H., sect. VI, ch. 39, vv. 93b-100a) is the shorter version: and commenting on this Aruṇadatta says that it is the *pippali-sahasra*. So that he practically identifies the two versions, despite their clear differentiation in the formula of the *Aśhṭāṅga Hṛidaya* (IV., 12 vv. 39-41): evidently he was at a loss what to make of that differentiation.

Saṁhitā, and quoted thence anonymously, though in the incomplete Tanjur MS. copy, the only one now existing, it cannot be traced. The second is quoted from the *Charaka Saṁhitā*, (*ante*, No. 29, p. lv). It, therefore, stood originally in the *Agniśāstra Tantra*, and is the work of Ātrēya. The third, the latter part of which, unfortunately, is missing, appears to be ascribed to Dhanvantari (vv. 968-9). To these may be added the *Lāṣṇa Kalpa*, on garlic, which forms the early portion (vv. 1-43a) of the treatise contained in Part I of the Bower Manuscript, and the authorship of which is vaguely ascribed (v. 42a) to the "ancient sages," while at the same time it professes itself to be delivered by the "sage-king of Kāśī" to Śaśruta (vv. 9, 40, 42a.)

Though, in the main, the *Nāvanītaka* is professedly a compilation from various sources, it does contain a few formulæ which give the impression of being contributions made by the author himself. Thus the formulæ in verse 641, merely advises how the preceding formula (vv. 638-40) may be usefully varied. The formulæ in verses 158-9, 614, 783 have a similar object. It should be observed that none of these formulæ can be traced elsewhere; and it is quite possible that some others of the short formulæ of that kind, such as those in vv. 576-608a, are really the author's own compositions. Again in some other formulæ we seem to be able to trace the author's hand in the alterations which he has introduced. To this order belong the two short formulæ in vv. 575 and 579, which have already been referred to previously (p. lx.) The second part of these formulæ, as quoted elsewhere (by Mādhava and Vangasēna), has been altered to admit their attribution to the Āsvins (*ante*, Nos. 11, 12 on p. lxi). More or less lengthy remarks, inserted by the author with the same object have also been noticed already in the case of some of the wellknown longer formulæ (*ante*, Nos. 10 and 15, p. lx). To the author, of course, belong also all the introductory remarks which are met with in various places of the *Nāvanītaka*. To this order belong the remarks in verses 108 and 261, which introduce the second and third chapters, as well as the prose remarks, preceding verses 916, 950, and 968, which introduce chapters XI, XII, and XIII; likewise the prose remark which introduces the formulæ in verse 784. Above all, there belongs to this order the long paragraph (vv. 1-10) which forms the introduction to the whole treatise.

The fact of the *Nāvanītaka* containing quotations from the *Charaka Saṁhitā* is one of peculiar importance on account of its bearing on the question of the authorship of that *Saṁhitā*. That the *Charaka Saṁhitā*, in the condition in which we now possess it, is the work of two different authors is well known. Charaka is said by the Indian tradition to have left his *saṁhitā* unfinished. At all events, its *Kalpa Sthāna* and *Siddhi Sthāna*, as well as seventeen chapters of its *Chikitsā Sthāna* were added, some centuries later, by a Kashmirian physician, named Dṛiḍhabala. He states that fact himself in two places of the *saṁhitā* (sect. VI, vv. 273-5, and sect. VIII, vv. 77-9); but he omits to record the names of the seventeen chapters which he contributed. And the difficulty of their identification, which is thus created, is enhanced by the circumstance that we have two contradictory Indian traditions on the subject. One of them is represented by the Berhampore edition of Gangādhara (also the Calcutta edition of Debendra Nath Sen and Upendra Nath Sen); the other by the Calcutta edition of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. The former has the support of the oldest existing manuscript, the

Nepal Manuscript of the year 1183 A.D. (303 Nepal Era); the latter, that of the oldest commentator, Chakrapānidatta, who lived about the year 1060 A.D. With regard to six of the eleven chapters, which must have belonged to the original *samhitā*, both traditions agree. They differ only with regard to the three chapters on *arśas*, *ātisāra*, and *visarpa*, which Chakrapānidatta assigns to Charaka, while the chapters which the Nepal Manuscript assigns to him, are those on *kṣhataksheṣa*, *śvayathu*, and *udara*. Now the *Nāṣanītika* contains quotations from the former, but none from the latter three chapters; and as its author lived many centuries earlier than Dṛiḍhabala, it is obvious that, to judge from this testimony, the tradition of the commentator is to be preferred to that of the Nepal Manuscript. For a detailed statement of the case, which does not strictly come within the scope of the present Introduction, reference may be made to two papers of mine on the Composition of the *Charaka Samhitā* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1808, pp. 997 ff. and 1909, pp. 857 ff.

NOTE.—With regard to the loss of early Indian medical works, referred to on p. liv, I may now (Febr. 1914) add that among the manuscripts recovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the course of his second tour of exploration in Chinese Turkestan, 1906-8 (*ante*, p. lii), from the immured temple library in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Tun Huang (see his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Vol. II, pp. 28, 29, 171-194, 211-219), there were two incomplete but extensive pōthīs, which have since, upon examination, been found by me to be medical works. They are written in Khotanese, one of the two hitherto "unknown" languages; one written in upright, the other in cursive Gupta characters; but they are obviously translations from Sanskrit originals, apparently no longer surviving in India. One of these two incomplete pōthīs still comprises 65 folios, and professes to be the *Siddha-sāra Śāstra*, that is in Sanskrit *Siddha-sāra-Śāstra*. It appears to treat of Pathology, in which the names of chapters on *arśas*, *bhagandara*, *pāṇḍurōga*, *kikkā*, *śvāsa*, *kāsa*, *mātrakṣokhṛa*, *addvarita*, *amāda*, *apasmāda*, *vātavyādi*, *visarpa*, *krimi*, *nāsarōga* can be distinguished. The other pōthī which is written in cursive script, and of which 71 folios survive, appears to treat of Therapeutics; but its name is not known.

Both pōthīs are still awaiting a thorough examination and translation, but a somewhat more minute examination of a portion of the text of the cursive pōthī has disclosed the fact that it contains a number of formulæ which are practically identical with corresponding ones in the *Charaka* and *Bhēḍa Samhitās*, while the majority of them can, for the present, not be traced elsewhere. It suggests itself as possible that the two pōthīs, between them, may represent the *Nidāna* and *Chikitsita* portions of a *Samhitā*, which is based on the same sources as the *Charaka* and *Bhēḍa Samhitās*, but of which the original Sanskrit text is no longer surviving in India.

Fragments of a third medical pōthī in Kuchean, the other hitherto "unknown" language of Kuchar, or-Kucha (*ante*, p. 1, footnote 2), has also been discovered by Professor Sylvain Lévi. This pōthī, too, includes formulæ reminiscent of similar ones in the *Charaka Samhitā*; and it may possibly be a translation of the same original Sanskrit text.

Whether, and in what way, the text of these pōthīs may affect the question discussed in Chapter VI must wait till after the completion of the thorough examination and translation of them which is now in progress.

CHAPTER VII.

LANGUAGE AND COMPOSITION IN THE TREATISES OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

The language in which the treatises of the Bower Manuscript are written, is a kind of ungrammatical Sanskrit, or what has sometimes been called "mixed Sanskrit," i.e., a mixture of literary and popular Sanskrit. The popular element is far more conspicuous in the more popular treatises on divination and incantation in Parts IV-VII, than in the more scientific treatises on Medicine in Parts I-III.

The term "popular Sanskrit" is not strictly appropriate. "Sanskrit," i.e., prepared or polished, was the name of the form of language (*bhāṣā*) which was elaborated, from about the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C., in the ancient Brahmanic grammar schools of India, out of the previously existing language of the sacred poetry (*śākhā*) of the Veda. That language owned a great wealth of inflectional forms and syntactical usages, not very clearly demarcated, and used with great freedom. The object of the grammar schools was to elaborate out of this more or less "rank growth" a well-ordered (*saṁskṛta*) language by eliminating some forms and usages, and demarcating the remainder¹⁰³. The elaboration was a long continued process, which finally resulted, probably at some time in the fourth century B. C., in the production of Pāṇini's celebrated standard grammar. In its intermediate condition, the language is illustrated in the priestly writings of the so-called Brāhmaṇa period. For its ultimate condition, the first witness appears in the Brahmanical treatises of the so-called Sūtra period; but the earliest, actually existing original record of that condition, known at present, is in the Brahmanic inscription, incised on a sacrificial post at Īśāpur, near Mathurā, which is dated in the year 33 B. C.¹⁰⁴. In consequence of its origin, the Sanskrit language tended to perpetuate the phonetic conditions of its Vedic parent, and thus came to bear an air of artificiality.

Outside the Brahmanic schools, the language of the people followed the usual course of linguistic evolution. While it preserved much of the Vedic inflectional forms and syntactic usages which had been discarded in the scholastic Sanskrit, it suffered, on the other hand, the usual process of phonetic deterioration. It was this natural (*prākṛita*) language, of spontaneous growth, in which the early literature was written of the two great religious movements, Buddhism and Jainism, which, in the sixth century B. C. and subsequently, agitated the people outside the Brahmanic schools. But after a time, the prestige of the latter produced its natural effect on the writers of the non-Brahmanic communities. With the rise of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhists in northern India, about the first century B. C., attempts began to be made by Buddhist writers to imitate their Brahmanic rivals in the use of the scholastic Sanskrit. Ultimately they fully succeeded in their endeavours; but at first their efforts were attended with but partial success, differing according to the amount of literary knowledge they possessed. It is this earlier period of literary endeavour, which, as will be shown in the sequel, is reflected in the several treatises of the Bower Manuscript.

¹⁰³ See Professor Lanman's remarks in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. X, p. 326: "upon both, the field of the noun and that of the verb, the Veda shows a rank growth of forms which die out later ... The inflective system of the noun has become contracted, rigid, and uniform, but not, like that of the verb, essentially mutilated."

¹⁰⁴ That is, in the 24th year of the Kusāna king Vāsishka; see Dr. Fleet's remarks in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 1315-7.

As already stated, the prākritic, or popular, element is much more in evidence in that portion of the Bower Manuscript, which contains the treatises on divination (in Parts IV and V) and on magic or incantation (in Parts VI and VII). In the more scientific portion, which contains the three medical treatises (Parts I-III), the examples of prākriticisms are comparatively rare. In fact, with one or two exceptions, they occur only in Part II, which contains the longest of the three treatises.

The following is a list of the prākriticisms which occur in Parts I-III. There are five examples of the prākritic contraction of the elements *aya* and *ava* to *ē* and *ō* respectively. They are *īamēti* (for *īamayati*) in II 42 28,¹⁰⁶ 500 51, 809 63; *īamēnti* (for *īamayanti*), II 84 30; and *dhōvitō* (for *dhāvayitō*), II 550 53. The normal forms *īamayati* and *īamayanti*, however, are more frequent, as may be seen from the Index (p. 327). The nominative plural *chaturah* occurs once, in I 108 8; but the normal form *chaturāḥ* occurs in II 848 65 and 1063 74. In *udatvi-piṅgākā*, II 800 62, the final *t* of *udatvit* is dropped. In *ambilavētasah*, II 78 30, and *hivērasah*, II 420 47-580 54 805 63 we have two examples of diaeresis of a conjunct; but the normal forms *ambilavētasā* and *hivērasā* occur with equal frequency (see Index). Examples of the insertion of an euphonic *m* we have in *dēha-m-ātmanah* (for *dēhātmanah*), II 239 38; *āmra-m-asthika* (for *āmrasthika*), II 798 62; *apsu-m-iyah* (for *apsuyah*), II 886 67; *rātri-m-andha*, II 887 67, and *nakta-m-andha*, II 890 67, but we find also the normal forms *rātrigandha*, II 181 35 and *naktagandha*, I 103 8. Similarly, there is an euphonic *r* in *tu-r-upōvakā* (for *tupōvakā*), II 801 63. In all these cases, however, the prākritic forms are required by the metre of the verse in which they occur. Once we have *sōnyah* (for *sauṇyah*), in II 718 58. Once we have also the nominative singular masculine in *ō*, in *bhāgō* (for *bhāgah*) *purāratailasya*, II 517 52, and the accusative plural masculine in *āḥ*, in *tāḥ* (for *tān*) *kṛitvā*, II 872 66. Examples of prākritic vocalic sandhi are *chāvētiad* (for *chāvaitad*), II 818 64; *sūkshmaḥlā* (for *sūkshmaḥlā*, from *sūkshma-ḥlā*), II 61, 63, 64, 65 col. 29, *et passim*,¹⁰⁷ and regularly in compounds with *ōdana*, as *sūpōdana* (for *sūpandana*) II 328 43, *āmishōdana* (for *āmishandana*), II 441 48, *rasōdana* (for *rasandana*), II 490, 51, 724 58, *payōdana* (for *payaudana*), II 724 58 (but *payas-ōdana* in II, 374 45 722 58). Other, more doubtful, examples are *parimūkshayēt* (for *parimōkshayēt*), II 571 54, *upōvakā* (for *upōdakā*), II 801 63, and *rajatā* (for *rajatāt*), II 951 70, where the reading is doubtful or corrupt. In *bhagandalāḥ* (for *bhagandaraḥ*) we have the, also occasionally in Sanskrit observable, changes of *r* to *l*, and of masculine to feminine. In *māgadhyā kuḍavaḥ* (for *māgadhyāḥ*), II 60 29; *kaliṅgākā* (for *kaliṅgākāḥ*) *paṭḍasya*, II 496 51; *śōphahā* (for *śōphahāḥ*) II, 592 55, and *prastha* (for *prasthah*) *syāt*, II 826 64,¹⁰⁷ the visarga is dropped; but examples of similar omissions occur in the Vedas (M. Ved. Gr., §2, 3, p. 71).

In Parts IV-VII the cases of prākriticisms are far more common. Thus of the above mentioned contraction of *aya* and *ava* to *ē* and *ō* respectively we have the examples *vichintēsi* (*vichintayasi*), V 49 207, *vichintēhi*, V 3, 9 204 18 205 47 247; and *bhōntu* (for *bhavantu*), VI 16 225, *ōkirṇa* (for *avakirṇa*), VI 1 223, *ōrōhaṇi* (for *avarōhaṇi*), VI 2 223, *ōstāraka* (for *avastāraka*?), VI 6 223. It is noticeable, however, that while the contraction occurs regularly with the compound root *vichint*, it is as regularly neglected with the simple root *chint*; thus we have *chintayāsē*, IV 7 193, 23, 24, 28, 36 194. An example of the opposite case of elision of *y* occurs in *sambhāvalishyari* (for *sambhāvayishyari*), V 33 206. Examples of the

¹⁰⁶ The numbers in antique type refer to the pages of the edition; those in arabic type, to verses.

¹⁰⁷ The normal form *sūkshmaḥlā* appears to occur once in II 115 32, but the reading is doubtful.

¹⁰⁸ But correct, in II 396 46 775 61.

well-known *prākṛitic* diacresis of a conjunct with an antecedent *r* are *darīyā* (for *darīya*), V 1 203, *pradarīyātā* (for *pradarīyatā*), V 54 207, *varīshē* (for *varāshē*), V 60 207; and *irīshōrtti* (for *īrīshārtti*), VI 4 223; but the normal form *varāsha* also occurs in V 4 204, 17 205, 40 206. Examples of the change of *p* to *v* we have in *avi* (for *api*), IV 11 193, *apavadyatē* (for *apapadyatē*), V 11 204, 57 207. Once we have *pi* (for *api*) after an *anuvāra*, as *svarāṁ pi*, VI 3 224; but the normal *api* also occurs in IV 3 192, V 9 204. Other miscellaneous *prākṛiticisms* are *chīchōka* (for *chītya*), VI 1 223; *siṅgharya* (for *siṅgharya*), IV 1 192; *dukkha* (for *dukkha*), V 12 204, 21 205; *satta-khatta* (for *sapta-kṛitvā*), VII 6 236; also *dvāṭīyaka* (for *dvaitīyaka*), VI 2 223, and *īlāya* (for *īailāya*), VI 4 223. More to the category of *prākṛiticisms* in *sandhi* belong the following examples: *apētā* (for *apaitā*) in V 2 203, and *upaishyati* (for *upēshyati*), IV 20 193. A final consonant is almost always elided; thus, *kāraṇā* (for *kāraṇāt*), IV 3 192 5, 20 193 40, 43 195; *tarmā* (for *tarmāt*), IV 16 193; *ācharē* (for *ācharēt*), VI 16 225; *kārayē* (for *kārayēt*), V 48 207; *avōcha* (for *avōchat*), VI, 1b 222; so also *chirā*, V 38 206; and *kiāchi*, IV 35 194, 52 195 V 27 205 36 206; but the normal *chirāt* occurs twice in IV 29 194 44 195, and the normal *kiāchit* once in IV 20 193. In the nominative and accusative singular neuter of pronouns, the elision of *t* or *d*, alternates with the *anuvāra*. Thus we have *ta* in V 28 205; *ēta*, V 25 205 37 206 47 207; *ya*, V 1 203 3 204; but also the equally *prākṛitic* forms *tav*, V 24, 25 205; *ētā*, V 4, 7, 14 204 28, 31 205 43 206 52 207, and *yav*, V 47, 60 207. On the other hand, the normal forms *tad*, *ētaḍ*, *yad* occur before vowels, e. g., *tad-avāpsyari*, IV 13 193; *ētaḍ-avācha*, VI 1 222; *yad-īpasē*, IV 1 192; but exceptionally also before consonants, *tad-yathā* and *yat-satyā*, V 3 203. Occasionally the *anuvāra* is added to the end of a word, as in *kārayāṁ* (for *kāraya*), V 6 204, *dēśm* (for *dēśē*), V 58 207; or it may take the place of the final *visarga*, as in *tataṁ* (for *tataḥ*), IV 3 192.¹⁰⁸ But more often such a *visarga* is dropped altogether; as in *lābha* (for *lābhah*), IV 48 195, *vṛitta*, V 36 206, *ānanda*, VI 5 222; *prīti* (for *prītiḥ*), V 21 205; *prāhu* (for *prāhuh*), V 2 203, *bhikṣu*, VI 2 222; *sumitrai* (for *sumitraiḥ*), IV 30 194, *davaṭai ohōrai nairīṭikai*, V 17 205; *kētō* (for *kētōḥ*), V 27 205. Or it combines to *ō*, as in *itō* (for *itāḥ*) *śhaskīhē*, V 13 204. Or, its omission may give rise to double *sandhi*, as in *tatōttamāḥ* (for *tata-uttamāḥ* from *tataḥ-uttamāḥ*), IV 10 193. Occasionally some consonant is inserted to avoid a hiatus, or a vocalic *sandhi*. Thus (a) *n* in *nai-n-ṛitīkaiḥ* (for *nair-ṛitīkaiḥ*), V 17 205, *maitri-n-airavāṇēshu* (for *maitry-airavāṇēshu*), VI 1 224; (b) *m* in *pari-m-apanāya* (for *paryapanāya*), VI 4 223; *Vārukinā-m-api* (for *Vārukināpi*), VI 2 224; for other examples, see page lxi (c) *r* in *jani-r-upadravāḥ* (for *jany-upadravāḥ*), IV 3 192; for another example, see above, p. lxi¹⁰⁰; (d) *s* in *gamāṇ-s-tathā*, V 21 205, *janō-s-tathā*, V 50 207; but in these two cases the reading is uncertain.

Examples of prākṛiticisms in inflexion are the following: (1) With nouns: in the nominative singular masculine, a final *ṃ* may be dropped at the end of a verse, as in *mahā* (for *mahān*), V 36 206, or before a consonant, as in *bhagavā* (for *bhagavān*) *chokhrāvartiyāḥ*, VI 1 222. But the normal form also occurs, as in *bhōgavān śrāmaṇśrakāḥ*, VI 6 224; and before vowels it is used always, as in *mahān arthāḥ*, IV 10, 11 193, *bhagavān āyushmanāḥ*, VI 1 222. Similarly curtailed forms, however, occur also in the Vedas, see M. Ved. Gr., § 315, p. 193. In the case of *dhanavāś-śa*, as indicated by the interpolated *ś*, the omission of the *anuvāra* is probably a scribal error, and the reading should be *dhanavāś*. In the accusative plural masculine, *āḥ* and *āḥ* replace *ān* and *ān*, respectively, before consonants, as in *kāmāḥ*

¹⁰⁰ In *padams-tu* (for *padas-tu*), V 5 204, the anusvara is a mere clerical error.

¹⁰⁰ In *spāti-r-āhikshaul*, VI 5 222, the reading is doubtful.

(for *kāmān*) *prāpsyasē*, IV 33 194; *mittrān* (for *mittrām*) *dvishasi*, IV 52 195; *pūjayasē*, *vriddhān* (for *vriddhām*) *dēvatān*, V 10 204; *vijēshyasi* *ṛipūn sarvān* (for *ṛipūn sarvān*) *pratyarthi*, IV 47 195. But the normal form occurs before palatals, as in *svajanān=i=cha* . . . *manyasi*, V 10 204, and before vowels, as in *bhōgavān avi*, IV 11 193. Other examples are: nominative singular masculine *dvitīyō* (for *dvitīyaḥ kūtāḥ*, IV 16 193, *kuladēvō* (for *kuladēvaḥ*) *cha*, V 6 204; singular neuter, *janmān* (for *janma*), IV 33 194; instrumental plural, *dvitīrēkhāhi* (for *dvitīrēkhabhiḥ*), VI 12 224; and the vowel lengthenings in *ṛishishu* (for *ṛishishu*), IV 4 192, and *vādinān* (for *vādinān*), IV 2 192.—(2) With pronouns: the nominative or accusative singular neuter *ta* or *taḥ* (for *tad*), etc., have been already referred to above, p. lxvii, of the stem *ima*, there occur the nominative singular feminine *imā* (for *iyam*), V 4 203, and the genitive singular masculine *imasya* (for *asya*), IV 3 192. The latter occurs once in the Vedas; see M. Ved. Gr., p. 302, footnote 7; and the normal form *asya* also occurs in VII 6 237. Other examples are the instrumental plural masculine *tēhi* (for *taiḥ*), VI 12, 224, and once the genitive singular *tava*, V 13 204, by the side of the usual normal *tava*, IV 6 193 V 1, 2 204, *et passim* (see Index).—(3) With numerals: we have the locative singular masculine *ekasmi* (for *ekasmin*), VI 1 222, and the locative plural *chaturasū* (for *chaturasū*), VII 4 237.—(4) With verbs: the second person singular present, *ārabhasē* (for *ārabhasē*), IV 55 196, and *kurvasi* (for *karōshi*), IV 22 194; the second singular imperative *karōhi* (for *karu*), VI 2 222/3 223; *pūjayāhi* (for *pūjaya*), V 33 206, *vichintēhi* (for *vichintaya*), V 3, 9 204, 18 205 47 207, or *vichintiya*, V 18 205; the third singular aorist *jani* (for *ajani*), IV 3 192. In future forms, the element *y*, when it is the last in a treble conjunct, is frequently omitted; thus, *prāpsasi*, IV 2 192, 11 193, or *prāpsasē*, IV 11 193; but the normal forms are more usual, *prāpsyasi*, IV 21 193, 37 194, *prāpsyasē*, IV 5 193, 28, 33 37 194 41 195, 54 196. Similarly we have also *yakshasē* (for *yakshyasē*), IV 58 196, *vipramōkshasi*, (for *vipramōkshyasi*) IV 17 193. In the past participle passive of, the causal we find *kārāvita* (for *kārīta*), V 46 206. Examples of the exchange of "voices" are: (a) *parasmaipada*, for *ātmanēpada* in *ādhasi* (for *ēdhasē*), V 41 206, *kliśyasi* (for *kliśyasē*), V 4 204, *pratipadyāmi* for (prati) *padyē*, VI 1 222, *pratīksha* (for *pratīkshasva*), IV 13 193, passive *vihanyasi* (for *vihanyasē*), V 47 207; and (b) *ātm.* for *parasm.*, in *prihokhasē*, IV 6 193 (but normal *prihokhasi*, IV 39 195), and *pūjayasē* (for *pūjayasi*), V 10 204.

Examples of *prākritic* or rather semi-*prākritic* in stem formation, are *mātāpitarān*, V 10 204, apparently meant as two separate accusatives singular for the normal, dual *mātāpitarau*; *bhrātī-samāgamān* (for *bhrātī-samāgamaḥ*), V 22 205; *yaia-mitra* (for *yaia-mitra*), VI 6 225 VII 3 237; *pul-āmbha* (for *pul-āmbhas*), IV 51 195; *putratvatā* (a pleonasm for *putratva* or *putralā*), IV 13 193; *chaturthā*, IV 22, 26 194 (for the normal feminine *chaturthī*, IV 32 194).

From the *prākritic* speech we must distinguish the "popular Sanskrit," properly so called; that is to say, the Sanskrit of the Brahmanic schools as it was spoken and written by the literate, or semi-literate among the people outside those schools, especially in the non-brahmanic portion of it. This popular Sanskrit permitted to itself occasional lapses from the strict rules of the scholastic correct Sanskrit, and occasional intrusions of the usages of the generally prevailing *Prākritic* speech. It is the language in which the medical treatises, contained in Parts I—III of the Bower Manuscript, are written. Its peculiarities are assembled in the following classified list:—

1.—PHONOLOGY.

(1) *Substitution of vowels*: *ri* for *ri*, in *trivrit*, I 61 5; *trivritā*, II 88 31 144 33 252 39; and *triphalā*, II 605 56; but the normal forms *trivrit*, *trivritā*, and *triphalā* occur quite

as frequently (see Index). Similar examples in Part IV-VII are *ṭṛika*, V 29 205 (but normal *t-ika* in II 406 46), *niṭṛitā* (for *niṣṛitā*), VI 11 224; and even *ṭṛiṇi* (for *triṇi*), V 40 206. On the other hand, we find *ri* for *ṛi*, in *ṛita* (always for normal *ṛita*), I 73 75 8, II 612 56, etc. (see Index).

(2) *Substitution of consonants*: (a) *ṇ* for *ṛ*, in *garbhēna*, II 535 53, *jaṭharāni*, II 940 69, *jvarānām*, II 169 35 *pśhyāni*, II 45 28, *pranaiyatā*, III 64 184,¹¹⁰ *prayōgēna*, II 256 39, 275 40, *briṇhana*, II 643 58, *māshikānāḥ*, II 239 38. On the other hand, *ṛ* for *ṇ*, in *kushṭhāni*, II 53 29 86 31 249 39, but normal *kushṭhāni*, in II 141 33 and III 49 183.—(b) *ṇ* for *ṃ*, in *ariāni*, (for *ariāṇi*), II 185 36; and similarly *ṇ* for *ṃ*, in *viśiati*, II 232 38, *ṛiṇhana*, II 176 35, 752 60, *saṅharēt*, II 186 38.—(c) *b* for *v*, when second or third in a conjunct, as once in *pārva* for (*pārva*), II 200 38, and *yathōktāmbā* (for *yathōktāṃ vā*), II 583 55. Otherwise always regularly *rvv*; see the Index, *s. v.*, *pārva*, *mārva*, *sarva*, etc.—(d) *s* for *ṣ*, in *samaḥ* (for *tamaḥ*), III 56 184, and *srōtā* (for *īrōtā*), II 1076 74, both examples being doubtful. On the other hand, we find *sh* for *s*, in *sadyashkāṃ* (for *sadyaskāṃ*), II 576, 579 54.

(3) *Prefixion of a vowel*: *a* in *alatā* (for *latā*), I 94 7, and *amṛiṇāla* (for *mṛiṇāla*), II 346 43. These are the only two cases of such prefixion: the two words, which are of frequent occurrence, are, at all other times, spelled normally *latā* and *mṛiṇāla*.

(4) *Augmentation of a conjunct*: *b* is invariably inserted in the conjunct *mī*; thus we have *ambla* (for *amla*), I 121, 122 9 II 14 12 726 59, *amblavātasa*, II 64, 66 29 75, 80 30 219 37, *amblātaka*, II 106 31, *āmbla*, I 26 3 II 93 31 302 41 441 48 577 64, *āmblika*, II 79 30. Occasionally, *m* is turned into *anusvāra*, as in *ambla*, II 790 62, *amblavātasa*, I 62 5 II 14 26 29 27, *āmbla*, I 15 2.

(5) *Reduction of a conjunct*: for the sake of the metre (*ślōka*) *nn* is reduced to *n* in *samāpanāḥ* (for *samāpannāḥ*), in II 498 51. This is the single example of such a change.

(6) *Dissolution of a conjunct*: the only two examples *ambilavātasa* (for *amblavātasa*) and *hriṣṭera* (for *hrivṛera*) have already been quoted as *prākriticisms*; see *ante*, p. lxi.

(7) *Shortening of a syllable*, always for the sake of the metre: *apasmāriṇāṃ* (for *apasmāriṇāḥ*), II 378 45; *gōdhāmaiḥ* (for *gōdhāmaih*), II 405 46; *maṇḍūkaparṇi* (for *maṇḍūkaparṇi*), I 52 5; *mūlabhagā* (for *mūlābhagā*), II 799 82; *mṛittika* (*mṛittikā*), II 1063 74; *varshabhūḥ* (for *varshābhūḥ*), II 345 43; *shadī* (for *shadī*), II 40 28; *samupakkrāmēt* (for *samupakkrāmēt*), II 1067 74; *hitasēvi* (*hitasēvi*) II 726 58. Also *ādhatti* and *nigrihṇati*, see pp. lxi under Verbal Inflection.

(8) *Lengthening of a syllable*, always for the sake of the metre: *asthika* (for *asthika*), II 798 62; often in compounds, as *ūrū* (for *ūru*) with *daurbalya*, II 388 45, or with *śkhaṇbha*, II 316 42 334 43; 349, 357 44; *ṛitū* (for *ṛitu*) with *sthitam*, III 21 182; *satāpushpāḥ* (for *satapushpāḥ*), II 346 43; and in genitives plural like *pittināḥ* (for *pittināḥ*) etc., see under Nominal Inflection, p. lxi.

(9) *Rare letters or spellings*: (a) the *ṣpadhmanīya* occurs in *chaturāḥ pippalyaḥ*, II 183 36, and *ataḥ paravī*, III 41 183. On the other hand, the *jihvāmūliya* is found only in the second portion of the Bower Manuscript, in *dukkham*, V 3 203 and *kakṣhōrda*, VI 1 223.—(b) The long vowel *ī* occurs three times, in *ṛiṇām*, II 108 32 636 57, and *kṛiṇchhṛāṇi* (for *kṛiṇchhṛāṇi*), II 644 58.—(c) The guttural nasal *ṇ*, occurs once, in *samyaṇ-namayāta*, II 916 68.—(d) Assimilated *ś* occurs in *manasīlā*, III 6 181; only once; otherwise always *manasīlā*, I 97 7 II 848, 850 65 III 55 184, *et passim* (see Index). See *M. Vēd. Gr.*, §78e, p. 71.

¹¹⁰ In Sanskrit (Pāṇini VIII 4, 30) *ṇ* occurs only when *ṣ* is changed to *sh*, as in *pranashṭhīḥ*, *pranashṭa*.

II.—EUPHONIC COMBINATION (*Sandhi*).

(1) *Hiatus* occurs exceptionally, at a caesura or at the end of a *pāda*; thus, *gadgada āré*, II 349 44 (at the caesura in an *āryā* verse); *yavāgā ndaivi*, II 800 62 (at the end of the first *pāda* of an *Indrapajrā*); *vā āshādhē*, II 974 71 and *nāma ātrōya*, III 36 183 (at the end of the third *pāda* of a *śloka*); once otherwise, in *nikānti arāśāsi*, III 7 181 (between the sixth and seventh feet of an *āryā*). This conforms to Vedic usage; see M. Ved. Gr. § 67, 71 pp. 61, 65.

(2) *Double sandhi* is found occasionally: (a) between words, in *guḍikātha* (for *guḍikā atka* from *guḍikāḥ atka*), II 78 30; *tatōddharēt* (for *tata uddharēt* from *tataḥ uddharēt*), II 369 44; *mahātmanēti* (for *mahātmana iti* from *mahātmanē iti*), II 132 33; (b) within compounds, in *urōdghātēshu* (for *ura-udghātēshu* from *uras-udghātēshu*), II 1099 75. An intervening final consonant may even be dropped; thus, *m* in *āivibhyānumatō* (for *āivibhyā anumatō*, from *āivibhyām anumatō*), II 425 47; and *r* in *āivindōnumataḥ* (for *āivindō anumataḥ* from *āivindōr anumataḥ*, normal for *āivindōḥ anumataḥ*), II 253 39. Both are met with in Vedic usage, see M. Ved. Gr. § 3 a, b, p. 64.

(3) *Doubling of consonants*: *k*, in the ligature *kr*, is doubled when it begins a word either in a sentence or in a compound, and is preceded by any vowel, either short or long. Thus we have (a) in a sentence, *oka kkrimi*, II 1107 76, *hanti kkrimin*, II 791 62; *tu kkrāmāt*, II 767 60; *mālā kkrigāḥ*, I 51 5; *ivarē kkrigā*, II 617 56; or (b) in a compound, *ādi-kkrigā*, I 118 9; *gala-kkrigā*, I 23 3; *pailya-kkrimi*, II 857 65; *yathā-kkrāmāḥ*, II 735 59; *rasa-kkrigā*, II 885 67; *bata-kkratōḥ*, II 35 28; *sa-kkrimin*, II 203 37. There are, however, a few exceptions, *graha-krimi*, I 41 4; *yathā-kramāḥ*, II 963 71; *rasa-krigā*, II 852 65. After a consonant the doubling does not take place, *chēt kramāḥ*, II 430 51; nor after the anusvāra, *agnīḥ krimin*, II 52 29; *kāmalāḥ krimin*, II 142 33; *mālāḥ krōṇchādāna*, II 292 41; nor after the visarga, *tataḥ kramēṇa*, II 726 58, except once in *vidhāḥ kkrigāḥ*, II 1024 72. In the middle of a word *k* is doubled invariably, as in *chakkra*, *takkra*, *śakkra*, see the Index. See M. Ved. § 30 p. 21. W. Skr. Gr. § 229, p. 72.

(4) *Elision of ā after ē or ō*. Thus in *jalādhakē* 'imaguptāyāḥ' (for *jalādhaka āmaguptāyāḥ*), II 825 64; and *kudavō* 'malakā-rasāt' (for *kudava āmalakārasāt*), II 252 39; in both cases to suit the metre.

III.—NOMINAL INFLECTION.

(1) *Nominative singular feminine* in *ī* for *ī*, only once in *tanmayī* (for *tanmayi*), I 19 2; in all other cases normally *ī* as in *nārī*, *haritakī*, etc. (see Index); also in Vedic, see W. Skr. Gr., § 356, p. 115. On the other hand, in *ā* for *āḥ*, nearly always, in *yavāgā*, as in *yavāgā-iyāḥ* (for *yavāgā iyāḥ*), II 787 62; altogether eleven times (see Index), but twice *yavāgāḥ*, as in *yavāgār-yamaka*, II 800 62, and *yavāgār-laghu*, II 1030 72; also normal in *varshā-ḥḥāḥ*, II 345 43.

(2) *Accusative singular masculine*, in *im* for *inam*, only twice, to suit the metre (*śloka*) in *arōhakinim* (for *arōhakinam*), II 26 27; and *pratyarthim* (for *pratyarthinam*), IV 32 194. Otherwise normal, e. g., *śūlinam*, II 26 27.—Again, singular feminine in *yam* for *im*, in *vartiyam* (for *vartim*), II 887 67; the reading *vartiyābhasā* is blundered for *vartiyāḥ ābhasā*.—Again, plural feminine, in *yaḥ* for *īḥ*, as in *āśūmatyāḥ* (for *āśūmatīḥ*), II 301 41; *guryāḥ* (for *gurvīḥ*), II 232 38; *pariyāḥ* (for *parvīḥ*), II 188 36; *pippalyāḥ* (for *pippalīḥ*), II 134 33 188 36 314 42 386 45 505 51 745 59 930 69 1055 73 *haritakyāḥ* (for *haritakīḥ*), II 245 39 484 50; altogether thirteen times, but the normal ending *īḥ* occurs twice, *gajapippalīḥ*,

II 314 42 and *haritakiḥ*, II 226 38. In the Vedas *is* is nowhere met with, see W. Skr. Gr. § 359, 363, pp. 316, 318, and M. Ved. Gr. § 378, p. 273.—Also, accusative *āpas* (for *apas*), II 804 63; as often in Vedic, see W. Skr. Gr. § 393, p. 133.

(3) *Instrumental singular neuter*, once *dadhinā* (for *dadhnā*), II 428 47, to suit the metre (*śloka*); otherwise always normal *dadhīnā*, II 149, 150 34 785, 801 62 853 65 1053 73. Also, feminine, *rāsnāyā* and *balāyā* (for *rāsnayā* and *balayā*), II 177 35, shown to be instrumentals by the accompanying undoubted instrumentals *mālēna* and *madhukēna*; otherwise they might be taken to be genitive substitutes. They may, but need not, be due to the metre (*śloka*); for we have an undoubted example in prose in *vidyārājāyā*, VI 2 222 and (with the normal qualifying *anayā*), VII 6 237; but normal *vidyārājāyā*, VII 3 237. In all other cases, the instrumental is normal; e.g., *śarkkarayā* I 81 6 107 8 II 504 51 1087 75, *vachayā*, II 80 30, etc. (see Index).

(4) *Genitive singular feminine*, *aṅganayā* (for *aṅganāyā*), I 84 7; and *sūkshmailayā* (for *sūkshmailāyā*), II 115 32; or also, *gudikāyā* (for *gudikāyā*), II 1035 72, and *madhurasāyā* (for *madhurasāyā*), II 67 29. In all other cases, normal, e.g., *sūkshmelāyāḥ*, II 61 29; *gudikāyāḥ*, II 1022 72; *chādāyāḥ*, II 856 65¹¹¹.—Again, plural masculine, *grīdhrasīnām* (for *grīdhrasīnām*), II 377 45; *pittinām* (for *pittinām*), II 164 34 418, 423 49; *pramēhinām* (for *pramēhinām*), II 230, 243 38 971 71, *rōginām* (for *rōginām*), II 254 39. In all other cases, normal, e.g., *apasmārinām*, II 378 45, *udarinām*, II 971 71, *kāsinām*, II 164 34, *kshirinām*, I 89 7, II 291 41, *dēhinām*, III 33 183 *prāṇinām*, I 46 5, *mēhinām*, II 606 56, *śaririnām*, II 244 38, *śōshinām*, II 940 69, etc., the proportion of abnormal to normal cases being 8:14. Similarly, once, *parvānām* (for *parvānām*), II 335 43.—Also plur. masc., only once, *varādām* (for *varādānām*), II 774 61; elsewhere normal, as *narādām*, I 92 7 II 37 28, etc. All the preceding abnormalities occur in verse composition, and seem to be due to the exigencies of the metre; but there is one example in prose, *sarvavādīnām* (for *vādīnām*), IV 3 192.

(5) *Locative singular neuter*: once the syncopated form *nāmi*, II 918 69, and optionally *ahni*, I 20 2 II 908 68, by the side of *ahani*, I 63 5 II 723 58 784 61; but elsewhere the full form, as *nārāhani*, I 11 2 II 79 35, *karmāni*, II 962 71, etc.

IV.—VERBAL INFLECTION,

In the main the abnormalities in verbal inflection refer to changes with respect to "class" and "voice." Most of them have the support of Vedic and Epic usage.

(1) *Change of "class"*: Thus I. class for II., *rōdatē* (for *rōditi*), II 1041 73, but normal II. class, *rudyāt*, I 99 8; both classes also in Vedic and Epic¹¹².—Again, VI. class for IIInd, parasm., *lihēt* (for *lihyāt*), II 475 50 590, 594, 596 55 608 56 1081, 1088 75, or *āt*, *l:hēta* (for *lihāta*), III 21 182; but almost equally frequent (7:8) is the normal *lihyāt*, I 128 9 II 21 27 433, 439, 446 48 450 49 779 61, and the VI. class is also epic. Similarly VI. class for IIInd, *dvishasi* (for *dvēshṣi*), IV 52 195; also epic.—Again, VI. class for VIIth, *piśhēt* (for *piśhāyāt*), II 850 65 896 67; in this case, as well as in the compound *prapish*, there is the abnormal lengthening of the root vowel, which, however, is restricted to the tenses; for the participles are *piśhtrā*, II 41 28, etc., or *piśhya*, II 887 67 and *prapishya*, II 82 30, *piśhta*, I 35 4 II 430 48, etc. (see Index). The same lengthening occurs when the root is inflected normally in the Xth class or causal, *piśhayēt*, II 404 46 550 53 871 66 889 67, and *prapishayēt*, II 97 31 211 37 577 54. The lengthened root vowel occurs once also in the

¹¹¹ It would seem that the abnormal forms occur only when the normal visarga drops off by reason of sandhi.

¹¹² In the Rigveda the II. class does not occur; see M. Ved. Gr., § 450a. footnote 8, p. 395.

Atharvavêda, *apishan* (see M. Ved. Gr., § 436, footnote 2, p. 330).—Again, VI. class for IXth, *prâśeti*, II 828 64; only once, to suit the metre, (*śloka*), but usually (3: 1) normal, *prâśniyât*, II 778 61 824 64 III 59 184. So also, *nigrihñati* (for *nigrihñati*), II 342 43 1083 75, in both instances to suit the metre (*śloka*); for analogous cases in the Vedas, see M. Ved. Gr., § 475a p. 349.—Again, VI. class for VIIth, participle present, *prayujamāna*, I 54 5, an anomalous form for *prayujamāna*, which would not have suited the metre (*āryā*): only once; elsewhere normal, *prayujāna*, II 95 31 312 42 783 61 (for another anomaly, *prayujit* see below 2a).

(2) Change of "voice;" (a) *parasmaipada* for *ātmanēpada*; *ādhatti*, II 147 34, an anomalous confusion of the two forms *ādhattē* (ātmanē) and *ādadhāti* (parasmaipada), to suit the metre (*āryā*) which requires a short syllable. Again, *bhāshati* (for *bhāshatē*), II 1099 75, required by the metre (*śloka*); but normal *abhāshata*, II 969 71; the parasm. is epic.—Again, *labhati* (for *labhatē*), II 727 59, and *labhēt* (for *labhēta*), II 363 44, in both instances due to the metre (*śloka*), elsewhere normal (3: 2), *labhatē*, II 513 52, and *labhēta*, II, 200 36, etc. (see Index); in Parts IV and V, occasionally irrespective of metre, *lapyasi*, IV 9 193, and *labhishyasi*, V 12 204; examples also in epic. Again, *vardhati*, I 60 5, once, irrespective of metre; elsewhere normal *varddhatē*, I 46 5 II 757 60, and *varddhantē*, II 618 56; but parasm. also vedic and epic.—Again, *prayujit* (for *prayujita*), II 865 66; a quite anomalous form, apparently, suggested by the normal *ātmanēpada* form *prayujita*, which occurs in I 36 4 52 5 II 198 36 761 60; the normal parasmaipada form *prayujyāt* occurs in II 269 40.—Again, passive, *lakshyanti* (for *lakshyantē*), II 1042 73, to suit the metre (*śloka*).

(b) *Ātmanēpada* for *parasmaipada*; *gachohhēta* (for *gachohhēt*), II 830 64 840, 841 65; only in the optative, and to suit the metre (*śloka*); elsewhere normal, *gachohhanti*, II 827, 828. 833 64; *ātmanēpada* also epic.—Again, *chikitsatē* (for *chikitsati*), II 949 70; only once, to suit the metre (*upēndravajrā*); elsewhere normal, II 273 40 309 42 928 69; but *ātmanēpada* also epic.—Again, *jivēta*, II 51 28; only once; elsewhere normal, *jivēt*, I 42 4 50 5 II 744 59 932 69; *ātmanēpada* also epic.—Again, *pivatē* (for *pibati*), II 248, 253, 39 and *pivēta* (for *pibēt*), II 82 30 327 42 593 55 846 65 1116 76, to suit the metre, but as a rule (55: 5) normal; e. g., *pivēt*, I 25, 26, 27, 3 II 24 27 III 17 182, etc. (see Index), *prapivēt*, I 20 2 21, 23 3; *ātmanēpada* also vedic and epic.—Again, *śamayātē* (for *śamayati*), II 274 40, due to the metre (*śloka*).

(c) *Conjunctive participles*: *grihya*, II 401 46 525 52 646 58 IV 12 193; always, for the normal *grihitvā*, which never occurs; also vedic, but apparently only in composition with nouns, as *karna-grihya*, see M. Ved. Gr., § 591a, p. 413.—Again, *pishya*, II 887 67; only once; elsewhere normal, *pishvā*, II 41 28, etc. (see Index); also epic.—Again, *śrāvya* (for *śrāvitvā*), II 371 44.—Again, *samānayitvā*, II 1114 76; but normal, *samāniya*, II 214 37; similarly once in vedic, *pratyarpayitvā*, M. Ved. Gr., § 590b, p. 412.

V.—STEM FORMATION.

(1) Stems ending in *as*, or *is*, or *us* may have alternative endings in *a*, or *i*, or *u*, as a rule with change of gender from neuter to masculine. Thus (a) with *as* neuter and *a* masculine; *arias*, accusative plural, *arīśasi*, II 52 29 III 7 181, etc., twelve times (see Index); and *arīa*, accusative plural, *arīśa*, II 107 31, only once; similarly in composition, *arīas* (*arīś*), II 136 33, etc., eleven times (see Index), and *arīa*, II 644 58, only once.—Again, *tamas*, accusative singular, *tamā* (*tamō*), II 84 30 941 69; and *tama*, only in compounds, *tama-śvāsa*, II 479 50, *tamōparīkṣita*, II 424 47.—Again, *payas*, accusative plural, *payāśasi*, II 599 55, etc. (numerously, see Index), or in composition, *payas* (*payō*), I 59 5 II 814 63 III 68 184, anomalously *payasōdana*, II 374 45 722 58; and *paya*, only in the compound

rayôdana, II 724 58.—Again, *manas*, genitive plural, *manasām*, I 65 6; in composition, *manas* (*manô*), I 97 7 II 3 25 (numerously, see Index); and *mana*, only in the compound *mana-dushtakari*, V 15 205.—Again, *yais*, in composition, *yaisôrikin*, II 412 47, and *yaisa*, in the compound *yaisamitra*, VI 6 225 VII 3 237.—Again, *rajas* (*rajô*), I 114 8, nominative plural *rajâkari*, II 343 43; and *raja*, nominative singular masculine *rajas tâmrajah*, II 887 67, or in the compound, *raja-nigraha*, II 424 47.—Again, *vaksas*, no examples; and *vaksas*, in the compound, *vaksas-stana*, I 18 2.—Again, *îrshas*, only in the compound, *îrshô-bhitâpita*, II 272 40; and *sirsha*, often in composition, *îrsha-rôga*, II 179 35, etc. (see Index).—Again, *sadyas* (*sadyô*), I 100, 103, 8 II 54 29; and *sadya*, only in composition, *sady-ôttihita*, II 877 66, *sady-ôtpatita*, II 858 66.—Again, *srôtas* (*srôtô*), only in the compound *srôtô-âjana*, II 883 67; and *srôta*, only in the compound *srôta-ja*, II 472 50.

(b) With *is* neuter, and *i* masculine: *îsukis* (*îsukir*, for Sanskrit *îsukis*), only in composition, I 20 2 II 105 31 753 60; and *îsuki* (only adjectival), II 269 40, etc. (see Index).

(c) With *us* neuter and *u* masculine: *ohaksas* (*ohaksasur*), nominative singular, *ohaksasur*, II 309 42; and *ohaksas*, though anomalously neuter, nominative singular, V 1 203.

(2) Miscellaneous new stems: *kantâra* (for *kantri*), nominative singular neuter, *kantâram*, II 365 44; if the form be taken as a normal, it would be the accusative singular masculine of *kantri* with an anomalous change of case as well as of gender.—Again, feminine *ghnâ* (for *ghni*), in *mukha-rôga-ghnâ*, II 42 28; only once; elsewhere normal *ghni*, as in *kshuta-ghni*, II 801 63. Similarly, *ohaturihâ*, IV 22, 26 194; but normal *ohaturihî*, IV 32 194.—Again, *gupta*, VI 2 222, but normal *gupti*, VII 6 237.—Again, cardinals in the place of ordinals, as *ohatur*, *ashîa*, *dakâ*, for *ohaturîha*, *ashîama*, *dakama*, regularly in composition with *bhâga*, as in *ohatur-bhâga*, fourth part, I 105 8, *ashîa-bhâga*, eighth part, II 153 34, and with *bhâgavatsîkha*, etc., I 126 9 II 178 35 etc. (see Index).

VI.—GENDER.

(1) *Exchanges of masculine and neuter.* (a) Neuter for normal masculine: nominative singular, *adhyâgam*, II 4 26; only once; elsewhere normal, *adhyâyah*, II 107 32 260 39, and plural, *adhyâyâh*, II 9 26.—Again, accusative dual, *karañjê*, II 345 43, but normal *karañjan*, II 1100 75.—Again, nom. sing., *kalpam*, II 321 42; only once; elsewhere normal, acc. plur., *kalpân*, I 30 3, nom. dual, *kalpas*, I 29 3 (see Index).—Again, nom. plur. neuter *grihâni* (for masc. *grihâh*), II 1117 76.—Again, acc. dual neuter, *grahê* (for masculine *grahau*), II 332 43.—Again, nom. sing., *prayôgam*, II 762 60; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *prayôgah*, II 86 31 750, 751, 60, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *pravâdâni*, II 1106 76, only once; elsewhere normal, nom. plur., *pravâdâh*, II 1106 76, acc. plur., *pravâdân*, II 23 27; 1086 75.—Again, acc. sing., *prastam* (*stâd*), II 916 68; only once; elsewhere normal; nom. sing., *prastah*, II 109 32, nom. plur., *prastâh*, II 390 45, nom. dual, *prastau*, II 777 61, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *bhagandarâni* (for *bhagandarân*), III 9 181; once also feminine, see below.—Again, nom. plur., *rasâni*, II 814 63; only once; elsewhere normal, *rasâh*, I 178 35 601 56, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. sing., *vidâlakam*, II 861 66; only once; but twice normal, *vidâlakah*, I 109, 111 8. Also in Part V, nom. sing., *gandham* (for *gandhah*), V 2-203, and *ohaksas* (for *ohaksasur*), V 1 203.

(b) Masculine for normal neuter: acc. plur., *âmalakân*, II 226 38 291 41; only twice; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *âmalakam*, II 223 37, nom. plur., *âmalakâni*, II 129 33, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. sing., *âichyôtanah*, I 83 6; only once; elsewhere normal, *âichyôtanam*, I 70, 73 6 II 367, 870 66, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *ushadhân*, II 192 36; only once; elsewhere normal, *ushadhâni*, II 369 44 621 57.—Again, acc. plur., *kushkhân*, II 238

38 493 51 942 70; but usually normal, *kushāṇi*, II 53 29 IH 61 184, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *chārāṇāṇi*, II 57 29; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *chārāṇam*, II 22 27, nom. plur., *chārāṇāṇi*, II 471 50, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *nāgarāṇ*, III 66 184; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *nāgarām*, II 63 29, etc. (see Index). Again, nom. sing., *nāgarakaḥ*, II 104 31; but normal, *nāgarakam*, II 1119 76.—Again, nom. plur., *palāḥ*, II 193 36 588 55, acc. plur., *palān*, II 901 68; but usually normal, nom. sing., *palam*, II 75 30, nom. plur., *palāni*, II 60 29 III 57 184, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *mālāḥ*, III 63 184; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *mālam*, I 89 7 II 266 40, nom. plur., *mālāni*, I 72 6 II 628 57 III 37 183, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *śukrāḥ* (for *śukrāṇi*), II 350 44; no examples for the normal neuter.—In the second portion of the Bower Manuscript there occur: nom. sing., *padaḥ*, V 1 204; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *padam*, V 5 204 55 207, nom. dual, *padē*, V 58 207, and acc. plur., *mitrāṇ* (for *mitrān*), IV 52 195 V 10 204; elsewhere, apparently normal, nom. sing., *mitram*, V 33 206.—For other examples where the change of gender is due to change in the stem (e.g., acc. plur., *arīān* for *arīāṇi*), see *ante*, section V, p. lxxii.

(2) *Exchange of masculine and feminine*: (a) feminine for normal masculine, acc. sing., *bhagandalām*, II 53 29; only once; elsewhere, apparently masculine, loc. sing., *bhagandarē* II 221 37 III 64 184, etc. (see Index); but once also neuter, see *ante*, la, p. lxxiii.

(b) Masculine for normal feminine, acc. plur., *devatān* (for *devatāḥ*), II 721 58. In the second portion of the Bower Manuscript, *devata* is always masculine, acc. sing., *devatam*, IV 5 192; nom. plur., *devataḥ*, IV 21 194 48 195;¹¹³ instr. plur., *devataiḥ*, IV 39 194, abl. plur., *devatēbhyah*, IV 22 194.—Again, nom. dual, *mēdam*, II 297 41; only once; elsewhere normal, acc. sing., *mēdām*, II 128 33, acc. dual, *mēdē*, II 112 32, etc. (see Index).—Again, loc. sing., *viśharohikē*, II 1034 72; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *viśharohikā*, III 49 183; acc. sing., *viśharohikām*, II 342 43 III 8 181.—Again, loc. sing., *sprihē*, IV 14 193; but normal, nom. sing., *sprihā*, IV 30 194.

VII.—SYNTAX.

(3) *Exchange of feminine and neuter*: nom. sing., *marichā*, II 851 65; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *maricham*, II 11 26 III 66 184, nom. plur., *marichāni*, II 863 66 III 54 184.

(1) *Exchange or mixture of "cases"*: (a) nominative for accusative in the object of a sentence; as in II 237 38 *vriddhayaḥ* (for *vriddhiḥ*) *jayēt*; II 253 39 *vindavaḥ* (for *vindān*) *pibatē*; II 293 41 *priyāṅgavaḥ* (for *priyāṅgāḥ* or *priyāṅgān*) *grāhayēt*. As a rule, such nominatives are found joined with accusatives, as in II 248 39 *yāvantaḥ* (for *yāvataḥ*) *pibatē vindān*; and II 782 61 *tilān bhakshayita saṁmitrāḥ* (for *saṁmitrān*). Or they are mixed with accusatives, as in II 102 31 *shaḍi* (nom.) . . . *gudam* (acc.) *bharjitvā*; II 121 32 *viḍaṅgā* (nom.) . . . *dantiḥ* (acc.) *paohēt*; II 128 33 *vīrā* (nom.) . . . *mēdān=cha* (acc.) *saṁharēt*; II 134-5 33 *pippalyas=trayamāṇāḥ=cha* (acc.) *mustā* (nom.) *kalkikṛitvā*; II 201-2 36 *haritakiḥ* (acc.) *vachāḥ* (acc.) . . . *yavaksharō* (nom.) *viḍaṅgā* (nom.) *vipāchayēt*; II 236 38 *pippalī* (nom.) . . . *chavyaḥ=cha* (acc.) *āvapēt*; II 252 38 *palam ch=aikam* (acc.) *kuḍavō* (nom.) *paohēt*; II 320 42 *rāsnā* (nom.) *balāivagandhāḥ* (acc.) *dadyāt*; II 326 42 *rāsnāḥ* (acc.) *pāṭhā* (nom.) *cha gudā=cha* (acc.) *pishṭvā*; II 802 63 *siddhāḥ* (acc.) *pivēt pittakṛā yavāgā* (nom.); II 816-7 64 *amalakarasa-prasthāḥ* (nom.) . . . *ghṛita-prasthāḥ=cha* (acc.) *sādhayēt*. The following are some examples from the second portion of the Bower Manuscript: IV 9 193 *ayam sapṛanyō bhakṣē*; IV 11 193 *prāpsasē nayan uttamam*; IV 28 194 *prāpsasē sō'rthah*; IV 44 195

¹¹³ Here the reading *sumukhas-tava devatā*; should be *sumukhita-tava devatā*; thus making the gender of *devata* masculine throughout.

rāja-lambhas-tu lapayasā; V 12 204 *vimōkṣaḥ=cha bhūti kāmō labhiṣhyasi*; VI 5-6 222 *Svātir* (nom. for *Svātim*) *bhikṣum* (acc.)...*drishṭvā*.

(b) Accusative for nominative, not uncommon in the subject of a sentence; thus a series of several accusatives in II 78 30 *syād rasam sa-suktam ambilavēlasam vidam yavanam*; II 80 30 *syāc=chitrakam yutam aivagandham*; II 169 35 *ikṣu-mulāni kāndēkṣhām ikṣu-vālikām* etc.; II 204 37 *chitrakam triphalām vrikatam kaṇṭakārikām*, etc. Sometimes, however, the word *syāt* is a mere pleonastic adverb of permission ("may be"), and the series of accusatives depend on *dadyāt*, or a similar transitive verb, as in II 182-3 35 *syāt tryūṣhaṇam...syād aṭha dēvadru...syād ātmaguptām aṭha...mēdāñ=cha dadyād=dhi śatāvartā=cha*. Sometimes nominatives and accusatives are mixed, as in II 35 28 *kaṭutrikam* (nom.) *tiktakarōhinī* (acc.) *yavam* (acc.) *ckirātatikṭā* (nom.) *ika śatakkratōr=yavā* (nom.) *samāḥ syur=ētē*; II 40 28 *rāśnām* (acc.) *bhādrām* (acc.) *agradhām* (acc.) *katukatrikam* (nom.) *kṣhārō* (nom.) *śaḍi* (nom.) *chēt samāśā* (nom.) *bhāgā* (nom.) *samā=okūṣṇa-kritā* (nom.); II 291 41 *āmālakām* (acc.) *kaṭerukā* (nom.) *syuh*.

(c) Accusative for dative; once in II 207 37 *viriktam* (acc. for *viriktāya*) *tu yavāgum...* *blōjanam dāpayēt*; probably an instance of double accusative.

(b) Ablative for instrumental, regularly with *prayōgāt* (for *prayōgēna*), in II 198, 200 36, 308, 310 42 462 49 830 64.

(c) Genitive for nominative; only once in II 1116 76 *pivēta bālasya* (for *bālā*); but the construction of the whole verse is abnormal, and probably corrupt.

(f) Genitive for accusative; in II 295 41 *kāṣṭhā-madhurānām* (for *madhurāni*) *itāny-api cṣa...vipāchayēt*; II 300 41 *muktā-vidruma-saṁkṣhām* (for *-saṁkṣhā*) *-chandrakām-ēndranilayō* (for *ēndranilā*)...*imān paṣṭēt*; II 928 69 *daridrānām* (for *daridrān*) *chikitsati*, and II 949 70 *narānām* (for *narān*) *chikitsatē*.

(g) Genitive for instrumental, in II 253 39 *divinō 'numatām* (for *divibhyām*); so also *matam=divinō* in II 575 and 579 54.—Again, in II 1022 72 *gudikāyā* (for *gudikayā*) *pralēpayēt*; II 1077 74 *gandha-tailasya* (for *gandha-tailēna*) *pūrayēt*.

(h) Genitive for dative; in II 222 37 *ēkāṅga-rōginām dadyāt*; II 315 42 *hitam nriṇām*; II 324 42 *striṇām cha dēyam*; II 800 62 *vyāpanna-tailasya hitā*; II 1013 72 *bālasya dāpayēt*; II 1015, 1017, 1020, 1026, *bālānām dāpayēt*; II 1029 72 *bādhyamānasya dāpayēt*. But the normal dative occurs in II 1011 71 *kumārāya pradāpayēt*, and II 1045 73 *bālāya dāpayēt*.

(i) Genitive for locative, in I 102 8 *vidrutas=cha* (for *vidrutē*) *jantōr...cādanapralēpē*, possibly by false assimilation to the adjacent genitive *jantō*.—Again, in II 63 29 *ariassu k-irōginām hikkā-tvāṣiṣu* (for *hridrōgiṣu*) *hitam*; II 94 31 *viśūchikāyā* (for *viśūchikāyām*) *ariassu...prayujānaḥ*, though here possibly a clerical error of *ā* for *ma*.—Again, in II 357-8 44 *mūkānām* (for *mūkēṣu*)...*arditeṣu...avabhagnēṣu...sandhiṣu*; II 1081 75 *lākōk=okhardyā iti* (for *okhardyām=iti*).

(k) Locative for instrumental, in II 1038 73 *gudikāyām* (for *gudikayā*) *pralēpayēt*.

(l) Mixture of accusative, genitive, and locative, in II 221 37 *vātālēśhmāni* ¹¹⁴ (acc.) *pāṇḍanām* (gen.) *ariassu* (loc.)...*dadyāt*. Similarly in II 377-8 45 *kampanā=cha* (acc.) *griddhrasīnām* (gen.) *tathāiva cha bhagandarē* (loc.).

(2) *Exchange of "Numbers"*: (a) singular for dual; not uncommon; as in II 29 27 *tintidik-āmblavētasam*, but normal *tintidik-āmblavētasē* in II 64 29. Similarly *umāda-visarṣam*, II 341 43; *gaṇḍamālā-bhagandarē* (for *°bhagandarayō*), II 249 39; *dhānvyavāsīlaka-onandanam*, II 138 33; *nivāsa-kadambam*, II 233 38; *padmak-āguru* ¹¹⁵ (for *°āgurū*), II 266

¹¹⁴ Conjectural for the original reading *vāta-lēśhmāni* which is erroneous. It may be intended for *lēśhmāni*, or *lēśhmāni*, in either case for *lēśhmāni* or *lēśhmāni*; or it may be *lēśhmāni*.

40; *pushkar-āguruḥ*, II 189 36; *must-ōjirāḥ*, II 137 33; *vachā-kīṅguḥ*, II 399 46; *vila-āgnimanthāḥ*, II 188 36; *vēpāth-āumādāḥ*, II 333 43; *śvāsa-kāśāḥ*, II 341 43; *hikkā-śvāsā* (for *śvāsayōḥ*), II 33 27. In the preceding instances, the gender is the normal neuter; but in *bal-śvāgandhāḥ*, II 320 42, and *yashīmādhuka-māñjishikāḥ*, II 301 41 we have the feminine. Similarly, we find the masculine singular *nand-ōpanandō* (for *nandōpanandau*) combined with the plural *yē nāgāḥ*. But the normal dual occurs equally frequently, e.g., *chandrakānt-ēndranilayōḥ*, II 300 41; *jivak-arśabhakau*, II 189 36 297 41; *pippalī-triśagavērābhyaḥ*, II 212 37; *bal-ātibalayōḥ*, II 266 40; *lāmajjaka-dhanañjayaḥ*, II 294 41; *vyōsha-vatsakau*, II 56 29. In most of the preceding examples, moreover, the minor grammatical rule that a briefer and vowel-initial member should stand first, and that one ending in *a* should be placed last (see W. Skr. Gr., §. 1254c, p. 429) is not observed.

(b) Singular for plural; in *sapta saptāḥ* (for *saptāḥ*), II 956 70, and in the copulative compounds *kāmalā-jvara-pāṇḍitvāḥ*, II 342 43; *madhuka-māñjishikā-tagerāḥ*, II 266 40, with the normal neuter gender; but an instance with an abnormal feminine occurs in *phalgu-karjūra-mridvikām*, II 187 36.

(c) Dual for plural, only once, in *patōla-pichumunda-parpatākau* (for *parpatākāḥ*, plur. masc., or *parpatākam*, sing. neut.), II 137 33; but the normal plural is usual, as in *muktā-vidruma-kāṅkṣāḥ*, II 300 41; see also II 57 29, *et passim*.

(d) Plural for dual; *vrishāḥ* (for *vrishāṇau*), III 47 183; also *dadhyamblakāśohikāṇḍā* (for *kāśchikayōḥ*), II 313 42.

(3) *Absence of concord*: (a) with respect to "number": thus, singular verb with plural noun, in II 767 60, *sañyuktāḥ...śevyamānā...samupanāmayet*; in this case the plurals *sañyuktāḥ* and *śevyamānā* are erroneous, for the subject of the whole formula is the singular *śśha prayōgah*. Again, in II 1066 74, *yasya viśphōṭakā gātrē paridāhat=cha lakshyātē* (for *lakshyantē*); but here the singular verb is due to the influence of the preceding singular noun *paridāhah*.—On the other hand, plural verb with singular noun, in II 469 49, *kāśasya mūlāḥ madhu-saṅpraguktāḥ...śamayanti* (for *śamayati*); III 65 184, *viduḥ vadanti* (for *vadati*). So also, in IV 56 196, *idaṁ śikhāṇāḥ driṣyantē* (for *driṣyātē*).—Again, singular verb with plurality of nouns; often with *syāt*; e.g., in II 78 30, *syān=mātuluḥgasya rasāḥ...triṇy=śśhaṇḍny=ambilaṇḍtasaḥ=cha*; II 80 30, *syāch=chitrakāḥ trikaṭakāḥ...kustumburāṇi...*; II 472 50, *lājāḥ supishāḥ badarā-śthimajjā syād=añjanam*. In these examples the singular *syāt* may be due to the attraction of the adjacent singular noun; for when the adjacent term happens to be plural, the plural *syuh* is used, as in II 467 49, *tryūśhaṇḍāḥ triphalā...rāśnā cha sarvāḥ tulyāḥ syuh*. But more probably the term *syāt* is used adverbially; and it is obviously so used, e.g., in II 182-3 35 and II 241 38, where it occurs with a series of nouns in the accusative case governed by the transitive verb *dadyāt*.

(b) With respect to gender: masculine with feminine, once, in II 275 40, *bandhyā śabhatē garbhāḥ samācharan*, for *samācharanti* which would not suit the metre (*ślōka*). So also once, in IV 45 195, *paribhrashṭā* (for *paribhrashṭāḥ*) *samagraḥ*.—Again, masculine with neuter; several times; in II 98 31, *rōga-jātāni tān* (for *tāni*) *śriṇu*; II 185 36, *arśāṇi kṣubdhān* (for *kṣubdhāni*) *nikanti*; II 471 50, *chārṇāṇi madhudvīṭiyā vinikanti* (though in this case there is probably a clerical error for *dvīṭiyāni nikanti*); II 637 57, *annam=iva kāla-bhōjyaḥ* (for *bhōjyam*); II 725 58, *rāsāḥ bhōjyaḥ* (for *bhōjyaḥ*); II 735 59, *niyamaś=cha yathā-driṣṭāḥ* (for *yathā-driṣṭāḥ*); II 1111 76, *śarkkarā-madhu-sañyuktāḥ* (for *sañyuktāḥ*) *trishṇā-śamanam=uttamam*. So also in V 61 207, *kālas=tē samupasthitam* (for *samupasthitāḥ*).

(4) *Peculiar Constructions*: (a) Cases absolute; the nominative; e.g., in II 148-9 34, *viśaṅgā chitrakā dantī....ghṛita-prasthā paśhād-ēbhikā*, lit. "babering, plumbago-root, dantī....with these boil a prastha of ghee;" or II 603 56, *surāhvaddru triphalā sa-mustā kashāyam=utkvāṭhka pivēt*; i.e., lit. "deodar, three myrobalans with musta: having decocted them, drink (it)."¹¹⁵—Similarly we have the accusative absolute, e.g., in II 314-5 42, *rāsnā balā...pratīvishā garbhā-āṣṇa pāchayēt*, i.e., lit. "rāsnā, balā...pratīvishā: with a paste of these let (it) be boiled."—And again, a combination of both, the nominative and accusative absolute occurs, e.g., in II 169-72 35, *śaramūl-ēkshu-mūlāni kāṇḍēkshu ikshuvālikā* (three acc)...*śhāṅ tripalikā bhāgāḥ* (nom)...*jaladrōṣ vipaktavyam=āṭhakam avasēṣayēt*, e.g., "roots of śara and of sugarcane, (pieces of) kāṇḍēkshu, (and) ikshuvālikā: of these (drugs) quantities of three pala each: let (the whole) be boiled in a drōṣa of water till it is reduced to one āṭhaka."

(b) Interpolation of pleonastic particles within a compound word; thus, *atha* in II 112. 32, *śrāvany-ath-ātmaguptāḥ* (for *śrāvany-ātmaguptāḥ*); and II 720 58, *punarvasu-athapushyā* (for *punarvasu-pushyā*). Similarly *eva*, in II 323 42, *ētaḍvidh-ōiv-ōktam*, (for *ētaḍvidh-ōktam*, i.e., *ētaḍvidham eva uktam*); and II 310 42, *śrim-ēv-ābhivivarddhanam* (for *śrim-ābhivivarddhanam*, see below d). So also, *tathāiva* in II 807 63, *daakhi-ghṛita-taila-tatāiva=taṇḍulānām* (for *daakhi-ghṛita-taila-taṇḍulānām*). And again, *cha* and *chaiva*, in II 1019, 72, *śarkkarā-oh-āīmari-chaiva-mātragrāhē* (for *śarkkar-āīmari-mātragrāhē*; or *syāt* in II 802 63, *śarkkarā-syāt-siddhām* (for *śarkkarā-siddhām*).

(c) Interpolation of pleonastic particles within a sentence; thus, *chāt* in II 40 28 490 51 794 62 807 63; and *syāt* (used adverbially), in II 78, 80 30 182-3 35 207 37 229, 241 38 1075 74.

(d) Abnormal compounds; thus, *purāṇa kṣaudra-saṅyutam* (for *purāṇa-kṣaudra-saṅyutam*), II 464 49, and *bīva-kalkā vipakvam* (for *bīva-kalka-vipakvam*), II 1075 74; though in these two cases the anuswāra may be a clerical error; also, *sa-śālmalēḥ pushpam* (for *sa-śālmali-pushpam*); but see similar cases in W. Skr. Gr., § 1316, p. 456, also § 1250, p. 427, and § 1267c, 1269b, p. 434.—Again, *vānta-viriktavān* (for *vāntavān viriktavān*), II 719 58; *śrim-ēv-ābhivivarddhanam* (*śrim-ābhivivarddhanam* with interpolated *eva*, see above under b), an accusative compound like the similar Sanskrit compounds *vana-karṇa*, etc. (see W. Skr. Gr., § 1271b, p. 435); *kṣir-ārka-kūḍavam* (for *ārka-kṣira-kūḍavam*), III 2 181, where the transposition appears to be due to the necessities of the metre (*āryā*)¹¹⁶.—Again, II 902 68, *bhramara-sa-varṣāni* (for *bhramara-varṣāni*, or *sa-bhramara-varṣāni*); and II 1115 76, *sa-śāriv-ōṣira-sa-nāgapushpam* (for *sa-śāriv-ōṣira sa-nāgapushpam*, or *sa-śāriv-ōṣira-nāgapushpam*, neither of which however would have suited the metre *upajāti*). In other cases *sa* takes the place of the copula *cha*, as in II 203 37, *kāsa sa-hikkāḥ sa-kkrimān=api*; so also in II 182 35 354 44, *et passim*.

(e) Abnormal constructions; thus in II 349-50 44, where there is a series of nominatives, *arditāḥ...viyuktāḥ...avabhagnāḥ...sandhayaḥ...skhalanāḥ...kṣatāḥ...śaṇḍhāḥ...grihitāḥ* without any verb, but where the verb *apayujyuh*, or *prayujyuh*, is to be understood as suggested by the preceding, *apayōjyam*. Again, in II 1065 74, where the transitive verb *vināśayēt* is to be supplied to the accusatives absolute *dāhāḥ trishṇāḥ=cha chharddiḥ=cha*, from the following *sarva-rōga-vināśanam*. Other examples, the construction of which is explained

¹¹⁵ In Charaka Saṁhitā VI, 6, verse 24, whence this formula is quoted (see ante Chapter VI, No. 21, p. L7), the nominatives are turned into accusatives, in the existing text.

¹¹⁶ For curious cases of transposition in Vedic compounds, see W. Skr. Gr., § 1009, p. 452.

in the accompanying footnotes, are II 320 42, note 167, p. 109; II 366-7 44, note 185, p. 113; II 480 50; note 240, p. 125; II 813 63, note 382, p. 155; and II 1116 76, note 494, p. 180b.

The character of the composition in the treatises of the Bower Manuscript is, in the main, metrical. In fact, in the three medical treatises which constitute Parts I-III, the composition is practically entirely metrical. With the exception of some brief introductory remarks (before verse 50 in Part I, and before verses 404, 917, 947, 950, 968 in Part II) which are in prose, and three formulæ (*vis.*, 393-5, 715, and 784 in Part II) which probably are in prose, the three treatises are entirely written in a variety of metres. These metres, arranged in the order of frequency, are the following:—

(1) *Anuṣṭubh* or *ilōka*, Part I, vv. 10, 11, 28-30, 40, 44-51, 55-67, 88, 105, 112-132; total 50 verses. Part II, vv. 1-34, 38, 39, 43-59, 64, 65, 71-77, 87-103, 119-132, 144-146, 148-181, 186-198, 201-318, 329-343, 345, 351-379, 383-389, 399-428, 431-453, 460-468, 474-479, 481-490, 494-499, 502-509, 514-602, 604-626, 638-648, 716-742, 744-781, 803, 804, 810-813, 816-850, 852-857, 859-878, 880-882, 885, 886, 888-898, 905-909, 917-946, 950-964, 968-976, 1011-1078, 1080-1105, 1110-1113; total 834 verses. Part III, vv. 10-18, 25-52, 54, 57-60, 66-72; total 49, verses. Or a grandtotal of 933 verses.

(2) *Triṣṭubh* (*Indravajrā*, etc.), Part I, vv. 12, 14, 23, 39, 68-86, 89-104, 106-109; total 43 verses. Part II, vv. 37, 40, 78, 79-83, 182-185, 199, 200, 324, 429, 430, 469-473, 480, 491-493, 501, 510-513, 603, 627-632, 742, 743, 785, 787-802, 808, 809, 947-949, 965-967, 1079, 1106-1109, 1114-1118; total 72 verses. Part III, vv. 20-24, 61; total 6 verses. Or a grand total of 121 verses.

(3) *Āryā*, Part I, vv. 52-54, 87, 110, 111; total 6 verses. Part II, vv. 60-62, 66-70, 104-118, 133-143, 147, 319-323, 325-328, 344, 346-350, 380-382, 390-392, 396-398, 454-459, 633-637, 814, 815, 851, 858, 883, 884, 899-904, 910-916, 1119; total 90 verses. Part III, vv. 1-9, 55, 56, 63, 64; total 13 verses. Or a grand total of 109 verses.

(4) *Vasanta-Tilakā*, Part I, vv. 1-8; Part II, vv. 80-82, 85, 86, 805, 806; total 7 verses; Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 15 verses.

(5) *Varā-sthaviḥ* (a kind of *Jagati*), Part I, v. 22; Part II, vv. 35, 36, 41, 42, 500, 786; total 6 verses. Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 7 verses.

(6) *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, Part I, vv. 19, 41, 42; total 3 verses; Part II, vv. 63, 879; total 2 verses. Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 5 verses.

(7) *Aspachhandasika*, Part I, vv. 17, 20, 21, 27; Parts II and III, none. Or a total of 4 verses.

(8) *Suvadanā*, Part I, v. 15; Part II, v. 782; Part III, none. Or a total of 2 verses.

(9) *Pūṭhvi*, Part I, v. 34; Part II, none; Part III, v. 65. Or a total of 2 verses.

(10) *Mandākrāntā*, Part I, vv. 9, 35; *Mālinī*, Part I, vv. 13, 43; *Sālinī*, Part I, vv. 24, 32, *Kṛsumita-latā-vellitā*, Part I, vv. 31, 35; *Mattamayāra*, Part I, vv. 37, 38. Five metres which, two times each, occur only in Part I.

(11) *Tōṭakā*, *Sragdharā*, *Sudhā*, *Pramāṇikā*, *Pramitākṣharā*, and one unidentified; six metres, occurring only in Part I, and only once, *vis.* vv. 16, 18, 25, 26, 33, 36 respectively. Also, *Baohirā*, *Pushpitāgrā*, *Sauṣkṛitā*; three metres, occurring only in Part II, and only once, *vis.* vv. 84, 807, 887 respectively.

The preceding list shows that practically the three medical treatises are written in three metres, the *ilōka*, *triṣṭubh*, and *āryā*. In a total of 1,323 verses, comprised in the three

treatises, those three metres occur 933, 121, and 109 times respectively; and among them, again the *śloka* is by far the predominating metre, taking up about 70 per cent. of the whole.

- The total number of different metres is twenty-three. Of these, Part I, in proportion to its extent, contains an extraordinarily large number, not less than 19, distributed over 132 verses. In Part II there are 9 metres to 1,119 verses; and in Part III, 4 metres to 72 verses. It is evident from this familiarity with metrical writing that the author of the three medical treatises was well-versed in Sanskrit composition. Of course, the substance of Part II is not actually his own original composition, for as he informs us himself in the opening verse of that treatise it is a compilation of extracts from the standard medical works and the floating medical tradition of his time (see details in Chapter VI). Still there are in it certain portions which have every appearance of being his own contribution. These comprise, above all, the ten introductory verses (*śloka*), describing the contents of the treatise, which are clearly the author's own composition. But there occur also scattered instances of verses in the body of the work which are clearly additions made by the author to formulae which he quotes from other sources. To this class belongs, for example, verse 119a (p. 32) which is a *śloka* appended to a formula consisting of eleven *āryā* verses, and in which that formula is ascribed to *Ātrēya*. If this ascription had formed a part of the original formula, it would no doubt have been in the same *āryā* measure. The fact that it is in the different *śloka* measure, seems to indicate that it was added by the author of the *Nāṭanīlaka* for the purpose of explaining the source of his information, namely, the floating medical tradition of his time. There is a similar instance in verse 147 (p. 34) which is an *āryā*, appended to a formula consisting of three *śloka* verses. We have another in the two *trishṭubh* verses 199 and 200 (p. 36), appended to a formula consisting of eleven *śloka* verses (188-198). And again another instance is the *trishṭubh* verse 324 (p. 42), which is added to a formula of five *śloka* verses, to explain its ascription to *Vādvali* as well as some more of its benefits. A slightly different instance is the *śloka* verse 345 (p. 43) which is inserted within a formula, otherwise consisting of four and a half *āryā* verses (344 and 346-50). There are some other examples, equally suggestive of authorship, in which, however, no change occurs in the metre. Thus we find a half *śloka* (v. 312a, p. 42) appended to a long formula consisting of twenty-five other *ślokas* (vv. 287-311), which adds a futile amplification to a formula fully ending with verse 311. An exactly similar case is the half *śloka* verse 781a (p. 61), which is appended to a formula consisting of other seven and a half *ślokas* (vv. 773b-780b). It is not only added to a formula which obviously ends with the *śloka* 780b, but it corrects the ascription of the formula which was given in the first *śloka* (v. 773b-774a) of the original formula. In that *śloka* it was ascribed to the *Aśvina*, while in the added half-*śloka*, it is attributed to *Viśvāmitra*. Another striking case of this kind is the prefixion of one *śloka* and a half (vv. 418 and 419a, p. 47) to a formula consisting of other six *ślokas* and a half (vv. 419b-425). The prefixed *ślokas* not only repeat the ascription of the formula to the *Aśvina*, though that ascription was already stated in the original concluding *śloka* (v. 425), but they are found omitted in other medical works which quote the formula.¹¹⁷ Another instance, probably of the same kind, is the half-*śloka* verse 366a (p. 44), which is added to a long formula of fifteen *ślokas* (vv. 351-365). An instance of again a different kind, though no less suggestive of authorship, is the *śloka* verse 783 (p. 61), which follows a verse in the complicated *śvadanā* measure (v. 782). It indicates a useful modification of the formula given in the preceding verse, and suggests itself as due to the author of the *Nāṭanīlaka*.

¹¹⁷ See for details in my paper in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 462-4.

himself. Probably there is another example of this kind in the *Śloka* verse 850 (p. 65), which adds a pharmacopoeic direction to the preceding formula, consisting of the two *Śloka* verses 848 and 849.

In contrast with the treatise in Part II, the two treatises contained in Parts I and III are very different productions. They do not profess to be compilations from preexisting sources, but rather suggest themselves to be original compositions. For, with a few exceptions, such as verses 105, 129, 131 in Part I, and verses 25-36, 37-53, 55, 56, in Part III, they contain nothing that either professes to be, or can be shown to be, a quotation from some earlier work. They may, in fact, very well be original compositions of the same author as he who compiled the *Nāṣanīta*.

The case is rather different with the treatises on divination and incantation which are contained in Parts IV-VII of the Bower Manuscript. There is nothing in the character of the composition which is distinctly in popular Sanskrit, that would point to an author more intimately conversant with scholastic Sanskrit. A considerable portion of the treatises is written in prose; and whatever is in metrical form, is written entirely in the easy *śloka* measure. Part VII, or at least the surviving fragment of it, is written entirely in prose; and the only portion that is metrical in Part VI is the charm made of seventeen verses (pp. 224, 225). On the other hand, Part V is written entirely in verse; and so is also Part IV, with the exception of its five introductory lines (p. 192) which are in prose.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBJECT AND CONTENTS OF THE TREATISES IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

(1) In the existing fragmentary state of Part I, it is difficult to determine the particular class of medical literature to which the treatise contained in it should be assigned. It commences with a *kalpa*, or small pharmacographic tract, on garlic (*Allium sativum*, Linn.) This tract consists of the initial forty-three verses, including between them eighteen or nineteen different, mostly more or less unusual, metres. Their list, given at the end of Chapter VII, shows that the most frequent among them is the *vasantī-tilaka* with eight verses, while the well-known *śloka* comes only second with six verses. The tract is preserved in almost perfect order; the end of every verse (except two, vv. 29 and 35) is marked with a double stroke. The concluding verse 43 alone is seriously mutilated, but fortunately its statement as to garlic (*laṣuna*) being the subject of the tract (*kalpa*) is preserved. That subject is represented in verse 9 as having been communicated by the sage (*muni*) King of Kāśī (*Kāśī-rāja*) to Suśruta. By the sage, in all probability, Divōdāsa is intended, also known as the divine surgeon Dhanvantari; and Suśruta undoubtedly refers to the celebrated author of what is now known as the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*. But it may be noted that in the concluding verse 43, the author, whoever he was, refers to himself in the first person (*uktiḥ mayā*).

The tract, or *kalpa*, on garlic is followed by another tract which might be described as a short *tantra*, or text-book, comprising a number of very miscellaneous sections, arranged in a rather unmethodical fashion. It commences with remarks on the importance of regulating digestion (vv. 44-51), and with some pharmaceutic directions (vv. 55-59), such as are usually found in the so-called *sūtra-sthāna*, or section on the principles of medicine, of a *saṁhitā*. Interspersed are some alterative and aphrodisiac formulæ (vv. 52-54, 60, 61-67), such as are usually given in the *Saṁhitā* sections on *rasāyana* and *vājīkaraṇa*. Next comes a section with formulæ for various eye-lotions (*āśchyātana*, vv. 68-86). This is followed by another on face plasters (*mukha-lēpa*, *padana-pralēpa*, vv. 87-105) and collyria *añjana*, *vidālaka*) and remedies for the hair, etc. (vv. 106-120); and finally there is a section on cough-mixtures (vv. 121-124). This second tract differs from the preceding in two respects. First, it employs only three metres, the *śloka* (44 verses), *triśṭubh* (30 verses) and *āryā* (6 verses); and secondly, it uses the double stroke to mark, not the end of a verse, but the end of a formula (consisting of one or more verses) or of a section. In both respects it resembles the treatise in Part II.

(2) Part II contains a practical formulary, or handbook of prescriptions, covering the whole field of internal medicine. It is called the *Nāvaṁitaka* or "Cream," and professes to give, for the use of the practitioner, a selection of the best prescriptions found in the standard medical works of the time; and though these standard works are not actually named, it is possible in many cases to identify them. But in addition to these, it gives some formulæ which seem to be taken from the floating medical tradition, as well as a very few which appear to have been added by the author himself. The details may be seen in Chapters VI and VII, as well as in the subjoined Table of Parallels.

The formulary was originally divided into sixteen chapters. This, at least, was the intention of its author, as may be seen from his introduction (vv. 8 and 9), which enumerates the headings of the sixteen chapters. There is no good reason to doubt that the intention was accomplished; but whether or not the formulary was ever actually completed, it is now impossible to say, seeing that the solitary existing copy of it in the Bower Manuscript is incomplete, as the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, as well as apparently the conclusion of fourteenth, are missing.

The division of the chapters, and the distribution of the formulæ over them, are not made on any unitary principle. Some formulæ are put together on the principle of the form which is given to the medicament; others, on the principle of the purpose which the medicament is to subserve; others, again, on the principle of the kind of patients to whom the medicine is to be administered; and finally, some chapters are added describing some important "simples" vegetable or mineral. Thus, under the first principle we have the initial three chapters, which enumerate formulæ for preparing compound powders (*ohāra*), medicated *ghees* or clarified butters (*ghṛita*), and medicated oils (*taila*) respectively. The second principle is applied from two different aspects, according as the purpose of a medicament is, either to relieve or cure an abnormal condition of the system, or to stimulate or improve its normal functions (see note 327 on page 144). Under the former aspect a large number of formulæ are collected in the fourth chapter, referring to some twenty-two or twenty-four, not always clearly distinguished, diseases, the details of which may be seen in the Table of Contents, prefixed to this edition. The principle, however, is not quite strictly observed in the chapter; for right into the middle of it, two formulæ are pitchforked, which belong to the preceding principle (the form of a medicament), viz., one (vv. 484-490) referring to the preparation of a linctus (*lēha*), the other (vv. 491-493), to the preparation of a kind of medicated mead (*madhvāsava*). The reason why they are inserted here apparently is that their purpose is purgative and alterative respectively; but even in that case, their proper place would be under the second aspect of the therapeutic principle. In this connection it may also be noted that none of the formulæ in Chapter IV may be understood as a "specific." In most cases the formula is stated to cure a number of, sometimes, very different diseases; but one of these was thought to be its principal object, and this particular disease was, as a rule, indicated by being named at the head of the number. Under the second aspect of the therapeutic principle, formulæ are distributed over the six Chapters V-X, treating of enemas (*vasti-karma*, see note 142 on page 105), alteratives (*rasāyana*), gruels (*yavāgā*), aphrodisiacs (*vrishya*), collyria (*nētrañjana*), and hair dyes (*kēśa-rañjana*) respectively. Under the third principle, referring to the kind of patient, we have the three concluding chapters of the treatise, of which, however, only the fourteenth chapter on the diseases of children survives, while chapters XV and XVI, dealing with barren and child-bearing women, respectively, are missing. Intermediately there come in the three chapters XI-XIII, containing small monographs on chebulic myrobalan, plumbago-root, and bitumen respectively.

(3) Part III is another specimen of an ancient formulary, or manual of prescriptions. It is probably, however, a mere fragment of what was, or was intended to be, a larger work. The existing fragment corresponds to the initial portion, that is, to Chapters I-III, of the formulary in Part II; for it contains formulæ put together on the principle of the form of the medicament. But though put together on that principle, the formulæ are not arranged in any consistent order: powders, *ghees*, oils, pills, tinctures and liniments are mixed up, as shown in the subjoined list:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Oils, formulæ Nos. I, II, III, VII. | (4) <i>Ghee</i> , formula No. VI. |
| (2) Powder " No. IV. | (5) Pills, " Nos. X, XII, XIV. |
| (3) Liniments " Nos. V, VIII, IX, XIII | (6) Linctus, " No. XI. |

(4) TABLE OF PARALLELS IN PARTS II AND III.

Column I gives references to verses and pages of the edition; columns II and III, to identical or similar formulæ in other works; column IV indicates formulæ to which no parallels

are known, and column V, formulae or parts of formulae which were probably written by the author himself. The initials are explained in the List of Abbreviations prefixed to this edition. For further details on parallels, see the notes on the translations.

I Ref. to verses and pages.	II Ident- ical.	III simi- lar.	IV no par.	V auth- or.	I Ref. to verses and pages.	II Ident- ical.	III simi- lar.	IV no par.	V auth- or.
vv. 1-10, pp. 77-8 ...	...	...	...	a	vv. 277-279, p. 105 ...	H8.	...	...	...
vv. 11-17, p. 78 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 280-286, p. 106 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 18-20, p. 79 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 287-311, p. 108 ...	...	...	no	...
v. 20, p. 79 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 312a, p. 108 ...	...	...	...	a
v. 22, p. 79 ...	V.	...	...	...	v. 312b-318, p. 108 ...	...	V.	...	...
v. 23, p. 79 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 319-323, p. 109 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
v. 24a, p. 80 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 324, p. 109 ...	...	...	...	a
v. 24b, p. 80 ...	...	...	...	a	vv. 325-328, p. 109 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 25-26, p. 80 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 329-343, p. 110 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 27-28, p. 80 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 344, p. 111 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 29-34, p. 81 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 345, p. 111 ...	...	...	...	a
vv. 35-37, p. 82 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 346-366a, p. 111 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 38-42, pp. 82-3 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 366b-382, p. 113 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 43-55, p. 83 ...	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 383-389, p. 114 ...	Ch.	...	...	...
vv. 56-59, pp. 84-5 ...	V.	...	...	...	vv. 390-398, pp. 114-5 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 60-62, p. 85 ...	...	...	no	...	pp. 399-401a, p. 115 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
v. 63, p. 85 ...	BV.	...	...	...	vv. 401b-403, p. 115 ...	...	...	no	...
v. 64-70, pp. 85-6 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 404-405, p. 116 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 71-75a, p. 86 ...	BV.	SV.	...	...	v. 406, p. 116 ...	Ka.	...	...	...
vv. 78-107, pp. 87-9 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 407-412, pp. 116-7 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 108-118, p. 90 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 413-417, p. 117 ...	...	...	no	...
v. 119a, p. 90 ...	...	—	...	a	vv. 418-423, p. 118 ...	...	V.	...	...
v. 119b-127a, p. 91 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 423-431, pp. 118-9 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 127b-132, p. 91 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 432-433, p. 119 ...	...	SY.	...	...
vv. 133-143, pp. 92-3 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 434, p. 119 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 144-146, p. 93 ...	...	...	no	...	v. 435, p. 119 ...	SY.	...	...	...
v. 147, p. 94 ...	...	...	...	a	vv. 436-440, p. 119 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
v. 148-149, p. 94 ...	...	...	no	...	vv. 441-444a, p. 120 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 150-157, pp. 94-5 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 444b-446a, p. 120 ...	...	vv. 27-28	...	...
vv. 158-159, p. 95 ...	...	...	no	...	...	...	...	...	...
vv. 160-161, p. 95 ...	...	SY.	...	...	vv. 446b-447a, p. 120 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 162-165a, p. 96 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 447b-449, p. 121 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 165b-169a, p. 96 ...	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 450-451, p. 121 ...	SY.	...	...	...
vv. 169b-176, p. 96 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 452, p. 121 ...	...	Chd.	...	...
vv. 177-185a, p. 97 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 453, p. 121 ...	...	V.	...	...
vv. 188-193, p. 98 ...	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 454-459, p. 121 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 199-200, p. 98 ...	...	...	...	a	vv. 460-462, p. 122 ...	Ch.	...	...	...
vv. 201-208, p. 99 ...	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 463-464, p. 122 ...	...	V.	...	...
vv. 204-209, p. 99 ...	...	V.	...	...	v. 465, p. 122 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 210-215, p. 100 ...	...	...	no	...	v. 466, p. 122 ...	V.	...	...	...
vv. 216-222, p. 100 ...	...	V.	...	...	vv. 467-468a, p. 123 ...	...	v. 476-7	...	...
vv. 223-231, p. 101 ...	...	...	no	...	...	...	...	...	...
vv. 232-240, p. 101 ...	...	SY.	...	...	vv. 469-472, p. 123 ...	...	...	...	...
vv. 241-244, p. 102 ...	...	...	no	...	v. 473, p. 124 ...	...	...	no	...
vv. 245-250, p. 103 ...	...	Chd.	...	...	v. 474, p. 124 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 251-257, p. 103 ...	R.	V.	...	...	v. 475, p. 124 ...	...	Bh.	...	...
vv. 258-260, p. 104 ...	...	V.	...	...	vv. 473-479, p. 124 ...	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 261-276, p. 104 ...	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 480-481, p. 125 ...	...	...	no	...

I Ref. to verses and pages.	II identical.	III similar.	IV no par.	V author.	I Ref. to verses and pages.	II identical.	III similar.	IV no par.	V author.
vv. 482-483, p. 125 ..	...	D. Cl	..	...	vv. 805-818, pp. 155-6	...	..	no	...
vv. 484-495a, pp. 125-6	Ch.	...	..	...	v. 819, p. 156...	Ch.	...	..	..
vv. 495b-496a, p. 126	...	V.	..	...	vv. 820-828, p. 157 ..	...	...	no	...
vv. 496b-499, p. 127	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 829-830a, p. 157..	S.	...	..	...
vv. 500-509a, pp. 127-8	...	...	no	...	vv. 830b-833a, p. 157	...	...	no	...
vv. 510-511a, p. 128	Ka.	Chd.	..	...	v. 833b-834a, p. 157	S.	...	...	...
vv. 511b-513a, p. 129	...	...	no	...	v. 834b-835a, p. 158	...	S.	...	...
v. 514, p. 129	Ka.	...	..	...	vv. 835b-838a, p. 158	...	...	no	...
vv. 515-521, p. 129	...	...	no	...	vv. 838b-840a, p. 158	...	S.	...	...
vv. 522-523a, p. 130	Ka.	...	...	...	vv. 840b-844a, pp. 158-9	...	...	no	...
v. 523-524, p. 130	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 844b-846a, p. 159	Ch.	...	...	...
v. 525, p. 130	Ka.	...	..	...	vv. 846b-849, p. 159	...	...	no	...
v. 526a, p. 130	...	...	no	...	v. 850, p. 159	...	...	...	...
vv. 526b-533a, pp. 130-1	Ka.	...	...	...	vv. 851-855, p. 160	...	...	no	...
vv. 533b-534a, p. 131	SY.	...	...	...	vv. 856-857, p. 160	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 534b-537a, p. 131	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 858, p. 161	...	...	no	...
vv. 537b-538a, p. 132	Ka.	...	...	...	vv. 859-860a, p. 161	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 538b-544, p. 132	...	...	no	...	vv. 860b-868, pp. 161-2	...	...	no	...
vv. 545-546, p. 132	Ka.	...	...	...	vv. 869-870, p. 162	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 547-548, pp. 132-3	...	...	no	...	vv. 871-879, p. 162...	...	...	no	...
vv. 549-562a, p. 133	...	Fragmenti.	...	...	vv. 880-882, p. 163...	...	A. H.	...	...
vv. 562b-565a, p. 133	KS.	...	...	...	vv. 883-886, p. 163...	...	...	no	...
vv. 565b-568, p. 133	...	Fragmenti.	...	...	v. 887, p. 163	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 569-574, pp. 133-4	...	...	no	...	vv. 888-898, p. 164	...	...	no	...
v. 575, p. 134	V.	...	...	...	vv. 899-900, p. 165...	...	D. Ch.	...	...
v. 576, p. 134	...	...	no	...	vv. 901-916, p. 165...	...	...	no	...
v. 577, p. 134	...	V.	...	...	vv. 917-949, pp. 166-9	...	A.	...	...
v. 578, p. 134	...	S.	...	...	vv. 950-967, pp. 170-1	Ch.	...	...	...
v. 579, p. 135	...	SY.	..	...	vv. 968-976, pp. 171-2	...	...	no	...
vv. 580-584, p. 135	...	...	no	...	vv. 1011-1040, pp. 172-4...	...	...	no	...
vv. 585-587, p. 135	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 041, p. 175	...	V.	...	...
vv. 588-592, p. 136	...	...	no	...	vv. 1042-1059a, pp. 175-6...	...	...	no	...
v. 593, p. 136	...	Chd.	...	...	vv. 1059b-1060a, p. 176	Bh.	...	...	...
v. 594, p. 136	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 1060b-1078, pp. 176-8	...	...	no	...
vv. 595-602, pp. 136-8	...	...	no	...	vv. 1079-81, 4, 5, 8, p. 178	...	V.	...	...
v. 603, p. 138	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 1080, 2, 3, 6, 7, pp. 178-9	...	...	no	...
vv. 604-641, pp. 138-43	...	...	no	...	vv. 1089-1109, pp. 179-80a	...	...	no	...
vv. 642-644, p. 143	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 11-10-11, 13, 19, pp. 180a-b	...	V.	...	...
vv. 645-649, p. 143	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 1112-14, 18, pp. 180a-b.	...	...	no	...
vv. 716-741, pp. 144-6	...	...	no	...	Part III.				
vv. 742-743, p. 146	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 1-36, pp. 185-7	...	...	no	...
v. 744, p. 146	...	...	no	...	vv. 37-53, p. 188	...	SY.	...	...
vv. 745-752, pp. 146-8	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 54, p. 189	...	...	no	...
vv. 753-758, p. 148	...	A.	...	...	vv. 55-56, p. 189	A. H.	...	...	...
vv. 759-782, pp. 148-50	...	...	no	...	vv. 57-60, p. 189	...	...	no	...
v. 783, p. 151	...	...	no	...	vv. 61-62, p. 190	...	SY.	...	...
v. 784, p. 151	...	...	...	...	vv. 63-72, pp. 190-1	...	...	no	...
vv. 785-801, pp. 151-4	Bh.	Ch.	...	...					
vv. 802-804, p. 154	Bh.	...	...	...					

(5) Parts IV and V contain two short manuals of *Pāśaka-kāvālī*, or cubomancy, that is, the art of foretelling a person's fortune by means of the cast of dice (*pāśaka*, or as spelled in Pt. IV, l. 2, p. 192, *prāśaka*). The mode of exercising this art can be best seen from the manual in Part IV, which is practically complete, while the manual in Part V is apparently

very fragmentary. The former manual shows that the die which was used was marked with the four numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, ; and that each cast, or rather (as we shall see) set of casts, consisted of three of these numbers. Accordingly there could be no more than sixty-four possible casts. These are shown in the subjoined table.

Number of Groups.	Names of Groups.	Figures of Groups.	Number of Variations.
First Class of Four Groups with the same figure thrice.	Chaṭṭayāṇṭa (?) ...	444 ...	1
	Navikkī ...	333 ...	1
	Paṭṭabandha ...	222 ...	1
	Kālaviddhi ...	111 ...	1
Second Class of Twelve Groups with the same figure twice.	Sāpata ...	443, 434, 344 ...	3
	Vṛisha ...	442, 424, 244 ...	3
	Kūṭa... ...	441, 414, 144 ...	3
	Mālī... ...	334, 343, 433 ...	3
	Vīṭ ...	332, 323, 233 ...	3
	Kāṇṇa ...	331, 313, 133, ...	3
	Prēshyā ...	224, 242, 422 ...	3
	Sajā ...	223, 232, 322 ...	3
	Pāñchī ...	221, 212, 122 ...	3
	Karṇa ...	114, 141, 411 ...	3
	Chuñchuna ...	113, 131, 311 ...	3
	Kharī ...	112, (121), (211) ...	3
Third Class of Four Groups with the same figure once.	Bahula ...	432, 324, 243, (234), 423, 342...	6
	Bhadra ...	421, 214, 142, (124), 412, 241...	6
	Saktī ...	341, 413, 134, 143, 314, 431 ...	6
	Dundhubhī ...	321, 213, 132, 123, 312, 231 ...	6
Total of variations of casts			64

All but four of these sixty-four variations occur in Part IV. The four which are missing (121, 211, 234, 124, put in brackets) have clearly been omitted through some inadvertence on the part of the scribe; *vis.*, 234 on the reverse of the second folio, 124 on the obverse of the third folio, and 121 and 211 at the very end of the manuscript, on the reverse of the fifth folio. In Part V less than one-third (20 out of 64, shown in antique-type), occur. No fewer than forty-four variations are missing; *vis.*, the whole of the first class of groups (444, 333, 222, 111); one-half of the second class, namely, the whole

groups *vīṭi*, *kāṇa sajd*, *pāñchi*, *chañchuna*, and *khari*; and nearly the whole of the third class, only two variations (243 and 412) being preserved. What the cause of this mutilation whether intentional or other, may have been is not apparent.

At the end of the *Pāñcha-kāvya* manuscript, No. 70 of the Deccan College (vis. A in the list on page 214, in the Appendix to Part V), there is an appendix written in the modern Gujarātī vernacular language, which explains the *modus operandi* in this kind of cubomanancy. It runs as follows :—

Taihas sakandvali-nā pāsā nākh'vā-nī viddhi lakhii ohhai || pāsā sakan jīṭe, tihārān 3 vār nākhkhi || pehelā padā tēh'nūn saik'dam gaṇṭi || tēkhi pagadām padā, tō 100 gaṇṭi || bē pagadām padā dhuri, tō 200 gaṇṭi || traṇi pagadām padā pehelūn, tō 300 kahii || ohyār pagadām padā, tō 400 gaṇṭi || phani pāsā bijṭār nākhkhi tihārā pagadām padā, tō ēk āṅk ek'dō gaṇṭi || im bē pagadām padā, tō 2 || traṇi padā, tō 3 || ohyār padā, tō 4 || im triji-vār paṇi jōnavūn || paohhē pehelūn saikadūn || anai biṭ triji-bār-nā āṅk ekatthā kijai || jet-alā āṅk, totalā upari āṅk jōṭmai sakan jōṭe || etalā || pehalūn ēk padā — paohhi bē padā || paohhi triji-bār traṇi padā || tō 123, ēk sō nāi trivīsā āṅk thāi || im pehelūn bē padā || paohhē ēk paṭe paohhē traṇi padā tō 213, bē saim nāi tēr-nā āṅk āṅk || ēṇi rītān jōvūn sahi ||

This may be thus translated: "The mode of throwing the divination die (*pāsā*, singular) is as follows. When the die is wanted for an oracle (Skr. *śakuna*), it must be thrown three times; and the first cast must be counted as hundred. Thus, if one pip (*pagadām*, sing.) falls, it counts 100; if two pips (*pagadām*, plur.) fall, they count 200; if three pips fall in the first cast, they represent 300; if four pips fall, they count 400. Next, the die (*pāsā* sing.) is thrown for the second time. Then, of the pips that fall, one counts as the figure (*āṅk*) 1; similarly if two pips fall, they are 2; if three fall, 3; if four fall, 4. In the same way, the cast of the third time must be understood. Finally, the hundred of the first throw, and the figures (*āṅk*) of the second and third, must be placed together. Whatever (combined) figure results, upon that the oracle must be pronounced. Thus, if first one falls, next two fall, next, at the third throw, three fall, then it is the (combined) figure 123, one hundred and twenty-three. Similarly, if at the first (cast) two fall, next one falls, next three fall, the result is the figure 213, two hundred and thirteen. This is the correct manner of proceeding."

It is clear from this explanation that in the ancient Indian art of cubomanancy only a single die was used; and that the die indicated only the four numbers, respectively represented by 1, 2, 3, 4 pips on four different facets. A die in the form of a tetrahedron would satisfy these conditions; but the existence of a tetrahedral die at any time is, I believe, an unheard-of thing. It seems probable, therefore, that the die was one of that elongated kind, with four long sides and two rounded ends, which is known as *talus* or *astragalus*, or knucklebone, and on which the four long sides were marked with pips. If the die had the ordinary cubical form, two of its six equal sides would have borne no pips; and then there would have been the not infrequent chance of one of the two unmarked facets turning up in any of the three consecutive casts. In such a case, of course, the throws would have had to be repeated, till some pip-marked facet turned up; but the explanation above-quoted does not seem to contemplate the occurrence of such an eventuality, which is not even alluded to. At the same time there occurs in the Introduction to the manual in Part IV (1. 3, on page 192) an obscure phrase which may point to the die having had the form of a six-sided cube. There the dice are described as *kumbhakāri-mātaṅga-yuktā*, lit., "joined with a *kumbhakāri* and a *mātaṅga*." This may mean marked with the figures of a *kumbhakāri*, or potter woman (or the girl *kumbhakāri*), and *mātaṅga*, or elephant (or Chāṇḍala man). These two figures might have stood on the two sides not marked

with pips. Another explanation of the phrase, however, is possible which is given in note 1 on page 197. There is also another difficulty in the circumstance that the introduction (ll. 2, 3 on page 192, speaks of dice in the plural number, *prāsakā* [*h*] *patanīṣu*, " may the dice fall." But the reference may very well be, not to the number of several dice, but the number of casts of a single die. If more than one die should really have been used, the number of the dice, of course, would have been three; and each act of divination would have required but a single cast, the three dice being thrown at one time. They would probably have been loose; though at the present day the dice of the Indian cubomancer, which moreover are four in number, are strung on a short thin iron rod. A description of this kind of modern cubomaney is given on pp. 44-46 of Peterson's Third Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Extra No. for 1887, in connection with a work called *Ramalāmṛita*, or "the fine art of Ramal." The Arabic term *ramal* signifies geomancy, or any kind of divination, specially cubomaney. The performer always, or often, is a Muhammedan. In the above-mentioned case, reported from Bombay, the four dice seem to have been immovably fixed on the rod; but in a case examined by me in Calcutta, they were loosely strung on the rod round which they could rotate freely, though they were secured from falling off the rod by two rod-heads. This mode of cubomaney, however, seems to be a comparatively modern importation into India, and is, therefore, hardly relevant to the understanding of the mode of cubomaney which forms the subject of the two manuals.

These two manuals are quite independent works. Their oracles, though of course touching on similar subjects, are totally different compositions, of much greater length in Part V than in Part IV. In early Indian times several cubomantic manuals appear to have been current. The manuals, which survive at the present day and are ascribed to the authorship of the Sage Garga, possess a few striking points of agreement with the manual in Part V. The subject of these agreements is fully discussed in the appendix to Part V, pp. 214 ff. The evidence points to the existence of three rather widely different recensions of what may possibly have been originally a single manual. The latter might possibly be represented by the recension preserved in the Bower Manuscript. This recension is of considerable antiquity. As shown in Chapter VI, it may have existed as early as the second century A. D. (*ante*, p. Lvi.), and of course it may go back to a much earlier time. The other existing recensions cannot be older than the end of the fourth century, because in the fifth verse of their introduction they speak of cubomancers as possessing *hōrā-jñāna*, or the knowledge of the doctrine of *hōrā* (Greek *ἡρα*), or lunar mansions (latin *domus*). The first mention of that doctrine has been traced by Professor Jacobi (in his dissertation *de astrologias indicas hōrā appellatas originibus*, Bonn 1872) to Firmicus Maternus, who lived about 335-350 A. D. in the West, whence it came to the knowledge of the Indians. For some further information on the subject of Indian cubomaney the student may be referred to A. Weber's paper in the Monatsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1859, pp. 158 ff., and in the Indische Sureifen, vol. I, pp. 274 ff.; also to Dr. J. E. Schröter's Inaugural Dissertation on *Pāśaka-kāvalī*, ein indisches Würfelerakel (Borna, 1900). The latter contains a critical edition of the recension of the manual on cubomaney, ascribed to Garga.

(6) Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of the same text, which is a *Sūtra* or *Dhāraṇī* referring to a charm protective against snakebite and other evils. The name of the Sūtra is *Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājāī* (scl. *Dhāraṇī*), lit. the 'great peacock' queen of charms. It apparently takes its name from the fact that the peafowl (*mayūra*) is the great traditional enemy of the snake. It is a charm of great repute among the Buddhists, and is included in the highly valued collection of *Dhāraṇīs*, called *Pañcha-rakṣā*, or the Five Protective

Charms. In this collection it usually takes the third place (see Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in Cambridge, No. 1325, p. 48, etc.; Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Part II, in Oxford, No. 1447, p. 257, and Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in Calcutta, No. B4, pp. 164-8 and p. 173); but sometimes the second (see the Oxford Catalogue, No. 1448, p. 259, and apparently the Cambridge Catalogue, No. 1662, p. 162), or the fourth (see Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 56, p. 42). The *Pañcha-rakṣā* itself is sometimes found included in certain larger *Dhāraṇī-mantra-saṅgraha*, or Collections of Dhāraṇī charms (see the Oxford Catalogue, No. 1449, p. 260, and the Calcutta Catalogue, No. B5, pp. 80, 292).

In the *Pañcha-rakṣā* collection, however, the *Mahāmāyūrī* charm exists in a greatly expanded form. This expanded recension, as may be seen from the Chinese translations of the charm, appears to have developed in the course of the fifth or sixth centuries A. D. There are six such translations enumerated in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Nos. 305-311. Three of them are based on the expanded recension of the Sūtra, while the three others exhibit the Sūtra in a more primitive and much less developed form. To the former belong two translations of the eighth century A. D. (Nos. 306 and 307), done by It-sing in 705 A. D., and Amoghavajra in 746-771 A. D. respectively; a and somewhat shorter translation of the sixth century (No. 308), made by Saṅghapāla in 516 A. D. The three more primitive recensions (Nos. 309, 310, 311) belong all to the fourth century A. D., viz., two by Poh Śrīmitra under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A. D., and one by Kumārajīva under the later Tsin dynasty, 384-417 A. D. At the time these six translations were made, the *Mahāmāyūrī* Sūtra seems to have still existed as a separate work, and not yet to have formed a component part of the *Pañcha-rakṣā* collection. That collection would seem to have originated in Bengal under the Buddhistic Pāla dynasty, not earlier than the tenth or eleventh centuries A. D. For another of the later component parts of the *Pañcha-rakṣā*, namely, the *Mahā-sahasra-pramardīnī* Sūtra, was translated into Chinese (Nanjio's No. 784), when it was still a separate work, by Sh'hu (Dānapāla?) about 980-1000 A. D., while the *Pañcha-rakṣā* collection itself, being a late production, does not seem to have been translated into Chinese at all.

The relative extent of the two recensions of the *Mahāmāyūrī* Sūtra, in the *Pañcha-rakṣā* collection and the Bower Manuscript, may be seen from the Appendix to Parts VI and VII (pp. 240a ff.) Those two Parts include only an extremely small portion (about one-seventh) of the modern expanded version of the Sūtra, viz., its second and third section. The former relates the story of the monk Svāti and his recovery from the fatal bite of a snake through the application of the *Mahāmāyūrī* charm; the latter, the story of the obtainment of that charm by Buddha in one of his former births (*jātaka*) as the king of the peacocks (*mayūra-rāja*). These two stories would seem to have made up the whole extent of the original Sūtra before its subsequent enormous accretions. From the Bower Manuscript it appears that the copy of the Sūtra included in it was written for the benefit of a person (probably a monk or abbot), called Yaśōmitra, whose name, as usual in such cases, was inserted at the end of the copy. This copy, being written on birchbark of an inferior quality (see Chapter II), after a time became seriously damaged: the obverse of the folio, on which the second story commenced, flaked off entirely, and that portion of the manuscript which contained the first story appears to have been destroyed altogether. The latter was now replaced by a fresh copy, written on a new supply of birch-bark of a superior quality. This fresh copy is the existing Part VI of the Bower Manuscript.